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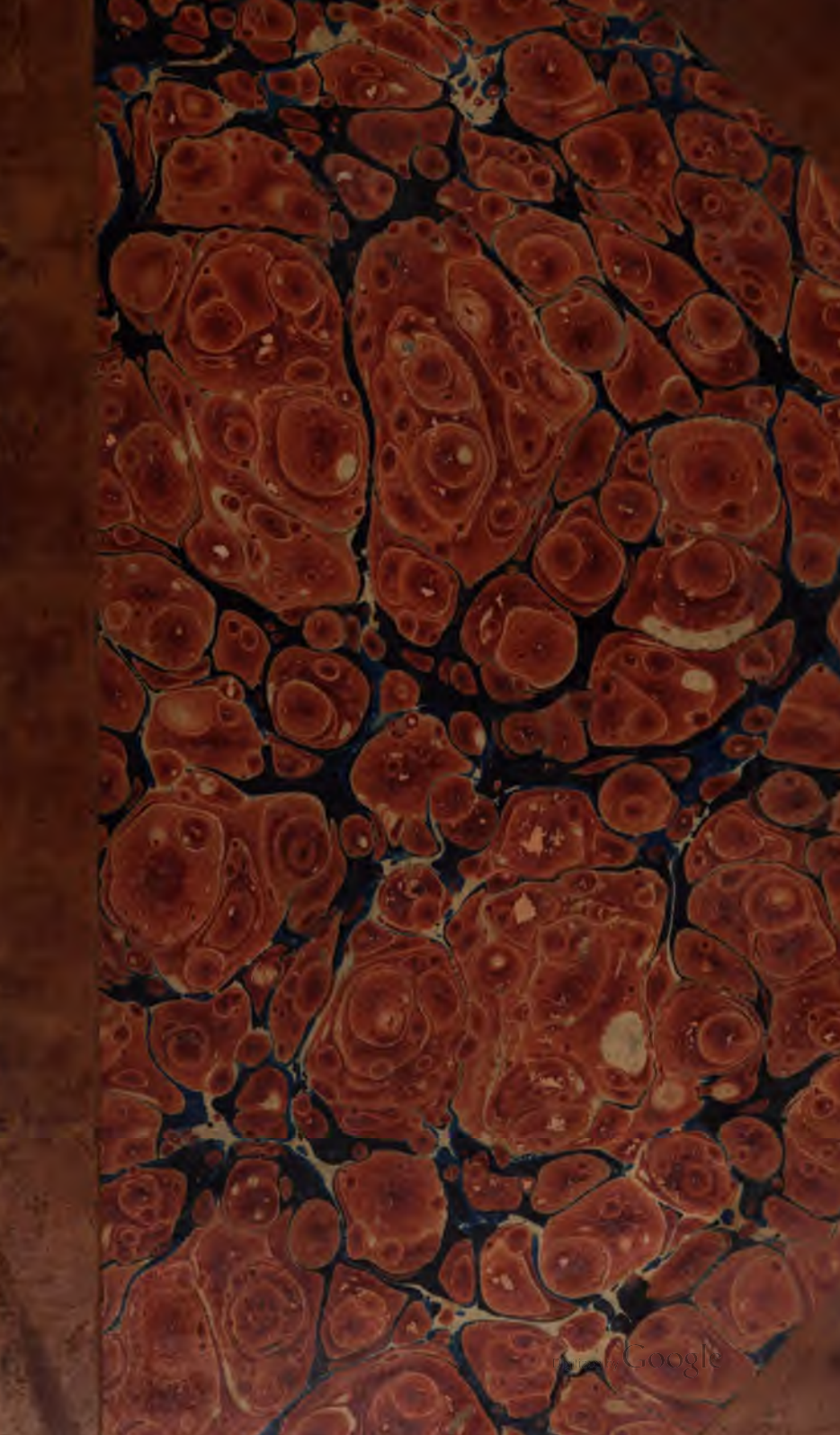
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THE
PROTESTANT ADVOCATE:

OR

A REVIEW

OF

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO

THE

Roman Catholic Question,

AND

REPERTORY

OF

PROTESTANT INTELLIGENCE.

VOL. II.



"Our fathers, who lived under the dread of Popery and arbitrary power, are most of them gone off the stage; and have carried with them the experience which we their sons stand in need of, to make us earnest to preserve the blessing of liberty, and pure religion, which they have bequeathed us. O that I had words to represent to the present generation, the miseries which their fathers underwent; that I could describe their fears and anxieties; their restless nights and uneasy days; when every morning threatened to usher in the last day of England's liberty.—Had men such a sense of the miseries of the time past, it would teach them what consequences they were to expect from any successful attempt against the present establishment."—*Sherlock's Discourses.*

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PREFACE.

ON the completion of the Second Volume of **THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE**, custom demands, and not without reason, that we should add a few words by way of Preface.

Following the division of the year after the manner observed in the preface to the first volume, we have to remark that the period immediately prior to the meeting of Parliament, was passed, as far as relates to the Roman Catholic Question, in meditating an attack on the Speaker of the House of Commons, by one class of senators, and in the anticipation of a victory by another, superior not in number only, but in argument.—When we remember the small majority which, in the preceding session, determined, on the Speaker's motion, against admitting Papists to sit in Parliament; when we witnessed the eagerness of many to make an alarming alteration in the constitution, and the surprising indifference with which others listened to their specious harangues, and voted according to their wishes; when we know that the Papists looked upon that small majority, as affording most flattering hopes of complete success on the next attempt,—we must confess that we deemed the result attending Lord Morpeth's motion, as nothing less than a triumph over the Popish faction that besieged the House of Commons, and over the apologists for Popery within its walls.

During the session, the principal patrons of the Roman Catholics made several flourishes, and as often deferred taking any

decisive steps until some future opportunity,—still preserving to themselves an opening, in case they should at any time think it advisable to commence proceedings. That time never arrived. The decided majority which rallied round the Speaker's chair, very probably kept them in check. We have ever regarded the inculcation of that right honourable gentleman as a trial of strength; and we entertain not the shadow of a doubt, but that if the affair had terminated differently, the hour had soon arrived when the demonstrations and manœuvring to which we have alluded would have been converted into a real attack; and those mischiefs might have taken place on which, though not irremediable, for many reasons, we do not like to dwell.

However well or ill founded our opinion may be, the Protestant cause has been prodigiously strengthened by the conduct of the Papists themselves;—particularly by the violence of the Irish Catholic Board. Dr. Dromgole's speech, and Mr. O'Connell's scheme of finance; the insults offered to the Established Church of this United Kingdom by the former, and the levying of money on the King's subjects, without the authority of Parliament, proposed by the latter, could hardly fail to disgust and to alarm all those to whom pure unsophisticated religion is dear, and by whom the legislature is respected.—We are free to avow, that we can discern very little difference, as to the point of legality, between raising of ship-money by the advice of Attorney-General Noy in the seventeenth century, and the levying a tax on the Roman Catholics of Ireland, at the instance of Counsellor O'Connell, in the year 1814: and we cannot but wonder at the silence of those gentlemen who profess to hold Mr. Hampden in high esteem for resisting the payment of twenty shillings assessed on him, and have no sympathy for the poor distressed peasantry of Ireland, who are obliged to submit to what they must feel, comparatively speaking, as a

much heavier contribution, under an alternative of being denounced as delinquents, on the suggestion of an individual barrister, "who has a head to contrive, and a hand to execute any" daring absurdity, and was countenanced by a Board which "the spirit of superstition actuates as the spirit of a party."

That Board, thank heaven! is suppressed. The only good thing by which it can be remembered, is the having exhibited in true colours the character and complexion of Popery. By the fury of its debates and the audacity of its measures, we may form some judgment how the Papists would conduct themselves if uncontrolled; if there existed no power to overturn their Boards—the tables of their tumultuous committees, and the seats of their flaming orators. The time is yet far distant when conciliation may propitiate them, or concessions may be made to them without danger. The rescript of the Propaganda ostensibly invests the King with the prerogative of a *veto* in the nomination of Roman Catholic bishops; though we have pointed out, in several instances, the hollowness of the recommendations contained in that instrument,—clogged, however, as it is, with reservations, and claiming exclusive salvation for the members of the Romish church,—it is not, after all, calculated for the meridian of Ireland; the *emphatical people* spurn at the moderation which it affects; they have voted that it is not mandatory, and it remains to be proved whether the Pope, firm in his purposes as he has shewn himself to be, will hazard a sanction which may be rejected with contempt.

The Papacy is beginning to recover from the injury that it received during the late convulsions which, like an earthquake, shook Europe to its centre. The Pope has reached Rome, and, it is presumed, will attend in person the momentous Congress about to assemble at Vienna.—Popery in Spain is once more

clothed in horrors; the walls of the Inquisition are re-erected, and perhaps heightened and strengthened; its dungeons repaired, if not deepened; its bolts, bars, and shackles forged anew; emblazoned fiends begin to re-appear on its *san-benitos*; and its familiars are collecting stakes and piling faggots. — Under such circumstances we stand upon our guard, prepared to meet the worst; cheered nevertheless, occasionally, with a hope that those personages, in the two chambers of Parliament, who have heretofore attempted to explain away the errors and extenuate the crimes of Popery, will hardly again, for some time at least, bring its desperate cause under the contemplation of the legislature. After the treatment which Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan have experienced at the hands of their unruly clients, we can scarcely conceive that any one will condescend to receive a brief, or submit to dictation from the Papists, or venture to molest the Parliament and disturb the peace of the empire, by reviving those extravagant hopes which the genius of the constitution, “fundamentally Protestant,” must ever forbid to be realized.

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For OCTOBER 1813.

"Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's word or of the Sacraments; but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scripture by God himself: that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal."—37th Article of Religion.

THE SPANISH REGENCY AND THE POPE'S NUNCIO.

ON reference to p. 648 of the first volume, our readers will see that M. Gravina, the Pope's Nuncio resident at Cadiz, received his passports to remove out of Spain, and that his temporalities had been taken possession of, for having continued obstinate in his blameable conduct respecting the extinction of the Inquisition. We were desirous to lose no time in noticing that important fact; and we now add to the former documents recorded in our number for August last, (p. 566) those papers which have subsequently appeared relative to this transaction. The Journalist, in his eagerness to communicate early intelligence, is always liable to fall into error, by relying on the authenticity of the reports which reach him; and it often happens that he is obliged to correct his first statements, by accounts which come to hand after a little time has elapsed. Here we throw ourselves on the candour of our readers, and entreat that liberal acceptance of our endeavours, to which it is to be hoped we are, as we conceive, entitled, *ex necessitate rei*. It appears that the Nuncio has not removed "to Sicily, on board the Sabrina [Sabina] frigate," as was stated in a paragraph of the *Concise*, dated July 9th, but has betaken himself, in a vessel of his own providing, to *Tavira in Portugal*. We shall give this corrected intelligence, below, as it appeared in a paragraph in the *Concise* of July 15th, with an observation on the important results to which the Nuncio's imprudence may lead.

We first print an extract from a manifesto published at Cadiz July 7th, 1813; which contains an able recapitulation of the whole affair.

“ Extract from the Manifesto of the Regency of Spain, relative to the conduct of the Nuncio of his holiness in these kingdoms, dated the 8th of July, signed L. De Bourbon, Cardinal de Scala, Archbishop of Toledo, President.

“ The regency, it is said, would be wanting in the most essential of its obligations, if it did not put an end to the dangerous manœuvres of the Nuncio of his holiness in these kingdoms, D. Pedro Gravina, Archbishop of Nicca. His political conduct has for a long time been such, that the regency almost considers it necessary to excuse itself for its long forbearance; but while there was a shadow of hope that he would discover his error, and not exceed the limits of his legitimate faculties, the regency believed it ought to respect the name and dignity of this Prelate, and the representation of the Holy Father by whom he had been sent.

“ The regency, moved by these powerful considerations, endeavoured to turn him from his purpose, first by arguments, and afterwards by remonstrances. Seeing the inutility of these, it intimated to him, though with great regret, that if he continued his rash conduct, it would see itself under the necessity of removing him from these kingdoms. The Nuncio, however, obstinately continuing in his former conduct, a conduct incompatible with the public tranquillity, and destructive of the authority of Government; the regency saw itself under the harsh, but indispensable necessity, of carrying into effect the banishment threatened, and the occupation of his temporalities as imperiously required by the sacred law, for the preservation of the State, and of individuals.

“ The tribunal of the Inquisition introduced into these kingdoms by the Catholic Sovereigns, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, having been abolished by the Cortes, after a mature and deliberate examination, they re-established in its stead the law of the *Partidas*, and ordered that the decree and manifesto, in which they explain the just and powerful reasons which had induced them to abolish that tribunal, should be read in all the parishes of the monarchy, in the offertory of the greater mass, for the information of the people. The Nuncio pretended that the inquisition could not be abolished without the consent of his Holiness, and made that representation to the regency on the 5th of March,* writing at the same time to the Bishop of Jaen, and to the Chapters of the vacant Sees of Granada and Malaga, declaring his opposition to the decree and manifesto, exhorting them to conform to his dictate, and charging them to pro-

* See Vol. I. p. 570.

ceeded with the greatest reserve. The regency, on the 23d of April,* by the minister of grace and justice, admonished the Nuncio not to exceed his authority, since any excess in that respect on his part would be contrary to the rights and privileges of the crown; and to prevent any ill impression, published a manifesto, directed to the prelates and chapters, informing them of the conduct of the Nuncio.

"The Nuncio, through the intervention of the Secretary of State, transmitted to the Government, on the 28th of April, a note, accompanied by copies of the letter which he wrote to the Bishop of Jara, and to the Chapters of Granada and Malaga, and an answer to the official note communicated to him by the Minister of Grace and Justice, which contains the following expressions, sufficiently strong to give offence to the Regency:—"that he could but believe that he was under an indispensable obligation to act as he had done in quality of Legate of the Pope, and in fulfilment of the duties of his ministry; that though he wished nothing more than the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, and it was contrary to his character to intermeddle in other subjects than those belonging to the duties of his legation, yet in ecclesiastical matters he was obliged to engage in that correspondence and communication which was required of him by the duties of his office;" and as if these words were not sufficient to offend the Regency, he adds, "that if the conduct of corresponding with the Reverend Bishops, and acting, as he had before done, gave any offence to the Cortes, they might set as they thought proper relatively to himself, as he believed that his conduct would meet the approbation of his Holiness, and that it would give him a great satisfaction to know that in support of the character of his representative his legate looked with the greatest indifference on his temporalities." He was answered in the dispatch of the 5th of May, that his surprise would have been just, if the note of the Minister of Grace and Justice had been in answer to his memorial of the 5th of March, which he presented as Nuncio, but that in this note that subject had only been mentioned incidentally and relatively to the letters which he had written, as Archbishop of Nicea to the Bishop and Chapter, exhorting them to delay, and even refuse obedience to the decree of the Cortes, and in reference to the expressions which had called the attention of the Cortes, and of which they applied for an explanation. In his answer of the 9th of May he continued to insist on what he had before said, adding, that he considered himself as obliged to maintain correspondence with the Bishops and Chapters, at once to receive from them their explanations and elucidations, and to exhort them to the fulfilment

of their respective duties, and of the oath which they had taken to defend the rights of the Church, and of the Holy Apostolic See; that such correspondence was necessary for the due discharge of the ministry of the Nuncio, and were authorized by the practice of all churches, who on this subject sent written letters to the Bishop and Chapters, enjoining them secrecy for maintenance of order and public tranquillity. The Nuncio adds, that the greatest part of the Bishops, even those who were resident in Cadiz, had made known their opinion on this subject, in the hope that, as legate of the Pope, he would take that part which he should judge proper; and that he had therefore been induced to give his advice and instruction to the Prelates and Chapters, which he had done in the manner suitable to his office: and that he should pursue the same conduct whenever similar subjects should be in question.

“ This declaration took away all hope that the Nuncio would depart from his determination to offend against the rights and privileges of our captive King; and though the Regency was for a time restrained by its respect and reverence for the Pope, and the esteem and affection which it entertained for his Nuncio, after having heard the opinion of the Council of State, in defence of the imprescriptible rights and privileges of the Crown; resolved, authorized by the laws, and by the history of all Catholic nations, to direct that the following note should be communicated to the Nuncio:—

“ Note from the Minister of State, communicating to the Nuncio his removal from these kingdoms, and the occupation of his temporalities in them:—

“ *Swear*.—The political conduct of your Excellency in respect to the decree of the general and extraordinary Cortes, abolishing the tribunal of the Inquisition, obliged the Regency of the kingdom to adopt the measures it considered necessary to ensure the fulfilment of its orders, and prevent the public tranquillity from being disturbed. At the same time, in order to prevent a repetition of what had taken place, his highness made to your excellency, through the Minister for Grace and Justice, the requisite communications, and intimated that if your excellency did not desist from your design, his highness would see himself under the necessity of making you leave the kingdom, and taking possession of your temporalities.

“ The reply which your excellency gave on the 28th of April, in an official note, directed to the Minister for Grace and Justice, was a solemn declaration, that you were resolved and decided to act in the same manner, in the use of the powers which you believed belonged to you. Your excellency repeated a similar declaration in the note you were pleased to send me, on the 9th May, replying to mine of the 5th of the same month, in

which I begged, on the part of your excellency, an explanation of the official note of the 28th of April.

"On review of the whole, no reason presented itself to his highness, to doubt how he should act, and your excellency also could not doubt of the result of so disagreeable a business. His highness nevertheless wished to hear the Council of State, in order to proceed with greater precision, and purposely let pass all that time he thought necessary, to see if your excellency, considering the business with a calm and unprejudiced mind, would recal your above-mentioned notes, and make a declaration contrary to their contents. This was his highness's wish, as the only means of saving the hard extremity to which he saw himself about to be reduced in defence of the crown. But as neither this hope, nor any other means remain, he has ordered me to send you, as I have the honour of doing, the usual passport for your leaving these kingdoms, and that he would proceed to the occupation of your temporalities in them.

"His highness, wishing to preserve to your excellency, notwithstanding all that has happened, the consideration due to your dignity and representation, and likewise desiring that your excellency should perform your voyage comfortably and conveniently, has ordered, that the national armed frigate, the Sabina, should be prepared, as it is, to convey your excellency wherever you choose to proceed.

"At the same time I communicate to your excellency this resolution of his highness, I have the honour to offer to your excellency my sincere wishes to serve you with the most prompt and obsequious attention. God preserve your excellency many years.

"PEDRO LABRADOR."

"Cadiz, July 7, 1813.

"To the Nuncio of his Holiness."

"*Reply of the Nuncio to the Official Note from the Minister of Grace and Justice.*

"EXCELLENT SIR—The Archbishop of Nicea, Nuncio from his Holiness, in reply to the official note of your excellency of the 23d, in which you state that his highness has not been satisfied with the conduct he has observed, respecting the inquisition, in regard to the letters he wrote on the occasion, cannot dispense with stating to your excellency, for the information of his highness, of his having believed himself to be in this circumstance, in duty and necessity obliged to do what he has done, in quality of legate from the Pope, and in the fulfilment and discharge of his ministry.

"Nobody ever more desired, or desires, the peace, tranquillity, and

prosperity of the kingdom; and it is entirely opposite to his character, both public and private, to meddle with any other affairs than those which belong to his legation; but he cannot plead ignorance for not doing what belongs to it; and where the object relates to ecclesiastical matters, he feels himself obliged to use every care, and hold that correspondence and communication which are so befitting his office. If this conduct causes his highness any discontent, he may immediately come to what determination he pleases, under a conviction that it will be persevered in, believing that his conduct will merit the approbation of his holiness, and that, moreover, it will be a great satisfaction for him to know, that in defence of his representation, his legate views, with the utmost indifference, temporalities, imitating the disinterestedness of which he has given the whole world the most illustrious example.—God preserve you many years.

“ P. ARCHBISHOP OF NICHA; ”

“ Cadiz, April 28, 1813. ”

“ To his Excellency the Minister of Grace and Justice. ”

The next document is a NOTE from the *Nuncio* to *Don Pedro Labrador*, Minister of State, expressing his surprise that the former communications had not been made through him, and inclosing copies of the preceding correspondence.

The answer to the above Note explains why the Minister of Grace and Justice, and not the Secretary of State, had been entrusted with the correspondence, and chiefly rests on the official note, not being a reply to the Nuncio's Memorial, which memorial it observes, could not be replied to, in consequence of not having been presented in the form prescribed by the uniform custom of all the cabinets of Europe, and concludes in these terms :—

“ In compliance with the usual rule, therefore, the Regency of the kingdom has directed that I should reply to the answer transmitted by your excellency on the 28th of April, to the Minister of Grace and Justice, his highness has with pleasure heard that nobody has more desired, or desires, the peace, tranquillity, and prosperity of the kingdom, than your excellency; and that it is opposite to your public and personal character to meddle in other affairs than those of the legation.

“ But your excellency adds, that you cannot avoid doing all that belongs to it, and where the object related to ecclesiastical affairs, feel yourself obliged to use every care, and hold that correspondence and communication which are so befitting your office. As those last clauses admit of more than one construction, your excellency will not be surprised that, by

order of his highness, I enter upon explanations respecting them; and I treat you to have the goodness to state what is the meaning your excellency affixes to them. His highness never has opposed, nor ever will oppose, the Nuncio of his holiness exercising the legitimate functions of his legation, nor his making the requisite applications to his highness, through the Minister of State. But if your excellency understands that your powers authorise you to practise equal or similar rules of action to those you have practised, and to hold correspondence such as you have held with the Bishop of Jaen, and the Chapters of Malaga and Granada, it is indispensable for your highness to state them. In a matter of such high importance the slightest doubt might cause serious evils, and nothing is more just than the wish of knowing the extent your excellency gives to your powers. I do not doubt but your excellency will have the goodness to give this explanation, which I request by order of his highness: in the mean time, I beg you to accept the sincere assurance of my particular and distinguished consideration.— God preserve your excellency many years.

“ PEDRO LABRADOR.”

“ Cadiz, April 23, 1818.

“ To the Archbishop of Nicea.”

*ANSWER of the Nuncio to the preceding Note from the Minister of State.**

“ EXCELLENT SIR,—The Archbishop of Nicea, Nuncio to his holiness, has received the esteemed letter which your excellency was pleased to transmit to him, of the date of the 5th, and proceeds without delay to the explanation which he desires, and requires of him by order of his highness.

“ When ecclesiastical and religious affairs are discussed, which always have a connexion with the rights of his holiness, and have been often admitted and acknowledged, in an especial manner, by bulls, briefs, and solemn concordats, when a novelty is proposed to be introduced, the undersigned considers himself bound, not only to remonstrate with propriety to the Government, through your excellency, but also to have communication with the Bishops, and Chapters *in sede vacante*, a communication indispensable for the receiving of their explanations, and to stimulate them to exact fulfilment of their respective duties, and of the oath which they took to him and his predecessors, to support, that is, to defend the rights of the Church and of the Holy Apostles. Such official communications, besides being necessary for the due discharge of the Ministry of a Nuncio, and still more of a legate *a latere*, a representative of his holiness, have

*The original is in Italian.

been authorized, and even consecrated by the practice of all churches in all ages.

" To this sole object were directed the letters written by the undersigned Nuncio to the Bishop of Jaen, and to the Chapters of Malaga and Granada, *in sede vacante*; and as to enjoining them secrecy, that only meant that they should avoid publicity, and be careful to maintain order and tranquillity; any other interpretation is imaginary, inapplicable, and unfounded.

" If such ought to be the uniform conduct of a Nuncio in the discharge of his ministry, the undersigned requests your excellency to turn your attention to the circumstances of the present case, in which the greater part of the Bishops residing in Cadiz have declared their sentiments, and given him to understand, that they hoped that he would, as legate to his holiness, take that part which he believed suitable to him. Ought he not to have remonstrated and made representation, and then to have given them advice of what he had done, that according to their prudence they might do what was right when he shewed them their respective obligations? Nor can it be presumed that the signature of the letters could occasion the slightest doubt whether they were written in quality of a private person, since according to the custom and constant practice they all bore the same signature of Archbishop of Nicea.

" The undersigned hopes that your excellency will at length perceive and acknowledge the genuine sense of the last clause of his letter; and he submitted to the profound discernment of your excellency, that in them, as well as in his declaration, he did what was incumbent on him from the duties of his ministry.

" The undersigned, ever desirous to contribute on his part to the public felicity, will be always ready to correspond with your excellency with respect to whatever your excellency may be pleased to communicate to him for the regulation of his conduct. He has now only to repeat, that with the most sincere and obsequious esteem he remains your excellency's most devoted and obedient servant,

" THE ARCHBISHOP OF NICEA.

" Cadiz, May 9.

" To the First Secretary of State of
his Catholic Majesty.

NOTE from the Nuncio to the Secretary of State, complaining of the Minister of Grace and Justice.

" EXCELLENT SIR,—As the Archbishop of Nicea thought, that the subject of certain letters had been considered by your excellency with the

utmost circumspection, he cannot understand with what motive it has again been brought before the public and the Cortes, by the Minister of Grace and Justice, who has besides advanced alarming propositions which endanger the authority of the Holy Father and his Nuncio.

"Your excellency is not ignorant with what sentiments of moderation the undersigned is animated, but he cannot but remonstrate to his highness on the unexpected conduct of the said Minister, who ought to know that the Cortes themselves have established the rule that diplomatic and ministerial affairs ought not to be discussed in public.

"The undersigned, therefore, requests your excellency to make a representation to his highness that he would deign to apply a remedy to such an inconvenience which may give occasion to further insults, particularly from periodical writers, who, if they conceive themselves slighted by the undersigned, will not fail to impress on the public disadvantageous ideas of his conduct, and oblige him to take further steps repugnant to his feelings, though forced on him by imperious circumstances.

"The undersigned submits these reflections to the due consideration of your excellency, and with the most sincere and obsequious esteem repeats, that he is,

"Your most devoted, obedient servant,

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF NICEA."

"Cadiz, May 14.

"To the Signor Don Pedro Labrador, First Secretary
of State to his Catholic Majesty."

This Note in the original is likewise in Italian.

REPLY from the Minister of State to the foregoing Note.

"EXCELLENT SIR,—I have given the Regency an account of the Note you were pleased to send me under date of the 14th inst. stating your complaints of the terms and expressions with which the Secretary for Grace and Justice had used in the general and extraordinary Cortes, when speaking of the letters written by your excellency in consequence of the decree abolishing the tribunal of the inquisition. His highness commands me to acquaint your excellency, that nothing is better known than that he cannot take cognizance of what passes in the Cortes; and that on the other hand, if the Minister for Grace and Justice had exceeded in speaking the bounds prescribed in the regulation of the same, he cannot doubt but his Majesty would have remedied any excess or affront which he might have observed in the words of the said Secretary.

VOL. II. [Prot. Adv. October 1813.]

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" I intreat your excellency to accept the expression of my high and distinguished esteem.

" God preserve your excellency many years,

" PEDRO LABRADOR."

" Cadiz, May 17.

" To the Nuncio of his Holiness."

We now beg to refer to the paragraph from the Concise of July 9th, (see Vpl. I. p. 648) ; and we annex the corrected article :—

" *Cadiz, July 5th.*

" The Senor Nuncio has already set out for Tavira, in Portugal, in a vessel provided by himself. On this head we observe, that individuals expatriated from Spain on account of being prejudicial in it, taking refuge in Portugal, within half a league or a league of our frontiers, may be still just as prejudicial as when residing among us. If the Portuguese government shews its hospitality by admitting into its kingdom those who differ with its ally Spain ; protecting them, although only as fugitive individuals, we believe that we shall not be able to obtain all the object of expectation, and that this must be extended to the entire peninsula, and not to the territory of Spain alone. We likewise do not doubt that when the Portuguese government shall be informed that persons of a certain description are permitted to reside in its states, they will not view this mistaken hospitality with indifference."

The intemperate zeal of Mr. Gravina has caused his expulsion from Spain, and the want of prudence manifested by his withdrawing so short a distance from the frontiers of the interdicted country, will most probably end in his being driven from Portugal likewise. Authority ill exercised, or overstretched, proves fatal to itself ; and who shall say what will be the end of the Nuncio's audacious intermeddling with, and resistance to the decrees of the regency ? Will Portugal harbour this willing instrument of Popish tyranny ? Or, in sending him to Italy, will she embrace an opportunity of advancing a step towards Christian liberty ? We earnestly hope that this vile intriguer will not cause a misunderstanding between the allied nations of the Peninsula ; and we trust that Portugal will not cherish in its bosom the viper which endeavoured (thank Heaven vainly endeavoured) to fix its fangs in the vitals of Spain.

**LIST OF PUBLICATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE REFORMED
RELIGION, RECOMMENDED BY THE EDITOR OF THE
PROTESTANT ADVOCATE.**

(Continued from page 603, Vol. I.)

22. *Letters of Britannicus to the Editor of the Morning Post, on Mr. Grattan's Bill for the Relief of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland; or as it should have been entitled, for the Advancement of Popery. To which is added an Appendix, containing the Petition from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.*—(pp. 84.)—Stockdale.

It is with pleasure that we resume our task, and continue the List of such Publications as demand the particular attention of our readers and the public. The Letters of Britannicus are highly important, and we are very glad that they have been collected and published in the form of a pamphlet. They touch upon nearly every topic of consequence, which is discussed in the most masterly style. There is nothing in the entire series that ought to offend any one. Much vigour of intellect is discoverable, and the reader will evidently see that the letters are written by no ordinary hand; and that the author has studied the British constitution to good effect; that he is an adept in the art of reasoning, and possesses the happy faculty of discussing his subject fully without using a word too much, and of being concise without being either dry or obscure.

The Letters are sixteen in number.—“ I. Introduction.—II. Advancement of Popery.—III. Reasons in the Preamble [of Mr. G's Bill] wholly unfounded.—IV. Nullity of the proposed Security.—V. Mr. Grattan's and Mr. Plunkett's Criterions decisive against Mr. Grattan's Bill.—VI. Religion, and Moral Principle decisive against Mr. Grattan's Bill.—VII. Religion, the Parliamentary Criterion of the Roman Catholic Question.—VIII. Subversion of the Protestant Constitution.—IX. The Integrity of the Roman Catholic Religion not violated by renouncing the Pope's Supremacy.—X. Conclusions from former Letters.—XI. Mr. Grattan's Bill incapable of producing Peace, Union, and Conciliation.—XII. Protestant and Popish Oaths incompatible with each other.—XIII. On some Branches of the Royal Prerogative, connected with the Roman Catholic Question.—XIV. Conciliation not to be obtained by Concession; and no Security in an incompatible Oath.—XV. Parliamentary Pledges.—XVI. Peace, Union, and Conciliation.”

To the whole is added an Appendix, containing I, The Petition of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland: and II, Extracts from the Speeches of Lord Clare, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and Lord Ellenborough.

The 9th Letter appeared in the *Protestant Advocate*, where it will be found (in the Index) under the title of "Roman Catholic Faith not violated by renouncing the Pope's Supremacy," with a reference to p. 453 of our first Volume. We are inclined to believe that the letter was sent us by the author. We do not conceive ourselves at liberty to mention his name, which would draw the attention of the country at large; for (and we hope we shall not offend by saying so) we know not any one more admired as a scholar, or more beloved as a man.

We certainly shall give some specimens of this interesting collection to such of our readers as did not read the letters as they appeared "from the 5th of May to the 17th of June last;" but our difficulty is to make a selection where there is such equality of excellence; however, as Mr. Grattan has announced his intention of serving up his *Irish stew* in the next session of Parliament, we shall print the second, third, fourth, and fifth consecutive letters; which completely prove the inadequacy of his efforts in the session of 1813, and the danger which might have accrued to the community from the *mess*, which he then set before Parliament;—"there was death in the pot."

LETTER II.—*Advancement of Popery—Denial of the King's Supremacy.*

Thursday, May 6.

SIR—The bill which Mr. Grattan has introduced into Parliament, is very improperly entitled a bill "for the *relief of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland*," It should rather be called a bill "*for the advancement of Popery*." The removal of penalties is *relief*; but the admission into office is *privilege and advancement*. Relief has been already granted to the Roman Catholics to the fullest extent of toleration and liberty. The objects, therefore, of this Bill, are favour and privilege; And to whom are they proposed to be extended? To the professors of Popery, who refuse to acknowledge the King's spiritual jurisdiction; and whose religion is totally incompatible with the Protestant Established Church. If the Roman Catholics feel themselves degraded by the want of those privileges which they seek, the degradation is their own act, and the remedy is in their own hands. Let them renounce all *foreign* jurisdiction. To refuse to acknowledge the entire sovereignty to the King—to give to the Pope what they owe to the King—is a high criminal offence against the fundamental laws of our Protestant Constitution. To this high offence the lenity of Government first permitted connivance, and then extended toleration and freedom from penalty. But to confer upon it the noblest privilege of loyalty and conformity, is surely contrary to all principles of justice or policy. The bill, therefore, (if the Roman Catholics

should be admitted to Parliament and high office without renouncing the Pope's supremacy), instead of being called a bill for *the relief of the Roman Catholics*, should be entitled, as I said before, a bill for *the advancement of Popery*.

The bill is full of inconsistencies, false principles, contradictions, and omissions of essential securities. The preamble contains, in its four paragraphs, more inconsistencies and false principles than one would have thought compressible into so small a compass. In the two first paragraphs, the *Protestant succession* and the *Protestant Episcopal Church* are declared to be *permanently* and *inviolably* established: And yet the very statutes, which gave them *permanence* and *inviolability*, are by this bill to be repealed.

The 1st of Elizabeth, the Magna Charta of Protestantism, (which reunited the Church with the State, and restored to the crown its ancient jurisdiction over the State ecclesiastical, abolishing all foreign powers repugnant to the same,) is the foundation-statute of the reformation, and is, together with the 30th of Charles II. (which excludes Papists from Parliament), declared to be a *perpetual, fundamental, and essential* article of the union, by the same authority (the Act of Union and the statute preceding the Act) which pronounced the Protestant succession and the Protestant Episcopal Church to be permanent and inviolable.

That I may not trespass too far on the limits of your valuable paper, the *false principles* of the *third* and *fourth* paragraphs of the preamble shall be the subject of my next letter.

LETTER III.—*Preamble and Reasons wholly unfounded.*

Friday, May 7.

SIR,—From the declaration of the permanent and inviolable establishment of the *Protestant succession*, and of the *Protestant Episcopal Church*, contained in the two first paragraphs of the preamble to Mr. Grattan's bill, I proceed to the consideration of the *reasons* for granting the Roman Catholic Claims, contained in the third and fourth paragraphs of this preamble.

“ The first reason alleged for granting the claims, is, that it may “ promote the interests of the Established Church.” It can never promote the interests of the Protestant Church, to give any encouragement to Popery, which is certainly done by advancing Romanists to political power, *without renouncing the supremacy of the Pope*. It can never promote the interests of true religion, to give encouragement in any way to the errors of a corrupt Church. They who have yet to learn in what the corruptions of the Church of Rome consist, may be easily informed, by the perusal of a

small treatise, Bishop Jewell's "*Defence of the Church of England*," or from a still shorter, Bishop Bull's "*Letter to the Bishop of Meaux*," containing his reasons why he could not conform to the church of Rome.*

The *second* reason for granting the claims, is, that "it may strengthen our *free* constitution." The framers of the bill must have been very much at a loss for any colourable pretence for granting the claims, when they could resort to such reasons as these. It can never strengthen our *free* constitution to encourage Popery, which through the whole extent of its system, is founded on principles of *passive obedience*, (to the Pope and Mother Church), and of *despotism* ecclesiastical and civil. Can we so far forget the language of former Parliaments (for the language of our liturgy is the language of the legislature) in their expressions of gratitude to providence for our national deliverance from "*Popish tyranny, and arbitrary power*," as to suppose that the admission of Papists to offices of political power, will strengthen our *free* constitution in Church and State?

"The third reason for the claims is, that it "may put an end to all *religious jealousies* among his Majesty's subjects." The more we see of Mr. Grattan's reasons, the weaker they are. It is contrary to all experience, and to all knowledge of human nature, to imagine that placing the Roman Catholics nearly on a level with the Protestants, will put an end to all religious jealousies among his Majesty's subjects. Can giving to Papists any share in legislating for a *Protestant* church do this? Remote and very unequal powers are seldom jealous of each other. It is only in a state of approximation that this feeling exists.

"*Bears, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,*"

is not less true of religious, than of political parties. They who can doubt of the difficulty of removing such jealousies, may consult the Popish Bishop Challoner's "*Reasons for not conforming to the Protestant Religion*."†

It is a great defect in the preamble to the Bill, that the custom of former Parliaments, especially of the 16th and 17th centuries, in all acts respecting religion, has been neglected; I mean an express declaration, that what was proposed to be enacted had directly in view the "true profession of the gospel." If this had been attended to by the framers of the bill, it

* Lately reprinted by the Society for the distribution of *Tracts in defence of the Established Church of England and Ireland*.

† Lately reprinted and answered in a Tract entitled, "*A Protestant and Papist's Manual*." (Published by Stockdale, Pall-Mall.)

must have struck them, that however the measure proposed by them could be considered by themselves as a measure of political expediency, (which I deny), they could not, as Protestants, have thought it conducive to "the true profession of the gospel."

In my next, I will send you some remarks on the oath and declaration.

LETTER IV.—*Nullity of the proposed Security.*

Saturday, May 8.

SIR,—It is evident, I trust, from my last letter, that, of the three *reasons* alleged in the preamble of Mr. Grattan's bill, for granting the Roman Catholic claims, not one of them is founded; not one of them has truth or consistency or experience to recommend it. Indeed, so radically defective is the bill in its *reasons* and *security*, and so ill-digested as a whole, that I cannot help thinking the framers of it got into the committee by surprise, and that they never contemplated so far the success of the original motion. I would gladly accept this as an omen of its final issue. We come now to the security which is offered us, instead of the *excluding statutes*.

This security consists in the oath, the solemn word and promise of Roman Catholics, that they will not attempt to subvert or injure the established church. We will now see what this oath *contains*, and what it does *not contain*. It begins with this declaration:—"I, A. B., do declare, that I do profess the Roman Catholic religion." If the framers of this bill had considered what the Roman Catholic religion is, and had studied the tenets, in which it most differs from ours, they must have seen in the principles of its ecclesiastical government, faith, and worship, that the declarations contained in this oath are either *nugatory* or *false*: nugatory, so far as they cannot answer their professed purpose; I mean the security of the established Church; and false, by including positive contradictions. The two following declarations are false:—"I do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear *true* allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third."—If they who take this oath refuse to acknowledge the King's *spiritual* jurisdiction, the allegiance which they bear to the King, is only half of what is due to him by the laws; it is therefore *not true* allegiance. They are (as Henry VIII and James I. observed), only *half* subjects to the King.

This is the *first* falsehood. The *next* is as follows: "I further declare, that I do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by me, can be forgiven at the will of any Pope, or of any Priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever, without a sincere sorrow for past sins, firm and sin-

mere resolution to avoid future guilt, &c." Any Roman Catholic who should take this oath, will swear to a direct falsehood; because he believes that souls may be released from purgatory (where there is no room for repentance and change of life) by the prayers of the priest.

If by any mental reservation he should except the case of purgatory, then the following declaration will be false:—"I do solemnly, and in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare, that I do swear this oath, and make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever." Under this class of falsehood, will come this declaration.—"I also declare, that it is not an article of the Roman Catholic faith, nor am I required thereby to believe, that the Pope is infallible; or that I am bound to obey any order that is in its own nature immoral." For it is an act of Roman Catholic faith that the Church, that is, the Pope in council, is infallible; as we know from the catechisms and addresses of their present and former Bishops. As to the conclusion of this declaration, the force of the word *immoral* depends on *their* construction of it, as we know it did among the Jews, whose system of *traditions* very nearly resembled those of Popery. It was immoral to disobey, neglect, and desert parents, and yet from the guilt of this immorality, they were absolved by their traditions. From the guilt of murder, no doubt, *they* thought themselves absolved, who, when they killed the first Christians, "thought they did God service." I need not here cite Belarmino and others to prove that what is immoral in itself, ceases to be so, when it is done in the service of "Mother Church."

Among the evasive or nugatory parts of this oath, must be placed every thing that regards their not having any *intention* to subvert or injure the Established church; their *detestation* of persecuting heretics; their rejection of the *opinion* that excommunicated princes may be deposed; their *not thinking* that they can be acquitted of the obligation of this oath by the Pope or others. For unless they swear that the Pope *has no power* to absolve them from their oath, or to excommunicate Princes, or to absolve subjects from their allegiance, their declaration, that *they think they cannot be acquitted*, is good for nothing. Their expressed detestation of persecution, and their having no intention to subvert the Established church, are of as little avail, so long as their Bishops either take an oath to impugn and persecute heretics, or so long as they are subject to the authority of Bishops and Priests, who are sworn subjects of the Pope.

So much for the security intended by this oath. My next letter shall state the securities, which are omitted in this oath and declaration, but which are indispensable to the integrity of the Protestant constitution and to the safety of the Established church.

LETTER V.—*Mr. Grattan's and Mr. Plunkett's Criterions decisive against Mr. Grattan's Bill.*

Monday, May 10.

SIR,—Before I proceed to the *security*, which is indispensably necessary for the *safety of the Established Church*, and for the *integrity of our Protestant Constitution*, I wish to recall the attention of your readers to two very equitable criterions, (proposed by Mr. Grattan and Mr. Plunkett, but not followed by either,) which are decisive against the Roman Catholic claims, and against Mr. Grattan's bill. Mr. Grattan's criterion was this: "If it can be proved that the Catholics of Ireland have shewn a disposition adverse to royalty, then my motion ought to be rejected." [Thursday, Feb. 25.] To resist the *King's prerogative*,—to refuse to acknowledge the *entire sovereignty* of the King, which they do, who refuse to acknowledge the King's jurisdiction over the State ecclesiastical, is surely to shew a disposition adverse to royalty; and therefore Mr. Grattan's bill, by his own confession, ought to be rejected.

Mr. Plunkett's criterion was the same in fact, though different in words: "If the great bulwarks of the constitution must be overthrown, to satisfy the Catholics, he admitted, their prayer should be refused." The bulwarks of the constitution in Church and State, are the fundamental statutes of the reformation and revolution, which exclude Papists from Parliament and from political power, and which the petitioners pray to be removed. Both criterions are equally decisive against the admission of Roman Catholics into Parliament and high office, without conforming to the laws enacted for the *safety of the Established Church*, and the *integrity of our Protestant Constitution*.

If Roman Catholics were to be admitted to Parliament, the indispensable and only adequate security would be, that which the laws, our *Protestant* barriers, have provided,—their *renunciation of all foreign jurisdiction*. In doing this, the Roman Catholics would cease to be *Papists*, but they will still be Catholics; they would cease to be *Roman*;—but what right has Rome, or the Bishop of Rome, to exercise any jurisdiction in Great Britain or Ireland? The laws have declared the acknowledgement of such jurisdiction to be a *treasonable* offence against the State, and it was long subject to the *penalties* of high treason, from which the unexampled lenity of our Government has exempted it.

This foreign jurisdiction is so wholly at variance with the reformation and revolution, that a legislative recognition of it would dissolve the constitution, which has grown out of those two glorious events. The

great work of the reformation consisted in re-union, restoration, abolition, and exclusion.

It consisted in *re-uniting* the Church with the State, which it was always the policy of the Pope to separate; in *restoring* to the crown its ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical, which it has possessed in this country from the days of Constantine, however obstructed or usurped by the Pope at different times; in the *abolition* of all foreign powers, repugnant to it; and in the *exclusion* of the Pope and Papists from all spiritual jurisdiction in this country.

The Protestant constitution has brought innumerable blessings upon this country, of which all British subjects, Popish as well as Protestant, have partaken. The question is not then, whether the admission of a few Roman Catholics into Parliament would do any *injury* to the established church; but whether it would be doing justice to the great body of the Protestant community, to *destroy* our Protestant constitution, of which the established church is an essential part, (for the repeal of the Protestant statutes would not barely *injure*, but *destroy* the constitution), in order to gratify the claims of about one-sixth part of the empire, against the interests, and wishes, and urgent petitions of the great majority of his Majesty's subjects.

23. *Substance of the Speech of the Right Hon. Charles Yorke in the House of Commons, 25th Feb. 1813, on Mr. Grattan's Motion on the [Roman] Catholic Claims.* (Pp. 26.) Stockdale.

We beg leave to call the attention of our readers to Mr. Yorke's speech, here given in substance, extracted from the volume of Debates on the Roman Catholic Question printed by our publisher.—Mr. Yorke expresses himself with that manly firmness, and that fund of good sense, (the result of acute observation and diligent enquiry) which have ever distinguished him.—Mr. Plunkett's oratorical effort is well characterized. Said Mr. Yorke, (p. 3.) "I cannot withhold my well-merited tribute of applause to the right hon. member who has just sat down [Mr. Plunkett] on the brilliant display of eloquence he has made;—eloquent, however, as he has been, he has *failed of convincing me*."—The same power of discrimination appears throughout the speech. Speaking of the matter in debate, he said, (p. 4.) "It has never appeared to me to be a question of *toleration*, in the correct sense of the word; for the Roman Catholics are completely tolerated in the free exercise of their religion; and, could it be shewn, that this toleration is really defective in any particular, I, for one, am ready to concur in a proper remedy. Neither is it a question of *right*; for the right is, undoubtedly, in the state, to protect itself and its

establishments, against all those who may be supposed hostile to it. On the other hand, I will readily admit that all these disabling laws are only justifiable on the ground of the necessity of self defence, on the part of the state; if the necessity no longer exists, let them be repealed. The true question therefore is, are they now necessary for the preservation of our Protestant community? It will not be denied, that we are essentially a Protestant state; and that this is a fundamental principle of the constitution. The Bill of Rights decides this point; and it appears, to me, superfluous at least, if not mischievous, to re-enact, as the right honourable mover has proposed to do, the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement, in the bill, which he intends to bring in, upon this occasion. I, for one, am not obliged to the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Grattan] for offering to declare these, our ancient and fundamental laws, in the preamble to a modern Act of Parliament."—Mr. Yorke observed, (p. 9,) that the "Roman Catholic pretensions approach us under a double aspect; as it were, under a mask with two faces. There is the *Religio Laici*, and there is the *Religio Cleri*. When it is objected that the opinions and tenets of the Romish church are irreconcilable with, and hostile to, our Protestant establishment, we are told that the higher ranks of the Romish communion, in the United Kingdom, the nobility and gentry, who claim a participation in our privileges, care very little about these dogmas and doctrines, or about the Pope's supremacy. They are of the *old Religion*; and adhere to it, forsooth, more on the footing of a point of honour, and as a mark of ancient family and clanship, than on account of religious faith or moral conviction. And, indeed, there can be little doubt that freethinking and infidelity have made a progress among Roman Catholics of the above description, as they have done among Protestants of similar class. But the *Religio Cleri*, is still a different thing, and the clergy, and many, undoubtedly, of the laity too, are really good and sincere Catholics, and conscientiously adhere to the tenets and principles of the church of Rome, as being applicable to all times and seasons, and in their nature unchangeable, and indestructible; and, with this argument, we are met, when we ask why do the Roman Catholics of this day adhere so pertinaciously to the supreme spiritual authority of the Pope? I must therefore protest against being bound to consider and decide a question, of such immense importance, on such loose and uncertain grounds; and must insist on having a right to treat the Roman Catholics, on this occasion, as sincerely attached to their faith, and to the peculiar doctrines of their church.

"I have a right, then, to enquire, first, is the church of Rome, in its doctrines and discipline, materially changed from what it was heretofore?"

—and, secondly, do its professors and ministers, the Romish clergy, continue to hold the same, or nearly the same, influence and authority over the minds and consciences of their flocks (in this realm) as they did in former times?"

The turn his argument took may be easily conceived from this opening. From incontestable documents, several of which appear in the appendix, and some recited in the body of the speech, he proved that the Romish religion is the same that it has been ever since it fell away from the simplicity of pure Christianity. He particularly "quoted the following words, from the manual of doctrine and discipline, now used by the college of Maynooth (*Tractat. de Ecclesiâ*): "Itaque maximo in pretio illud Concilium (*Tridentinum scilicet*) habere debent omnes Clerici, cum ratione dogmatum, sit veluti omnium precedentium synodorum compendium; et ratione disciplinæ, dici merito possit manuale sacerdotum, vel omnium qui sacerdotio sunt initiandi."

In another part of his speech the right hon. gentleman expressed himself with great effect, where he said, (p. 17) "I confess, Mr. Speaker, it requires no small share of patience to listen to those, who, while they complain of the oppressive restraints, of the slavery, of our British Protestant institutions, continue passively and slavishly to submit their necks to the yoke of a foreign spiritual tyranny, such as all history has proved it to be. To hear them crying out for emancipation, from the bondage, forsooth, of the Bill of Rights, and Acts of Settlement, and paltering with their allegiance to the House of Brunswick, while they fall prostrate before the decrees of the councils of Lateran and Trent, and tremble at the bulls and rescripts of some miserable Italian or French prelate, who is himself the chained and pensioned vassal of the most mortal and implacable foreign enemy, their country ever had, of the most detestable and execrable tyrant, whom the world ever saw."

Whom have they to blame for this state of degradation and inferiority, of which they so loudly and pertinaciously complain? Whom but themselves? Why do they not dare to raise their eyes above this night of spiritual darkness and ignorance, in which they voluntarily suffer themselves to be involved? Why do they not shake off this scandalous foreign yoke? Why, at least, do they not agree among themselves (I do not say to abjure the peculiar tenets and articles of their faith), but to abjure this foreign interference, in the appointment of their spiritual pastors, whom they might chuse and nominate among themselves, by capitular or provincial election, and who might be instituted and consecrated afterwards, by the hands of their metropolitans, or eldest bishops, in whom, they will not deny, that the apostolic succession continues to exist. For what, if it.

was not to aid them in shaking off the necessity of foreign interference in these respects, and to enable them to exercise the just and enlightened discipline of a domestic church, was the national college of Maynooth established? Why is it now supported by a Protestant community at a great expense?

“ But it is said that citizens of the same state ought to be entitled to equal privileges. But in what sense can those be asserted to be citizens, who profess a divided allegiance? No man can serve two masters. The Roman Catholics of this day consent to pay only a half allegiance, and are to be considered only as half subjects of our Lord the King. The Pope has the other moiety of their allegiance; and how can those, who will not agree to be citizens, on the footing of their fellow subjects, have a right to expect to enjoy the complete and perfect privileges of citizens?”

Here we conclude our extracts. The Protestant religion has an able advocate in Mr. Yorke. We gratefully record the sense of obligation which we feel for the service he has rendered his country; for we are fully persuaded that the internal safety of Great Britain and its dependencies principally rests on maintaining the integrity of our Protestant constitution.

24. *An Appeal to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland, on the subject of the Roman Catholic Question, first published in the Papers of the Protestant Union in Reply to a late Address by Charles Butler, Esq.* pp. 92.—Hatchard.

M. Le Mesurier's *Counter Address* was drawn up at the request of certain members of the Protestant Union, and we inserted it in our list as our readers will find on a reference to p. 362, vol. 1; we have read attentively the *Appeal*, and we cannot but bear testimony to the ability which it manifests. We heartily concur in the sentiments which the author expresses in the preface. “ Although the House of Commons has negatived the proposition for admitting Roman Catholics into Parliament, the great measure, of which that formed a part, has lost nothing of its importance, and, from the manner in which the bill was withdrawn by its advocates, it is to be expected that the question will be again brought forward and urged with all the energy which characterises its supporters. Although checked, they are yet vigorous and compact, and flushed with hope; arising from the acknowledged ability and perseverance of their friends; and the amazedness of a considerable portion of the country, who stand aloof, and merely contemplate the contest. The clause proposed, which was to render Roman Catholics eligible to sit in both Houses of Parliament, was the essence of the bill, for it seemed not to be denied that every thing else would follow their admission into the legislature. And

we may expect that in the ensuing session the subject will be revived, and the object pursued with increased ardour. It therefore becomes necessary to keep our eye upon this controversy; and, while all intemperance of proceeding, and bitterness of language, should be carefully avoided, it becomes Protestants, of all parties, to consider the effect of the projected alteration in the British constitution, which will most seriously affect our civil and religious liberties." And again—"If the Roman Catholics should be admitted without restriction into Parliament, and to all the high offices of state, not excepted in the bill lately before the House of Commons, there can be no reasonable doubt in the minds of either Protestants or Roman Catholics, that this will produce an alteration in the government of the country in some degree, or in some way or other, either for better or worse. The measure would not leave the constitution either in its principles or its practical operation just as it now is. If Roman Catholics be rendered *eligible* to high power, can it be said with any shew of probability that they will not *possess* some of the higher offices, and have a party (less or more) in parliament? Indeed, why do they desire eligibility, and why are we to gratify that desire, but that they may be possessed of power? And in the exercise of power, will they not, and ought they not, to administer their official duties in the manner which best accords with their own principles and honest sense of duty? All this of course would have some effect."

The Appeal follows Mr. Butler section by section, and, in our judgement, annihilates every argument which that gentleman hazarded. We are afraid of exceeding our limits; but as we are convinced that the bulk of our countrymen have no accurate ideas concerning the privileges actually enjoyed by the Irish Roman Catholics, we beg to offer our readers the following extracts from p. 3;—"I admit all the disabilities which Mr. Butler states the English Roman Catholics to labour under: but he does not bring before your view that extent of power and office to which the Irish Roman Catholics are already eligible.

"He does not tell you, that in Ireland the Roman Catholics

1. Have the full liberty of exercising their religion; and that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of their church is so respected, that the priests exercise the power of inflicting penances and corporal austerities! (probably, I might truly say, corporal punishments) upon their people.

"2. That the Roman Catholic religion is not only tolerated, but it is so far encouraged, that a college at Maynooth, for the education of Roman Catholic priests, is supported at the expense of the British parliament, to the amount of several thousand pounds per annum.

"3. That, although they are not allowed to sit in Parliament, they have the elective franchise, and can vote at elections for members of Parliament.

"4. They are empowered to enjoy all the civil and military offices, or places of trust and profit, under his Majesty in Ireland, except the following: — Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioner of the Great Seal, Judges of any of the three chief Courts of Law, Lord High Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Judge of Admiralty, Master of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Vice Treasurer, or his Deputy, Teller or Cashier of Exchequer, Auditor General, Lieutenant, or Governor, or Custos Rotulorum of Counties, Secretary to Lord Lieutenant, or other Governor of Ireland, Privy Counsellor, Prime Counsel, Master in Chancery, Serjeant, Attorney or Solicitor-General, Second or Third Serjeant, King's Provost, or Fellow of Dublin College, Postmaster-General, Master and Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, Commander in Chief of the Forces, General on the Staff, Sheriff, or Sub-Sheriff of any County, or any office contrary to the stat. 17 and 18 Cha. II; and Papists are declared not to be enabled to exercise any right of presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice; no oath necessary on taking degrees in Dublin university but those of allegiance and abjuration.

If you will examine the Irish Act of 33 Geo. III. cap. 21, you will see to what an extent of power the Irish Roman Catholics are eligible. If you will consult the Irish stat. 35 Geo. III. cap. 21, you will find that an academy is allowed for educating Papists only, with power to receive endowments, purchase lands, &c. and under which Maynooth college is founded: and the yearly votes of Parliament will shew what this college annually costs the country for its support—an encouragement which no other class of Christians, separating from the national church, enjoys. And if you will take the trouble to examine the English stat. 31 Geo. III. cap. 32. you will see how well, and to what an extent, the religious privileges of the English Roman Catholics are granted and secured.

Thus you will observe, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland are already eligible to extensive power, and very valuable privileges indeed. At the time the first mentioned Act of Parliament passed, which secured these advantages, it was fully understood that Roman Catholics would be satisfied with them, and that the measure would have the most healing and conciliating effect. How far the expectations of the Irish Parliament have been fulfilled, the discontent of the Irish Roman Catholics for some years will too clearly demonstrate."

Having paid so much attention, as we have, to the conduct of the Pope's Nuncio and the suppression of the inquisition in Spain, we add, what for

Jews on that subject, p. 85.—“ Mr. Butler with exultation informs us, that “ *the Spanish Inquisition is utterly abolished* ;” and he exclaims, “ *so perish every mode of religious persecution, by whom, or against whomsoever raised!*” I cheerfully give Mr. Butler full credit for the sincerity of his generous wish ; it may be a proof of Mr. Butler’s tolerant sentiments, but it appears to me to furnish none of the existence of such a degree of toleration in the Romish Church, as that it would be safe to trust her, or those whom she could influence, with the religious interests of Protestants. The ostentation and *eclat* with which Mr. Butler presents this wonderful intelligence to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland, is designed to allay their apprehensions, and to draw their attention from those practices of the church of Rome which are really dangerous to Protestants, to the inquisition which has never much affected this country ; nor is it likely to become an institution of these realms. His dexterity in protecting his church resembles the instinct of the Lapwing, which draws the attention of the sportsman from her nest by the loudness of her cries, and her fluttering, and hovering over the spot, which, while it appears to contain the object of her affection, is, in truth, at a considerable distance from it. If you approach what she is most anxious to protect, she appears altogether unconcerned ; and her cries cease as her fears are augmented ; but she becomes still more clamorous as she succeeds in drawing you from her nest ; and when you have followed her to a proper distance, she leaves her young in safety, and you disconcerted, to gaze at the rapidity of her flight.

But after all, the Romish church has not concurred in this measure. For by the Morning Chronicle newspaper of 31st of March last, it appears, that the ecclesiastics in Spain had refused to promulgate in the churches the decree for abolishing the inquisition, and it is said that this affair has since occasioned some alteration in the government. However, had this decree been carried into execution, what would then have been the degree of religious toleration in Spain ? For it is one of the preliminary and fundamental principles of the new constitution of Spain, as settled in August 1811, that the “ *Roman Catholic and apostolical religion, unmixed with any other, is the only religion which the nation professes, or will profess.*” Here we have a specimen of the practical effects of modern legislation on the subject of religion where Roman Catholics, under the influence of their priests, are the legislators.

To this I shall add Sicily, as furnishing another instance of the intolerance of the Romish Church in these modern times. The first of the articles established in the Parliament of Sicily, and presented to the Sovereign for his royal sanction during the last autumn, is as follows : The religion shall be the Catholic, Apostolical, Roman *alone, to the entire ex-*

elusion of every other. The King shall profess the same, and whenever he shall profess any other, he shall be *ipso facto* deposed from the throne—*Placet Regis Majestati.*”

And as to France, the author of the Appeal gives us, from documents relative to negotiations between Buonaparte and the present Pope, published by the popish booksellers, this remarkable passage from a circular addressed by his Holiness to all the Cardinals; dated Feb. 5, 1808—“ On entend que tous les cultes soient libres et publiquement exercés. Mais nous avons rejeté cet article, comme contraire aux canons, et aux conciles, à la religion catholique, à la tranquillité de la vie, et au bonheur de l'état, par les funestes conséquences qui en dériveraient.”

“ It is proposed that all religious persuasions should be free, and their worship publicly exercised : but WE HAVE REJECTED THIS ARTICLE, as contrary to the canons and to the councils, to the Catholic religion, to the tranquillity of human life, and to the welfare of the state, on account of the deplorable consequences which would arise from it.” Let all Protestants deeply reflect on this !!!

We conclude with what the author says (p. 92) of one whose name is dear to his country, who will be venerated by posterity, and whose soundness of judgment was aided by the correctness of his moral feelings, “ I mean,” (says the author of the Appeal), “ our beloved and afflicted Sovereign, George III; one of the first acts of whose reign was to declare, that the peculiar happiness of his life would ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people whose loyalty and warm affection to him, he considered as the greatest and most permanent security of his throne; and to express the firmness of his invariable resolution to adhere to, and strengthen our excellent constitution in church and state, and to *maintain the toleration inviolable*,—whose long and beneficent reign has afforded an ample and practical exemplification of those patriotic sentiments,—and one of whose almost last official acts was to give his most solemn opinion that the royal assent could not be given to the claims of the Roman Catholics for political power, without an infringement of his coronation oath; and in allusion to which he made the memorable declaration so characteristic of his piety towards God, and of his just and constitutional sense of regal obligation: “ I WISH THE GOOD OF MY PEOPLE. I HAVE FORTITUDE TO DESCEND FROM THE THRONE TO A COTTAGE. I HAVE FORTITUDE TO LAY MY HEAD UPON THE BLOCK. BUT I HAVE NOT FORTITUDE TO BREAK MY CORONATION OATH BEFORE MY GOD.”

OF THE LIBER TAXÆ CANCELLARIÆ ROMANÆ.

(Continued from p. 583, Vol. I.)

We now proceed to give to our readers the account which we promised of the edition of *Bois le Duc*; and which we are sure will prove acceptable to them, not only as it bears upon the question, but as being in itself a great literary curiosity, the book itself may indeed be classed among the *libri rarissimi*. We doubt if there be another copy existing in this kingdom; and probably there are not half a dozen to be found in all Europe.

We give the account in the words of our correspondent, on whose accuracy we have every reason to rely.

"The copy of the *Taxæ Cancellariæ* in the Cheetham Library in Manchester, is the edition printed by *Stephanus Du Mont*, bookseller at *Bois le Duc*, 1664. 12mo. Latin and Dutch. It is intitled "*Taxæ Cancellariæ Apostolicæ—et Taxæ Pœnitentiariæ Apostolicæ* :—Dat is, Schattinga vande Cancellarië en Penitentie-Kamer vanden Paus van Romē,—gecollationeert, gedrukt ende geauteutizert, (p. f31) nae't exemplar von Leo X, tot Romē anno 1514's Hertsogen Busch. By *Stephanus Du Mont*, Boeckvercooper, 1664 ;"—with a wood-cut of the arms of Leo X. in the title place. It is a small thin book, consisting, in all, of two hundred and twelve pages. The first 20 pages, including the title, are not numbered, and contain a dedication and a preface. Then commence the "*Taxæ Cancellariæ*," fol. 1. to fol. 90, inclusive, printed in double columns, the Latin and Dutch being placed in opposite columns. At fol. 91 commence "*Taxæ Sacræ Pœnitentiariæ*," and continue to fol. iii. inclusive. Thence follow 15 pages of extracts from the Paris edition, 1520, as mentioned in the preface. At p. 129 and 130 are "*emendanda ad exemplar Romanum*;" and at p. 130 and 131 is the "*authenticatie*," or certificate of the authenticity of this edition, by Daniel Vander Meulen, and Johan Daesdonck, the two Echevins of Bois le Duc. Dated 10th May, 1664, and signed with the autograph of Vander Meulen. From 133 to 179 are added "*Notæ et observationes ad Taxam Cancellariæ et Pœnitentiariæ Apostolicæ, ex variis authoribus collectæ*." The remaining 13 pages, which are not numbered, contain "*Index Titulorum*," "*Index rerum et verborum*," and an Index in Dutch (*Bladt-wyser over de Taxæ Cancellariæ*.)

"The copy in the Cheetham library is perfect, and in good preservation: it belonged to White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, as appears from his autograph ("*Wh. Petriburg. Ex dono Tho. Gibson, A.M. 1720.*")

"I have here added some extracts from the preface to this book, which are curious and satisfactory. "Præfatio ad pium et Christianum Lectorem.-- Exhibetur tibi, Lector amice, libellus, cujus sic habet inscriptio: 'Taxæ Cancellariæ Apostolicæ, et Taxæ sacræ pœnitentiariæ.' Liber ille, etsi hactenus fugit conspectum multorum, conspectu tamen et luce judicatur dignissimus pluribus de causis. Fœtus est, ni fallor, Joannis xxi, Pontificis Rom. (ad annum 1316) aut eorum quos ille eligendo præfecerat: reformatus quodammodo more Romano ab iis, quibus, sæp. Pius II. seu Leo X. id negotii commiserat; inque lucem editus est variis in locis, Romæ primum, uti apparet, in campo Floræ; mox Colonia Agrip. 1515, apud Geseunum Colinum; - ibidemque 1523. Parisiis anno 1520, apud Tossanum Denis. Venetiis 1584, cum "Oceano Juris," extatque tom. 15, part. 1, f. l. 368, alibi.—Sed nascentem suffocare conati sunt ipsi authores, et in Indice librorum prohibitorum ex patrum concilii Tridentini autoritate, Hispanisrumque regis et Ducis Albeni decreto, Leodii 1570 edito, inter primæ classis authores atro calculo notarent. ***** Cur Patres illi suum hunc fatum latere voluerint ex dictis obscurum esse non potest. Quia vero, quod animus præagit, objecturi sunt, non suum esse hunc fatum, ab aliis, a nobis, a typographo depravatam esse, ab hereticis quos vocant suppositum, casu aut malitiâ oblatum vitium; cavendum esse duxi, et huic calumniæ prudenter occurrendum. Quapropter librum authenticum ex officinâ Marcelli Silber, 1514, Romæ in Campo Floræ, unâ cum Regulis Cancellariæ Leonis X. et modo vacandorum beneficiorum, profectum, ex quo hic libellus ad verbum accuratissime, et quam optimâ fide exscriptus et typis exaratus est, nobiliss. ampliss. clarissimusque Dominis ix. viris Sylvæ-ducen-sibus offerendum censeui, eosque rogandos, ut pro eâ quâ pollerent autoritate, hujus exempli per quosdam e cœtu suo ad hoc deputatos relegendi et cum autographo, ad publicam fidem faciendam, c. nferendi; rovinciam, quod infra pag. 131, factum vides, suscipere haud gravatè dignarentur.—Ne autem hoc tantum libidine nos stare existiment illi, quibus suspectum omne quod limam eorum censoriam refugit, ad manus quoque est exemplar Parisiense anni 1520, apud Tossanum Denis, cum privilegio ad triennium—ex hoc vide excerpta quædam hic fo. 112. Eo etiam usi viri clariss. Fr. Hotomannus in Bruto Fulminæ, fol. 82; Pet. M. linæus in Novit. Papismi. edit. Vesal. fol. 55; Riverus in Cathol. orthodoxo, tract. 3, quest. 18, p. 97, &c. &c. Utrunque hoc, et Romanum e Parisiense exemplar quoque visum est ad tempus aliquod deponi et asservari in domo Stephani Du Mont, civis et Bibliopolæ Sylvæ-ducen-sis, ut siqui bonâ fide volent, videant; siqui negent, videntium fide confutentur.—Huic libello ob argumenti similitudinem adjunctum est diploma indulgentiarum ejusmodi, quarum occasione

Martinus Lutherus ad annum superioris sæculi decimum septimum, sese nundinationibus emissariorum Leonis X. opposuit. Ut autem hic libellus inserviret usui eorum, qui linguæ Latinæ in Belgicâ nostrâ sunt ignari, visum est eum vernacule, quoad ejus fieri potuit, interpretari, et Belgicum textum Latino respondentem ex adverso seu ad latus Dejus, interjectis Columnis, adjicere. Subjunximus ei præterea monetæ in curiâ Romanâ valorem, vocumque quarundam obscurarum, quæ ob barbariem quam redolent, interpretationem vernaculam vix admittebant, explanationem.

“ These extracts comprehend the greater part of the preface.”

Our observations upon this and what precedes we must postpone to a subsequent number.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—As you did me the favour to admit into your valuable publication (p. 321, vol. I.) my defence of the Clergy from the censure of a Right Rev. Prelate, for presenting their petitions against the Catholic claims, I beg leave to offer you some additional observations on the subject; induced by the late discussion in the House of Commons to consider the question still more minutely.

I own I was agreeably surprized at the moderation displayed in the speech of the right honourable framer and mover of the bill, as reported in the newspapers. He seemed to have lowered his tone considerably, and to have descended from that towering height of sublimity to which he aspired on a former introduction of the subject to the notice of Parliament. He appeared to be convinced, with Mr. Canning and others, of the necessity of securities for the Protestant establishment. And he spoke with complacency of the great respectability of the numerous petitioners against the claims, particularly the Protestant Clergy. If such has been the effect produced on his mind by the clerical petitions, which is not improbable, it is an argument in their favour, that they have rendered such a service to the cause; it also affords a proof, that those petitions did not originate in bigotry, intolerance, or hostility to their popish brethren, of all which they have been so unjustly accused, but from a sense of their duty as Ministers of the Protestant established church, and from a thorough conviction that securities are absolutely necessary for that establishment. Much then as I was gratified by the moderate tone assumed by the right hon. gentleman, I was proportionately disgusted at the illiberality of some subsequent speakers, who not only questioned the respectability of the petitioners, but descended to assail them with abuse and calumny. These

are days indeed, Mr. Editor, replete with novelties in opinion. We have now learned, for so we are told by one honourable member with an assumed spirit of jocularly, that the Clergy are to be distinguished into those who have mitres *on* their heads, and those who have mitres *in* their heads. The facetious member has had his joke; and it should seem as if he uttered the sentiment with the view to raise a laugh, and to gain the admiration of the younger part of his audience. The worthy gentleman has lately obtained the great object of his ambition,—a seat in Parliament. A laudable ambition certainly! That step gained, he may very possibly be looking forward to further honours, to offices of trust and power. A laudable ambition also! Perhaps to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer;—an office truly worth ambition, but which requires great skill, aptitude, and readiness in calculation. In order therefore to try his abilities, and to exercise his powers, in that necessary acquirement, I would propose to him the following calculation:—Of the many hundreds of clergymen, who signed the petitions, how many individuals have any chance, any hope, or any wish, for a mitre? His solution of this question will shew the absurdity, as well as illiberality, of attributing such a motive to such a body of men. I would also, with all due humility, suggest to any honourable member, who either has censured, or is disposed to censure, the Protestant Clergy on this occasion, to bear in recollection, that to arraign the conduct of a body of men in a place where they cannot personally defend themselves, being professionally excluded from the House of Commons, is by no means indicative of a generous mind or a manly spirit. Fortunately, however, in that sound and constitutional lawyer, Sir Wm. Scott, in Messrs. York, Peel, Ryder, Robinson, Manners, Sutton, &c. the Clergy found able vindicators of their conduct.

But, Sir, with persons who see the matter in its true and proper light, with persons possessed of a due portion of candour and liberality, (and no doubt they who accuse others of illiberality, intolerance, and bigotry, must be presumed most candid and liberal themselves) the Clergy stand in no need of vindication. It will not, I conceive, be denied, that they have a right to petition, as well as their lay brethren; for such denial would involve a species of intolerance never before heard of. They know it to be their *right* in any case, and in the present instance they feel it to be their *duty*. They feel it to be their duty to defend their Zion, when assaulted and in danger. Of the nature and degree of that danger, I conceive, *they are at least* as competent judges as any of the laity. They have studied the question professionally; and I see not by what new process of chemical casuistry, even in this inventive age, it is to be maintained, that a man should be disqualified for giving an opinion, or presenting a petition,

on a subject peculiarly connected with his profession. It has indeed been asserted, that in this business the Clergy are acting out of their proper sphere, that it is a question of state-policy, with which they have nothing to do. To so weak an assertion the veriest child in understanding may reply; it might therefore be sufficient to give it a simple denial. But, Sir, the Roman Catholics themselves well know, that it is not merely a question of state-policy; else, why, at the very time they are demanding the full and unreserved concession of their claims, do they refuse to give any security to the Protestant establishment? Why do they withhold even that poor pittance, that shadow of a security, the *Veto*? The Protestants also, you may be assured, as well as the Roman Catholics, fully understand, that it is not merely a question of state-policy. It is evident, that the grand object of the Roman Catholics must be, the restoration of their religion and the re-establishment of their church; on this principle, that their's is the only true religion, their's the only church of Christ on earth. Now they well know, that, if they were at once to throw off the mask, and openly insist on the full extent of their wishes and their claims, by declaring that nothing would satisfy them short of the overthrow of the Protestant church and the ascendancy of their own, a Protestant government and nation would rise up as one man, and firmly and decisively repel their demands. But it is possible that the same end may be obtained in a covert way, which would fail when openly avowed. The attainment of political power then, it is clear, is the only way by which they can hope to acquire religious ascendancy; and this would probably soon be within their reach, if once we were to admit them to a share of legislative and judicial authority. This certainly is, and ever must be, the principal point with the Protestants, to exclude the Roman Catholics from the Legislature, from seats in the courts of justice, and from corporations. It has indeed been urged against us, in the way of reproach, that we resist their claims, because we wish to keep the good things of the state, the leaves and fishes, to ourselves. But this is an unworthy and unjust accusation. Places of emolument merely, unaccompanied with power, we should not be disposed to refuse them; but to give them the power of enacting, interpreting, and executing, laws for a Protestant nation, and regulating the concerns of a Protestant church, would be a palpable anomaly, a direct act of political suicide.

I will now advance a point further, and will for a moment divest the question of the religious considerations involved in it. I will take it merely as a question of state policy, and as having little or no relation to the ecclesiastical part of our constitution. Under that view, as it will confessedly cause an essential alteration of the constitution, various opinions will

doubtless be entertained in respect to its propriety, its necessity, its advantage, together with its general effect and bearing upon our civil policy. In this the clergy surely have an equal and common interest with their lay-brethren. Why then are they to be excluded the privileges of stating their sentiments, and presenting their petitions on the subject? Do they, by becoming Clergymen, cease to be Englishmen? Or does a regular education, by qualifying them for the holy calling to which they have devoted themselves, disqualify them for studying and understanding the history, the laws, and constitution of their country? Surely it will not be denied, that, as a body, they are as capable of information on these subjects as other men! Surely then they will not be denied their *benefit of Clergy*! Let the liberalists of the present day only act up to their own professions of liberality, or let them do but common justice to the Clergy, and we shall hear no more of these silly prejudices.

It is indeed lamentable to observe, how prevalent with many, even in these enlightened days, is the want of correct information respecting the nature and genius of Popery. They will not look, or look only superficially, into the works of our great Protestant Divines. They shut their eyes against the very principles on which the reformation proceeded, and the revolution was established. Thus they vilify those two great events and expose them to contempt, as if the former were unnecessary, and the latter unjustifiable. They moreover advance and maintain opinions that have been refuted again and again; they assume, in behalf of the Roman Catholics, positions and principles, which the Roman Catholics themselves deny and disclaim. (See the Protestant Advocate, and the Anti-Jacobin Review, *passim*, particularly vol. 28, 278, &c. and 44, 149, &c.)—The Parliamentary advocates of the Roman Catholics say, that their principles are changed; the Roman Catholics themselves, on the contrary, maintain that their principles are not only unchanged, but unchangeable. (See Dr. Troy's "Pastoral Letter," 1798, and Mr. F. Plowden's "Case Stated," 1791.)—Their advocates say, that they disclaim the infallibility of the Pope; and Lord Holland, in particular, is stated to have asserted, that every Catholic in Ireland disclaimed it upon his solemn oath. Now hear the Roman Catholics themselves. Mr Charles Plowden, a priest, in his "Considerations on the modern opinion of the fallibility of the Holy See," 1790, insists on "the infallibility of the Pope;" endeavours to prove, that "it is not dangerous to civil government, and that it is particularly advantageous to the Catholics of Great Britain;" and asserts, that "it is as necessary for the constitution of the church, and the preservation of the faith, as the infallibility of councils themselves." Mr. Francis Plowden,

in his "Case Stated," says, "the decrees of a general council, in matters of faith and morality, when approved by the Pope, and received by the church, are absolutely infallible, and not liable to deceit or error, and that all Roman Catholics are obliged implicitly to adhere to them." Dr. Troy, a Popish Archbishop, says, (in his "Pastoral Letter," 1793), "the church is infallible in her doctrinal decisions and canons, on points of faith and morals; and therefore the Catholics are obliged to adhere implicitly to such decrees and canons of the church assembled in general council, and confirmed by the Pope as rules of faith. They are also obliged, in like manner, to submit to similar decisions and decrees of the Pope, when expressly or tacitly assented to, or not differed from, by the majority of Bishops, representing and governing the church dispersed; on these points all Catholics are agreed, as immutable articles of faith." Thus we see how pertinaciously Roman Catholics themselves, in direct contradiction to the assertions of their Protestant apologists, maintain the infallibility either of the Pope, or of general councils, or of both; the infallibility, in either case, of human and consequently fallible beings; a tenet, the folly of which would be a subject only for contempt, did not the blasphemy in which it is founded excite a sensation of horror. Why will respectable senators thus expose themselves to an awkward alternative,—the imputation of ignorance or wilful misrepresentation? The only way to get rid of the difficulty is, by adopting the distinction of the Roman Catholics into two classes, the moderate and enlightened, and the bigotted and unenlightened; and by supposing, that their parliamentary advocates have taken the measure of their tenets and opinions from the former only, (who probably deny, or qualify, the doctrines of infallibility, &c.) without giving themselves the trouble of any further inquiry.

It is no less lamentable also to observe, how little the nature of the church appears to be understood. Instead of an institution of the Lord Jesus Christ himself, with its divine ordinance of sacraments, and apostolical appointment of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, it is too often considered as a mere human establishment, a creature of the state, on which it is wholly dependent, and to which it consequently ought to be implicitly subservient; that it must therefore in all cases bow to the dictates of civil policy. A more erroneous idea cannot possibly obtain; for this would be to make the church any thing or nothing, never the same, but carried to and fro by every wind of human caprice or human folly. It may indeed be adopted by the state, taken under its protection, and interwoven into its constitution; the government thus becomes its nursing father, and the defender of its faith. But its faith, its sacraments, its institution, its ministration, its unity, its spiritual character, must ever be

the same, unaffected by the various modes or forms of civil government, uncontrollable by the changeful schemes of civil policy. Of this church of Christ the Protestant church of England claims to be a sound branch; it is a pure and a true church, scriptural in its doctrine and in its constitution; the church of Rome we allow to be a true church, because scriptural in its constitution; but we deny it to be a pure church, because unscriptural in its doctrine, having introduced many erroneous tenets and adopted numberless superstitious practices. But the grand characteristic feature of the church of Rome is, its claim of supremacy over independent nations, thus dividing and usurping a portion of the allegiance due from subjects to their natural and rightful sovereign. This claim has been most luminously disproved by the learned Bishop of St. David's, in his two late invaluable letters to his Clergy; and I have elsewhere endeavoured to shew it to be a palpable usurpation.* Yet the Papal devotee, in defiance of scripture and all history, refuses to relinquish, and pertinaciously maintains it. At the same time he still asserts his claim to an equality of privileges and benefits with his Protestant fellow-subjects, whose allegiance to their sovereign is preserved whole and undivided; he demands an equal participation of political power and legislative authority in the state, whilst he refuses an equality of submission and obedience to it. Is this quite consistent with equity?—Protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties. Privileges and obedience are likewise reciprocal, and should be proportioned accordingly; the more unreserved the obedience paid, the greater should be the privileges conferred. But open the door to the Papists, and how will you exclude from the sanctuary, persons of any other persuasion, or people of no persuasion at all? The Jew who disbelieves the advent of the blessed Saviour of the world, the Socinian who denies his divinity, the Quaker who rejects his sacraments, the Deist who believes no revelation, the Atheist who believes no God; all will rush in like a flood, with their claims of civil rights: and having obtained political power and legislative authority, what is afterwards to hinder them from aiming at complete ascendancy, and effecting the establishment of their religious tenets? and amidst the collision of such various, opposite, and contending sects, inflamed by re-

* See *Anti-Jacobin Review*, vol. 44, p. 80, &c. On this and other leading doctrines and usages of the church of Rome, the great Popish champion, Dr. Milner, has been repeatedly challenged to the field of controversy, to defend his church and her tenets against the arguments of various Protestant Divines, who have set themselves in array against them. But he continues silent. See *Anti-Jacobin Review*, vol. 44, p. 160, note, in which his silence is interpreted into a consciousness of inability to defend his doctrines.

ligious zeal and enthusiasm, and renouncing the spirit of toleration, where would be the security for the peace of the nation? This plain statement shews the necessity of Protestant establishment and Protestant supremacy, and by consequence the necessity of tests and securities, by which they may be upheld and preserved;—but take away the present safeguards, and what security have the Papists either the inclination or the power to offer? for without the Pope's consent they profess to do nothing.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

CLERICUS ANGLICANUS.*

MELANCTHON'S NINTH LETTER.

The Effects of the Papal Supremacy on the State of Society.

In my seventh letter, (see vol. I, page 610) I shewed how the sovereign princes of Europe, and many of their most enlightened subjects, made grievous, but unavailing complaints of the galling yoke,—the monstrous exactions and heavy oppressions of the court of Rome, from the beginning of the 12th, to the middle of the 16th century.

The reformation of the church had become hopeless, as all attempts to accomplish it had been frustrated by the subtle artifices of the Popes and their interested adherents. The Emperor Sigismund earnestly endeavoured to effect it, at the council of Constance, and many decrees were passed for a purpose so desirable, but they were all baffled by the crooked policy and cunning devices of the reigning Pope.† In like manner, the council of Basil attempted to reform abuses, and to restore the rights and liberties of the church, but to little purpose; for when the Pope saw their designs, he prorogued the synod and adjourned it, first to Ferrara and then to Florence; after which not a word was said of reformation.‡

At length, in the 16th century, many popish princes, and their subjects, particularly the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and the Elector of Bavaria, insisted on having a general council called, to correct the mass of errors which had gradually crept into the church. Though, at first, the Protestants refused to abide by the judgment of the Pope, their well known and decided enemy, they did not decline the determination of

* We are happy in seeing this Correspondent's able letter in the Protestant Advocate. We made four distinct efforts to insert it, but could not sooner accomplish our purpose. We intreat his indulgence, and request the continuance of his powerful assistance.

† Richerius Hist. Concil. General. lib. II, c. 3. p. 261.

‡ Idem.

a general council ;* and in the assembly at Augsburg, they and the Romanists agreed on a council, as the umpire of their differences. At this the Pope was so much alarmed,† says Mezeray, that he wrote to the Kings of France and England “ that he would do any thing they should desire, provided they hindered the calling of a council.”

The Protestants stated various abuses and corruptions of the Romish church, under a hundred articles; entitled *centum gravamina*. I give the first by way of specimen.—“ Most Bishops, and their officials, not only allow Priests to keep concubines, on condition of paying a tax, but also compel those respectable Priests who choose to live continently, to pay the tax of concubinage, under the pretence that my Lord is in want of money.”‡

It is universally well known, with what difficulty the council of Trent was obtained from the Pope, or rather extorted ; what entreaties, what threats and importunities, the Emperor used, and yet he could not succeed during one entire pontificate, and that no very short one ; all the Roman Catholic Princes joining in the request, but to little purpose. Paul III shifted it off as long as he could, by delays and excuses, and by such tricks and devices as proved his deep-rooted aversion to it ; but at last it was extorted from him. However, dreading that the monstrous power which the Holy See had acquired should be in the smallest degree diminished, he obtained a complete ascendancy in it, by ordering that nothing should be proposed for discussion, but by his own legates, and

* Father Paul's Hist. Council Trident.

† History of France, an. 1530.

‡ See in my 2d letter, p. 264, the origin and policy of preventing the Romish Clergy from marrying ; and when it took place, they were allowed generally to keep concubines.—See the price of an absolution and dispensation, vol. I, p. 577. Pope Pius V, on his accession, meant to have put down the licensed stews at Rome, but the senate petitioned against it, because they were necessary to protect modest women from the criminal desires of the Clergy. (Thuanus, lib. 39.) Nicholas Clemangis, an eminent French Divine, said, that in many dioceses the Priests paid annually a stipulated sum to the Bishop for a license to keep concubines.—(De corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu, p. 15. 2. Idem de presulibus Simoniacis, p. 105.)—Sleidan says, that in Switzerland the parishioners often obliged the Priest to keep a concubine.—(Comment. lib. 3.)—John, Suffragan Bishop of Saltzburg, said, that most of the Priests in Germany kept concubines.—(Onus Ecclesiæ, cap. 21.)

Ignatius Loyola lamented that the same took place in Spain.—(Ribadeneira in vita S. Ignatii, cap. V. p. 103.)—St. Bernard, who lived in the 13th century, complained loudly of the effects of this inhibition to marry at Rome,—“ Where,” he says, “ simony, concubinage, and incest, are sure to find favour, if their solicitations be accompanied with money.”—St. Bern. Epist. ad Eng.

that nothing should be concluded without his direction. Lest this should not be sufficient, he took care that it should be attended by a great majority of Italian Bishops, who were entirely at his devotion; and if an accession of any Prelates from France or Germany, or from any country beyond the Alps, happened to resort to it, new levies were sent from Rome to watch their motions* and to out-number their votes. Thus constituted, it is not surprising that, instead of reforming abuses, the members of that council introduced new ones. They defended, they made decrees to confirm, and anathematized those who should dare to oppose the Pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, the adoration of the host, communion in one kind, invocation of saints, adoration of images and reliques, purgatory and indulgences. But had the Fathers of that council made any reformation in the church, it would have been completely defeated by the following decree, passed in the 25th session, "that in all the decrees concerning reformation of manners, and ecclesiastical discipline, with what words or clauses soever made, under Paul III, Julius III, and Pius IV, it should be understood that the authority of the Apostolic See is always excepted and reserved."

So that the issue of the assembly was, to establish the papal authority in the utmost latitude; and by making it superior to a council, a measure which was condemned as heresy by the councils of Constance, Basil, and Pisa, it left the door open for all the corruptions of the Romish church, and rivetted on its votaries, more than ever, the shackles of superstition, and exposed them to its tyranny and rapacity. By its 9th canon, it prohibited the celebration of mass in the vernacular tongue of any country, in the following words:—"If any one shall say, that mass ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, let him be anathema."† And yet the contrary was earnestly solicited and desired by the Emperor, the Kings of France and Poland, the Duke of Bavaria, and other Popish Princes. But notwithstanding their importunities, seconded by the most persuasive arguments, yet, in plain contradiction to scripture, and to the antient church, in defiance of reason, and the common sense of mankind, the church service was continued in a language not understood by those who heard it, nay, many times, not even by those who read it.

Pope Alexander VI, in a brief sent to the clergy of France, relative to a missal translated into their language, then newly published, said,—
"Some sons of perdition had arrived at that degree of madness, as to

* Rinuccini, the Pope's Nuncio, did the like in the meeting of the confederate Catholics at Kilkenny.—Carte, v. 2. p. 17.—See that assembly described in Prot. Adv. vol. I, p. 238.

† Considerations on the Council of Trent.

" translate and publish it; a novelty we ~~abhor and detest~~, as the seed
 " plot of disobedience, ~~rashness~~, ~~schism~~, and sedition, and of many
 " ~~other evils~~; and therefore that French missal, and ~~what~~ of the same
 " nature shall be hereafter published, we ~~condemn~~, reprobate, and for-
 " bid."

When the 23d session of the council was passed, the Emperor wrote to the Cardinal of Lorrain, that the impossibility of doing good in the council being palpable, he thought it was the duty of a Christian and wise Prince, rather to support the present evils with patience, than to cause greater by attempting to remedy them.* The king of the Romans said, after the 23d session, " that it was right to finish the council, because it did no good; nor gave any hope that it would."†

The Cardinal of Lorrain told the Bishop of Vintimiglia, " that it was plain by long experience, that though his holiness promised many things, yet nothing was executed in council."‡ Espencæus, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who was present with him at the council under Pope Paul III, could not be persuaded to go with him under Pius IV, because he perceived, that nothing would be done in earnest about reformation.§ He also said of the council " that nothing was amended, but all hope of reformation was dashed.|| Claudius Sanctius, another Sorbonne doctor, who attended the Cardinal of Lorrain to Trent, in a letter from thence to his colleague Espencæus, congratulated him on not having gone to the council; " for, (he says) I believe it would have been death to you, to see the vile arts that are used to prevent reformation."** All Christian Princes, says Richerius, for more than 200 years, printed for reformation; and at length, instead of one that was true and genuine, they had one that was counterfeit and imaginary.†† The French ambassadors openly declared in the council of Trent, that the Kings of France, after the example of Constantine, Theodosius, Valentinian, Justinian, and other Christian Princes, made laws for the regulation of the church; that instead of displeasing the Popes, they inserted them in the canons of the church; that the chief authors of them were thought worthy to be canonized and declared saints; and that the Bishops, and the whole ecclesiastical order of France, had governed the Gallican church according to those laws.‡‡ The French

* Soave, lib. VIII, p. 727.

† Idem, p. 789.

‡ Soave, lib. VIII, p. 692.

§ Richerius, lib. IV, pars. 2, p. 189.

|| Idem, p. 480.

** Mémoires pour le Concil. de Trent, p. 441.

†† Idem, p. 181, 182.

‡‡ I prove all this in my first letter, vol. I, p. 213.

ambassador entered a solemn protest against this council, (see *Mémoires*, &c. p. 494.) All the impious errors of the preceding general councils, and canon-law,* were confirmed by this council of Trent; for it was decreed in its 25th session, cap. xx. "Be it therefore known to all men, that the most holy canons, and to be exactly, and as far as possible, *indiscriminately observed by all.*" In its 14th session, cap. 5, it extolled the 4th Lateran council, and declared one of its definitions to be the voice of the whole church.† To prove that the Popes were the fountain from which all these evils flowed, I shall produce two unexceptionable authorities; the first is the select council of Cardinals and other Prelates, deputed by Paul III to acquaint him with the abuses, and what were the best expedients for reforming them; and they reported to him, upon oath, that the origin of the evils which the church groaned under, was, that some of the Pope's predecessors having itching ears, had invited to them teachers after their own lusts; not persons from whom they might learn what to do; but people, by whose art and cunning they might find out a way to make what they listed lawful; so that the will of the Pope, whatsoever it was, might be the rule by which his actions might be directed. "From this fountain," said they, "as from the Trojan horse, so many abuses, and such grievous diseases, have broken into the church of God, that it is brought almost to a desperate condition."‡ This was the voice, not of one single Cardinal, but of many united, and of those among them who were thought the most eminent.

The next authority which I shall produce on this point, is the judgment of one of the better sort of Popes, Adrian VI, in the year 1521, who confessed in the diet of Nuremberg, "that many things to be abominated had been for many years adopted by the Holy See: abuses in spiritual matters, excuses in commands, and that all things were out of order: that the disease had descended from the head to the members, from the Pope to the other Prelates. "As for what concerns us," said he to his legate, "thou shalt promise that we will use our utmost endeavours, that this court, from whence, peradventure, all this evil did proceed, may be first reformed; and as the corruption has flowed thence to inferiors, so the health and reformation of all may proceed from the same."

* The reader will find copious extracts from in them in my 3d letter, vol. I, p. 304.

† Doctor Jeremiah Taylor, the pious and learned Bishop of Dromore, said of that council, that it made transubstantiation an article of faith, and rebellion and treason the duty of subjects.—*Polemical Discourses*, p. 520.

‡ Richerius, lib. IV, pars. 2, p. 137. Sleidan's *Comment.* lib. XII. Thuanus, lib. XXXV.

§ Orderius Raynaldus, tom. XX.

What becomes of the boasted infallibility of the Romish church, when the Fathers at Trent made a solemn decision diametrically opposite to the decrees of former general councils, on so important a point as the extent of the Papal supremacy; when two Popes unequivocally acknowledged the multitude of gross errors and abuses which had crept into it, and when a select committee of Cardinals, employed by Pope Paul III to investigate and report them, acknowledged upon oath their existence. Their report* exhibited such instances of vice and immorality, as no country or city, not even Pagan Rome, ever presented. It contained a strong recommendation to abolish the taxes of the Romish chancery, or *Liber Taxæ Cancellariæ Romanæ*, (see Prot. Adv. vol. I, p. 474, 574,) as it occasioned great laxity of principle, an incontrovertible proof† of its existence, and its practical bad effects. The Protestant Princes of Germany published a copy among their reasons for rejecting the council of Trent.‡ By order of that council, Pope Pius IV added to the creed of the church 12 new articles§ never heard of before, and, by a bull, he made the belief of them necessary to salvation. This must be considered as a new faith, and it makes the Romish to be a new church.

The Rev. Doctor Milner, Bishop of Castabala, in pages 93 and 97 of his *Ecclesiastical Democracy*, quotes the general councils of Constance, Basil, Florence, and Trent, as of *infallible authority*; and he calls the 4th Lateran, by way of distinction, *the great council*.

He also asserts, that the discipline of the council of Trent is as obligatory on five millions of British subjects as the doctrine of seven sacraments:|| that Bishops have exclusively a right to judge and decide on all matters of faith and discipline; that, supposing a [Roman] Catholic to have a seat in Parliament, if he should dare to vote on any question touching the dis-

* Concil. select. Cardinal. et alior. prælat. de emendandâ ecclesiâ. an. 1538.

† Is Sir J. C. Hippisley aware of this proof? That gentleman has treated this subject, too lightly. He calls the tract entitled "*Rome the great Custom-house of Sin*" a "*fabrication, built on the Taxæ Cancellariæ Romanæ*." We maintain that it is merely a translation of the official tables in the Romish chancery.—The Baronet admits something, in the opinion of his own party, when he says that one is *built* on the other; he admits the solidity of the *foundation* at least. But we defy him to disprove the identity of the two documents. He says, that to attempt a refutation would be "*a degrading penance*."—We affirm it to be an impossible task.—See Substance of a Speech said to have been spoken Friday, May 18, 1810. 2d edition. p. 81-2.—*Editor*.

‡ Heideggeri myst. Babylonizæ, tom. 2. p. 350.

§ See them in Prot. Adv. vol. I, p. 445, contrasted with the articles of our church.

|| Letters from Dublin, 1811, p. 114.

discipline of the Irish church, he becomes *ipso facto*, a schismatic; that he is consequently to be denied the benefit of the mass, and of the sacraments; that the Pope may crown one King as he did Buonaparte, and uncrown another.

Doctor Troy, Titular Archbishop of Dublin, in his famous Pastoral Letter, p. 31, insists on the infallibility of general councils; and he states the following to be infallible, the 4th Lateran, A.D. 1215, Constance 1414, and Trent 1545.

Doctor O'Connor, a Roman Catholic Priest, possessed of extensive erudition, and respected for his candour and veracity, truly observes, that the discipline of the council of Trent was rejected even by Catholic France, because it claims a temporal power over Sovereign Princes, and declares Bishops in many cases independent of the state, and that therefore it is contrary to one article of the oath of allegiance which is prescribed by law for Roman Catholics to take, viz. that no foreign Prince or Prelate has, or ought to have, any temporal power within the realm, &c.* He further observes, that it is singular they should acknowledge this, "at a time when they are claiming, as a right, to be admitted to the unrestrained benefits of the constitution."†

What reliance can a Protestant state have on the principles of its Roman Catholic subjects, if they must implicitly obey the dictates of their Bishops, who are bound not only by their consecration-oath, but by various general councils, to exercise many acts of hostility against such a state.‡

In the course of the dreadful rebellion of 1641, the confederate Roman Catholics of Kilkenny were compelled, often, to violate the most solemn engagements, and even their oaths of allegiance, by the terrors of excommunication denounced, by their Prelates, against such persons as would not obey them.§ And now the Bishop of Castabala, denounces as a schismatic, and threatens with the same terrors, any popish Member of Parliament, who should presume to vote on any question touching the discipline of the Irish church; though, in the hands of the Titular Prelates, it has, for 300 years, produced dreadful calamities and disgraces in Ireland. Could a person with such a constraint imposed on him by his bigotted Clergy, who are bound by the fundamental principles of their religion to subvert a Protestant state, make a proper member of its Legislature?

* Historical Address, part II, Payne London, 1812; p. 112, 113, 114, 115.

† Idem, p. 131.

‡ See my 3d letter, vol. I, p. 304.

§ See Feast of Religious Liberty at Kilkenny, vol. I, p. 232, 240, 241, of this work.

In the year 1799, the Irish Titular Bishops, assembled in synod, voluntarily agreed that the King should have a negative in the appointment of their Prelates; and they communicated their determination to government; but, at the instance of the Pope, they have since changed their minds and have resisted it with great vehemence; and they have compelled their flocks, who were eager for it in the year 1808, to follow their example.*

By what criterion then can the government ascertain the principles of the Irish Roman Catholics, when they are constantly fluctuating;—

- “ Their principles of action once explore,
- “ That instant 'tis their principle no more,
- “ Like following life, through creatures you dissect,
- “ You lose it in the moment you detect.”

Doctor O'Connor, therefore, has truly said, “ that the Catholics of Ireland hang to this day a millstone round the neck of the Constitution.”†

I shall give another proof that the popish Clergy of Ireland acknowledge the Pope's deposing and dispensing power. Doctor O'Connor observes, “ that notwithstanding the oath of allegiance by which Roman Catholics swear, that the Pope has no power over the temporalities of states, yet the Irish titular Bishops assembled in synod at Tullow, so lately as the 5th of June 1809, extolled as just, holy, and legitimate, those bulls of Pius VII, by which he absolved all Frenchmen from their oaths of allegiance to the Bourbons, expressly alienating not only the crown of France, but also the property of all French loyalists, secular and ecclesiastical, and hurling down from their Sees, above a hundred French Bishops, who were guilty of no other crime than that of a conscientious regard for their oaths, and fidelity to their prince, and this too, without even stipulating for a compensation, without giving them a trial, though they demanded it; without giving them a hearing, though they prayed for it; without granting them that which was not denied to the Irish, even by Cromwell—any species of capitulation.”—*Historical Address, part II, p. 5.*

The Doctor quotes, in p. 3, the appeal of the French exiled Bishops, against the bull of Pope Pius VII, “ *Qui Christi Domini vice*, published at Rome, Nov. 29, 1801; and against his bull, “ *Ecclesia Christi*,” August 15, 1801. “ This appeal,” he says, “ I had the honour of re-

* See vol. I, p. 244.

† Historical Address, part II, p. 170.

ceiving from the hands of the late Bishop of St. Pol de Leon, who had it printed by Dulau, London, 1804."

It appears that the English Vicars Apostolic maintained the same principles; for Doctor O'Connor, in p. 36, says,—“ In a letter written by the Vicar Bishop of Castabala, to a French Priest, dated Wolverhampton, so lately as September 6, 1811, which is now before me in his own hand, I find the following passage :—“ It was agreed upon by all the four English Bishops in synod, in February last, that Priests receiving faculties in future, should declare their assent to the following propositions, (a test in favour of the Pope's infallibility !) 1st, that they hold communion with his Holiness Pope Pius VII; 2. that they do not believe the said Pope to have fallen into heresy or schism; 3. that they do not consider him as being the author or approver of any schism.” The English and Irish Titular Bishops must have been conscious that Pope Pius VII. was guilty of an enormous breach of religion and morality, by his time-serving policy, in pronouncing a sentence of dethronement against a pious monarch, the legitimate successor of a long race of kings, in favour of a low upstart, contaminated with every crime that could debase human nature, by absolving his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and by hurling from their Sees above a hundred venerable Prelates, whose only crime was inviolable fidelity to their liege sovereign. They vainly hoped to varnish over the enormity of his conduct, by their synodical decisions; but the principles of truth are immutable. Their determination in support of Papal infallibility, reminds me of the following dogma of Cardinal Bel-larmine, one of its vehement asserters; “ though it may be a sin to depose or kill an excommunicated Prince, it is no sin if the Pope commands you to do so; for if the Pope should err, by commanding sin, or forbidding virtue, yet the church were bound to believe that the vices were good and the virtues evil.”*

In the course of my seventh letter, I proved that the emperors enjoyed

* As soon as the Romish Pontiff heard of the massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris, he expressed great joy, ordered that the Cardinals should return thanks to the Almighty for so signal an advantage obtained for the Holy See, and that a jubilee should be observed over all Christendom.—*Thuanus*, lib. 6. sec. 14.—Pope Sixtus V. excommunicated Henry III, King of France, as a heretic, because, contrary to his orders, he spared the blood of his Protestant subjects; and he granted nine years' indulgence to such of his subjects as would rise in arms against him; upon which Jacques Clement, a Friar, assassinated him with singular treachery. In a public consistory held at Rome, the Pope, in a long premeditated speech, applauded the virtue and firmness of the Holy Friar; declaring that his fervent zeal towards God, surpassed even that of Judith and Eleazar, and that this assassination was brought about by Divine Providence.—*Thuanus*, vol. 4, p. 767, *Buckley edition*.

a complete supremacy in the Christian church, till the close of the 11th century, and that, while they continued to do so, its doctrines were tolerably pure, and answered the purposes of its divine founder: that in the year 1073, Pope Gregory VII, who may be regarded as the founder of Popery, usurped that supremacy, after which he and his successors framed an intolerant and sanguinary code of laws, which emanated from their avarice and ambition, which were contrary to the fundamental principles of Christianity and the leading attributes of the deity, and which were calculated for the subversion of every state, and the destruction of every individual, that would not implicitly submit to, and acknowledge, those new-fangled doctrines of the Holy See. I shewed that this system, on whose infallibility the most eminent modern Romish Divines insist, has been, for many centuries, a fruitful source of treasonable conspiracies, rebellions, and massacres, and that its practical effects have been experienced in our own times in a most alarming degree. And yet, horrid to relate, some modern politicians, actuated by a rash spirit of innovation, are desirous of removing those barriers and safeguards, which our ancestors raised in defence of our glorious constitution, against that system framed for its destruction!

MELANCTHON.

EXTRACT FROM CLARENDON.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—I congratulate you on the close of your first volume, and send you, as an offering for the first number of the second, the following profound observations of that *true churchman and great statesman* the Earl of Clarendon, on **THE POPISH QUESTION**, extracted from his last posthumous publication, Oxford, 1811.

Yours, &c.

INSPECTOR.

Religion and Policy, &c.

“The principal care must be taken of those spiritual persons, the *ghostly fathers*; and if they be suffered to govern over the consciences of their *penitents*, without entering into any kind of obligation themselves, for their *fidelity to the crown* (as none of them do), it is no matter what *oaths* are administered to or taken by the *laity*; nor can less than an *entire and absolute renunciation of any kind of submission to the Pope*, as well in *ecclesiastical as temporal affairs*, be in any degree a reasonable assurance of their dutiful and peaceable behaviour.”—Vol. II. p. 671.

“ And if the *Pope* be allowed to exercise *any authority* in another prince's dominions, (how limited soever the same may seem to be), under the stile of *spiritual*, or any other restraint, it shall, by the artifice and comments of his emissaries, the *priests*, be extended to such a magnitude in the hearts and affections of the subjects, as shall be strong enough to disturb and shake all the *temporality*, when it shall be applied to that purpose. And therefore any pretence to the *whole* must be renounced; and those *oaths* taken by the *clergy*, and by *all priests* who shall be suffered to abide within the kingdom, as well as by the *laity*, whose obedience can never be ascertained, whilst their consciences are governed and directed by men who are not under the same obligations.”—P. 679.

“ The *penal laws* make no distinction between Catholics who take the path of allegiance and they who refuse the others: the former being as punishable for going to mass, as the latter. It is no wonder, therefore, that they will not expose themselves to the reproach of many Catholics, and the censure of their own ecclesiastics, when they find not the more protection from Protestants; and when priests themselves are, at the same time, *excommunicated* for taking the oath of allegiance, and *condemned to greater penalties* for the discharge of their functions in saying mass.”—P. 709.*

ORANGEMEN VINDICATED.

Convinced as we are of the loyalty of Orangemen, of the pure patriotism which fills their bosoms, their attachment to the British constitution, and the Protestant religion; we shall ever deem it a duty to expose the injurious falsehoods fabricated by Popish contrivance, and to counteract the slanders propagated against them by industrious malice. Ireland has been made to ring again with alleged atrocities committed (as was basely asserted) by Orangemen at Emma-vale, or Emyvale, in the county of Monaghan, on the 19th of June last. We have seen an engraving, in an Irish magazine, representing armed Orangemen firing on some poor defenceless creatures assembled at a fair held in that place, and a most horrible account of what happened; all set out with an intent, as we fully

* The title of Lord Clarendon's work is, “ Religion and Policy; and the Countenance and Assistance each should give to the other. With a survey of the Power and Jurisdiction of the Pope in the Dominions of other Princes. By Edward, Earl of Clarendon, &c. &c. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1811.” The names of the trustees, under whose auspices the work was printed, are, William Earl of Mansfield, John Lord Bishop of London, the Right Hon. Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Dr. Cyril Jackson, late Dean of Christchurch.

believe, to prejudice the Orangemen in the opinion of their countrymen, and to deprive Protestants of those trusty guardians, to whom it is owing that Ireland may yet be reckoned a Protestant country. Mr. O'Connell was employed as counsel against the men charged with the murderous outrage. At the last assizes but one, the trial was put off, on the motion of the prosecutors; and at the late assizes, which commenced at Monaghan, July 31st—the prisoners were all acquitted.

As in the county of Monaghan, so in the county of Antrim;—our readers may remember the flaming statement which appeared in the public prints, concerning a dreadful massacre at Belfast on the 12th of July;—the Orangemen who were indicted for murder, (because in self-defence they endeavoured to repel an attack on their lives!) have all been acquitted by a most respectable jury; whilst four of their opponents have been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for an assault, and Bench warrants have been granted against six others who have absconded. In the course of a long and patient investigation which took place during the trial, the conduct of the Orangemen at large (true to the great principles of the association) was proved to have been *peaceable, orderly, and forbearing*; and that of the mob maliciously premeditated, wanton, and outrageous, fermented with the leaven of 1798.

We caution Englishmen from putting credit in the misrepresentations of the Popish faction, convinced, as we are, that they have no conception of the lengths to which low Papists will go to serve their purpose. The Romish vulgar are as fully convinced as the most refined casuists of that superstition, that whatever is done to advance the interests of their religion,—*in utilitatem Ecclesie*,—is certainly venial, if not meritorious.

We turn from the contemplation of such disgusting wickedness, and we feel a pleasure in recording the gratitude expressed by Orangemen to the exalted characters who have defended them against their enemies.

At a Meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge of the County of Antrim, held in Antrim, on Monday, 9th of August, 1813:

It was resolved,—That, it being the object of the Orange Institution, “to support our good King and Constitution, and the Protestant succession to the throne in his Majesty’s illustrious house:” we have beheld without surprise, the utmost efforts of sedition uniformly directed against it.

That, conscious of the purity of our motives, and the utility of our association, we are enabled to view with just contempt, the unmerited calumnies and vulgar abuse, with which the columns of certain public prints are frequently filled.

That, our principles being open and avowed, we neither shrink from

inquiry, nor dread the result of the most rigid investigation ; and shall be always ready to submit our rules, regulations and proceedings to his Majesty's government whenever required so to do.

That, our warmest and most grateful thanks are justly due, and most respectfully offered to the Marquis of Huntley, to our worthy and truly constitutional representatives in Parliament the Earl of Yarmouth and the Hon. John O'Neill, to Lord Kenyon, Lord Lowther, Lord Kirkwall, Edmund Alex. M^cNaghten, Esq. who long and faithfully represented this county, and to the numerous body of senators, who in the late arduous session of Parliament, have firmly and successfully supported the Protestant ascendancy, and our excellent Constitution as by law established, against dangerous innovation.—Signed by order, —

BENJAMIN NEELY, G. S.

APPLICATION OF IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS TO THE SPANISH CORTES.

In p. 619 of the 1st vol. we suggested language proper for the Spanish Cortes to adopt in their answer to the Irish Roman Catholics ; and in p. 649 we put words into the mouths of the latter respecting the condition of the Protestants in Spain. We find that our friends in Ireland have been busied in a similar good work, and as they have touched upon a topic not even alluded to by us, but very appropriate, we beg leave to insert the following passage, taken from that loyal print, the DUBLIN JOURNAL, of August 17th, a paper which we know to be honoured with communications from several distinguished characters.

“ In the address which the Papists are to make to the Spanish Cortes we recommend the following paragraph :—

“ Always anxious to promote the objects of that great hero, the Emperor of France, whose mild and benignant rule, by the intrigues of “ England, you have, and for reasons only known to you, rejected. We “ have withheld from your rebellious and ungrateful neighbours, the “ Portuguese, and from the suffering Spaniards, any aid to alleviate distress, occasioned by their obstinately opposing the pacificator. Not a “ Catholic of Ireland contributed a shilling but one weak man, and that “ by stealth. This conduct of ours you will doubtless approve, when “ you shall have recalled the Holy Nuncio of the Pope, who has but “ acted with you as our Nuncios do in Britain and in Ireland.”

“ The foregoing will have the merit at least of truth ; for when the Protestants of the United Kingdom subscribed large sums for the suffering inhabitants of the Peninsula, but one Roman Catholic in Ireland contri-

buted, and that secretly, lest he should be injured by the Papists. Have they given any thing to the Russians? But can it be supposed they would help the Greek Church, when they would not offend their idol, Buonaparte, by aiding the Romish?"

POPISH NON-INTERCOURSE RESOLUTIONS IN IRELAND
NOTICED.

It is universally well known, that the Government and Protestants of Ireland have been many years endeavouring to conciliate its Roman Catholic inhabitants, but the under-mentioned incident, among others, will evince how unavailing their efforts have been. The following notice, conceived in the very spirit of the American non-intercourse bill, and Buonaparte's maritime system, was recently posted on the doors of many Roman Catholic chapels in the counties of Roscommon, Mayo, and Sligo.

"Resolved, That no person, professing the Catholic faith, shall buy any goods or value of any kind in town and country, fair or market, from such as are not members of the Catholic faith."

"Resolved, that all journeymen, servants and labourers, professing the Catholic faith, shall work for no other persons but such as are of their own communion."

"Resolved, that no Catholic shall buy any wares from tradesmen, not professing the Catholic faith."

"Resolved, that all the Catholics are at liberty to work for and serve those Protestant landholders, and other liberal minded Protestant gentlemen, that never were known to go into any party business."

It was stated in the Mayo Constitution, a newspaper printed at Castlebar, that, "at a select meeting of delegates from several parts of the county of Mayo, on the 25th of August 1813, the said resolutions were unanimously agreed to." It cannot be a matter of surprise, that the Popish multitude in Ireland are deeply imbued with a most furious fanatical hatred against our *heretical* state (as they deem it), and Protestants of every description, as heretics; since their priests are bound by their canonical oath to infuse into them the doctrines contained in the general councils of their church, which are dreadfully intolerant and sanguinary. They begin this pious duty at the age of six years; for at so early a period are the rising generation obliged by the laws of their ecclesiastical polity to attend the confession-box. In the month of June last, I sent you a sanguinary oath, binding the Popish multitude to extirpate heretics whenever an opportunity for that purpose may present itself;—an oath which they have been in the habit of swearing for some years. I sent you, at the same time, some extracts from the canonical oath of a Popish

priest, and from those cruel and intolerant laws of his church, which he is bound to inculcate on the minds of his people. You inserted them in p. 498 of your first volume. The reader, on perusing them, will, I am sure, agree with me, that any privileges, how extensive soever, granted to the Irish papists, will not tend to *conciliate* them; and that nothing can secure the tranquillity of Ireland, and the lives and prosperity of his Majesty's Protestant subjects there, but a powerful military force, and a strong and vigilant police. Your correspondent Melanethon, in his fifth letter, inserted in your first volume, p. 434, has shewn the dreadful effects of these sanguinary doctrines of the Romish church in Ireland, in the 16th and 17th centuries, long before the Irish Papists experienced any penal restrictions; which fact utterly explodes a fallacy often resorted to by the partizans of Popery, viz. that the restrictions have been the cause of the violent commotions which have agitated Ireland, and the revolting atrocities which have disgraced it; this is most untrue; the horrible, the inhuman conduct of the Papists made those restrictions necessary—and since Popery, as the Romanists themselves have told us, remains unchanged, it is very clear that the Papists are prepared to act over again the tragedies that have agonised the very heart of Ireland. I, therefore, from long observation of manners, principles, facts, and persons, developed under my eye, feel myself justified in repeating that *nothing but a powerful military force, and a strong and vigilant police can secure the lives and property of his Majesty's Protestant subjects in Ireland.*

Sept. 1813.

SOMERS.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We thank *Filiolus* for his letter of July 13, post-paid. We are not disinclined to animadvert on the speeches, &c. of Protestant prelates advocating the Popish claims;—but we decline making observations on their conduct within their dioceses, in matters not connected with Popery. We are obliged by *Filiolus's* hints, and shall be glad to hear from him.

We have received the letter, dated July 31st, printed in the Belfast Chronicle, signed "*a Presbyterian and Friend to the Abolition of Political Distinctions on account of Religious professions.*" It refers to other papers not in our possession. We cannot, properly, print it. It completely does away the pretended fact stated by Mr. O'Connell. We beg to thank D. B. who transmitted the letter; and shall at all times be glad to receive Protestant intelligence, or a detection of Popish artifices, from Down.

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For NOVEMBER 1813.

"It is in the nature, it is interwoven in the frame and make of that furious superstition, [Popery,] never to spare what it calls Heresy, when it has the power of destroying it: and I challenge all the world to give an unexceptionable instance to the contrary."—*Bp. Fleetwood.*

ON THE STATE OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE IN IRELAND.

THE actual state of religious knowledge in the sister-island, is a matter of great importance, and richly deserves the serious consideration of all those who have contemplated the Roman Catholic question. If the bulk of the Irish people, the peasantry and artizans, be well instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, if they be able to read their Bibles, if they be industrious and peaceably disposed, if they be attached to their country's laws and constitution, loyal to the King, and influenced by tolerant and liberal opinions towards the professors of the Protestant religion; the Romanists merit high praise, and the country feeling and witnessing the moral good effects resulting from the labours of the Romish hierarchy, from the titular archbishop down to the village pastor, ought to receive the highest commendation which Christian politicians can give. But if the mass of the Irish population sit in dark ignorance, if the Bible be almost unknown to them, if they be idle and tumultuous, if they manifest a very slight attachment to the constitution, deem the King hardly a Christian, and divide the allegiance due to him with a foreign potentate, (if the Pope, under existing circumstances, can be styled a potentate) if we find them full of prejudices, and treating as consigned to eternal misery all those who do not join in the adoration of a consecrated wafer;—whilst we deeply deplore their sad condition, we are bound to endeavour to remedy it; and we cannot but resist the proposal to entrust political and legislative power to those who are so ill-prepared to use it to good purposes, or rather so likely to abuse it. To hear the accounts which some give of Ireland one might be disposed to fancy that it had become again, what in the "palpable obscure" of the dark ages it was

denominated, an island of saints—*insula sanctorum*. Some of our countrymen, some young Englishmen, who have visited Ireland, have returned enraptured with the development of manners which they witnessed, and give the Irish people the highest character for urbanity, hospitality, and easy good humour, for hilarity never clouded, and a happy contentedness not to be ruffled. They have seen nothing in the deportment of the priests savouring of tyranny, and nothing in that of the people which betrayed secret disquiet. Nay, they tell us that the Protestants of Ireland, themselves, are friendly to the Popish claims and would almost make us believe that it must be peculiarly desirable to sit under Papal domination, to submit to the dictation of an *index prohibitorius*, to accept prescribed modes of thinking, and to wear a padlock on the lips. Can that be true which the old gamekeeper said when his humanity was called in question about sewing up the mouths of ferrets used to make rabbits bolt,—“they like it?”—“Skin for skin, yea all that a man hath will he give for his life;” so said Satan once, and doubtless the great tempter may be allowed a deep knowledge of human nature. We know that every thing dear to Irish Protestants, and even their lives, in some districts, depend upon their saying nothing offensive to the religious ideas of the Romanists. Under such circumstances it is not to be thought that the Protestants will wantonly provoke the tender mercies of those among whom they dwell. Their silence proves their wisdom, and their self-command demonstrates their prudence. We doubt not but their silence is often construed into approbation, and their qualified expressions tortured into testimonies in favour of the rife superstition which rages around them. For a man to lay a snare for his own life without a cause, were folly in the extreme; but spread once more (which God forbid!) the green flag of rebellion, and the very men who are now supposed to acquiesce in the projects of Popery, if not to promote them, will dare the last efforts of its rage, and will no more surrender their principles than the Protestant martyrs who were piked at Wexford-bridge, or burnt in the barn at Scullabogue. However proper they may count it, at present, to keep their thoughts to themselves, they will then glory in avowing them; and the young gentlemen who excite a momentary surprise when they tell us that in Ireland there are Protestant advocates for Popish claims, will find themselves egregiously mistaken if such a crisis were to take place. Satan was at a fault when he calculated on the patience of Job; the Maker of man best “knew what was in man.” Our young travellers form an erroneous judgment on the Protestants of Ireland. They know the value of truth too well to surrender it, though they do not think it decorous to fling it in the teeth of their neighbours;

and they esteem the religion of the Bible too highly to barter its vitality for the imposing ceremonies and flaunting exterior of the religion of Rome. The Irish papists, as we suspect, with all their open gaiety of heart, are a little too deep for our young tourists, who cannot discern the bigotry which influences them, when exercising the rites of conviviality, and inundating their guests with claret. It is not to be expected that a correct idea of the state of religious knowledge, and just bearings of religious politics, can be formed in such scenes;—not to say that the standing rules of polished society will not allow of certain discussions in the dining or the drawing-room; and therefore we cannot much wonder at the favourable reports which have been made of the temper, and disposition, and liberality of sentiment prevalent amongst the Irish of the Romish persuasion, and the apparent willingness of the Protestants to coalesce with them, and to further their ultimate views.

A document of great importance was placed in our hands the other day by a good Protestant who lives in Portland Place; it gives a most interesting picture of the state of religious knowledge, and its slow progress, in Ireland, drawn by eye-witnesses, who have penetrated into the interior of the country, and furnish us with a great deal of information concerning the readiness of a few to receive instruction from the Bible, and the reluctance manifested by many, and those persons of great influence, to permit the circulation of the Scriptures, and to promote an effort to bring the mass of the Irish population acquainted with the word of God, “which is able to save their souls.” In the year 1806, a society was instituted in London, called “*the Hibernian Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge in Ireland*,” and very soon after it was formed, it attracted the notice of a partizan of the Romish church, who published a pamphlet, entitled “*an Address of a Christian Philosopher to the Hibernian Society, in London, for the Diffusion, &c.*” The author looked upon the institution as an attempt “to rob the Irish of their religion, or to cheat them out of it;” but the intolerant spirit by which he was actuated was pointed out very early, and very clearly, by the Rev. Thomas Le Mesurier, in a note appended to his “*REPLY to certain Observations of the Right Rev. Dr. Milner, &c.*” Mr. Le Mesurier published his *REPLY* in 1807, and it was republished with the other tracts relating to the modern Popish controversy in 1809; (see the next article in the present number of the *PROTESTANT ADVOCATE*.) Mr. Le M. (p. 234) points out to the reader that the “object of the society is professedly the diffusion of *religious* knowledge in general, not at all to advance the *Protestant* faith in particular. Accordingly, the tracts which it proposes to distribute are none of them controversial; it abstains from at all meddling with the disputed

points between the established church and the Papists. I had before heard (says Mr. Le M.) of this society, and had, indeed, heard with surprise, that it prescribed to itself those limits; because to a Protestant living among Papists it must appear a very imperfect manner of declaring the truth. But I was told, at the same time, that this was a matter of necessity; that to distribute tracts against Popery would be a service of too much danger; and therefore the society must be content to do not all the good which they desired, but all which was in their power." Mr. Le Mesurier contented himself with stating the "philosopher's" flimsy objections, and tracing the outline of his reasoning. Nothing could be weaker, nor could any more flagrant example be produced of the contempt with which every true son of the Romish church looks down upon every one who, in his vain apprehension, comes under the description of an heretic.

We shall not pass any judgment on the Hibernian Society, whether they have prescribed to themselves a sphere of duty too widely extended, or too narrowly contracted. We are content to receive, as founded, the account given by the society in the statement of their own proceedings. If they profess to impart *religious* knowledge to Ireland, in general, without any particular declaration of hostility to Popery, we conceive that persons of the Romish communion should receive it thankfully, and should not fastidiously take offence where none is intended, or scornfully reject the religious information so liberally offered. We have reason to believe that Bibles are very thinly scattered over Ireland; and we know the hindrance thrown in the way of those who wish to read it, by the church of Rome. But, aware of the predilection which Englishmen have for the Bible, should not the Romish clergy make some allowance for what they ought to count a *prejudice of education*;—and should they not give the society credit for *good intentions*, at least, in offering the poorer Irish the most valuable gift that they have in their power to bestow? Mr. Le Mesurier (REPLY, p. 188) tells us, that the prejudices of the Irish Papists (he means those of the lower classes) "are founded in the grossest ignorance.* We have heard of the abomination in which the reformers were

* "And this ignorance is the more gross and incurable, as it is watched and kept up by those who pass for their instructors and teachers. Should any of the lower Irish presume to read the Bible, or even any religious tract written by a Protestant, he would, according to his own apprehensions, endanger his everlasting salvation. For upon such an offence, unless expiated by a severe penance, excommunication would follow, and a denial of the sacraments; of course exclusion from heaven: for "into that place," St. Pius tells us, "no man can enter, without those to whom the keys have been entrusted by God."

held by some of the Popish soldiers, on account of a *new book* which they had composed in Greek, called the New Testament; and at this day it is equally current among some of the Irish Papists that the Bible has been *written by the English clergy*." We learn in addition from the Society's pamphlet, (p. 12) that "a young man, now qualifying for the office of schoolmaster, has declared, that he never heard of the Bible until the noise made in the country respecting the schools and the Scriptures excited his curiosity, and rendered him inquisitive. In order that he might be enabled to read the Bible, he placed himself in one of the Society's schools, where he still continues, and has made great proficiency in the Irish Scriptures in both characters. This young man is likely to prove a valuable acquisition to the Society." We doubt not but it will appear almost incredible that ignorance like that which certainly prevails in some provinces of Ireland, can be found in any Christian country. Deeply, deeply do we deplore the opposition which has been made to the Society's endeavour to disseminate the word of God in Ireland.

We are not disposed to give any opinion on the plan adopted, or the measures pursued by the Hibernian Society. We wish not to make its members parties in the great question which we have presumed to *advocate*. We leave them to follow the dictates of their own minds. All that we shall do is this, to lay before the public some of the *facts* detailed in the little *brochure* now before us, containing their seventh report, just published as we conceive, being the report for the current year 1813. These we shall select in their order, and whilst some of them fill us with regret, a few appear consoling, and cannot but operate on the Society as powerful incentives to perseverance.

Concerning the practicability of the Society's schemes, and the ultimate attainment of their object, it appears (p. 6) that "doubts can no longer reasonably be entertained. A wide and effectual door is thrown open. What has been done in twenty instances may be done in thousands; and facilities, countenance, and aid, from respectable Protestants in Ireland, for prosecuting the plans of the Society, may be expected in proportion as their practical utility is known, and seen, and felt. It is true the spirit of persecution still exists, and occasionally manifests itself. It is remarkable, however, that, in general, little opposition has been experienced from the priests at the commencement of the schools. Thus, they have been allowed to obtain a foundation, and a measure of consistency and strength, before the hostility began. This hostility has sometimes been extremely violent, and, in a few instances, fatal. The violence of these attacks, however, notwithstanding temporary and partial injury, fir-

quently paves the way to future success, and a more solid establishment of the schools. It rouses the neighbourhood to some degree of reflection. The people are struck with the strangeness of the proceeding, and discern in it more of the jealousy and wantonness of power than the dictates of either reason or religion; even, according to their low conceptions, of what reason and religion require. Thus their prejudices, to a certain extent, are loosened. When the shock has in a good degree subsided, a few of the parents venture to send their children to the school again, and the courage of these emboldens others, until at length, with few exceptions, the injury is repaired, and the hostility of the priests entirely defeated. Still the same spirit continues to work; attempting, silently and secretly, to sap and undermine that which it cannot violently overthrow. In some instances, the number of children in a school suffers, by these means, a material diminution."

Our next extract is of a mixed nature. It commences at p. 7:—"in the barony of S—— an attempt to open a school entirely failed, through the interference of the titular bishop of the diocese. One or two schools have been totally destroyed. The ruin of one of these was solely the effect of intimidation. The parish priest publicly accused the parents, and, with violent and awful imprecations, threatened to make the ground open, and swallow up them and their families, if they persisted in sending their children to the school. The master has, in consequence, with a wife and four children, been reduced to a state of absolute want. Few priests, however, are thus outrageously violent in their opposition, and some of them do not seem even to disapprove of the schools. In the county of L—— there is a school in the parish mass-house, under the direction of this society. In a very extensive school, taught by a highly useful and active master, the priest has no objection to the children reading the Scriptures, provided they do not commit them to memory. Some of the priests object to neither. Of these, one has even sanctioned the schools at the altar. A Popish bishop, who attempted to shut up all the schools in the county of S——, endeavoured to establish a Roman Catholic school in opposition to them. This attempt, however, has entirely failed, and he now occasionally visits one of the largest and best of the Society's schools, which is situated in his immediate neighbourhood, and apparently with a friendly disposition. During the last year an attempt was made by some of the Protestant clergy, at an episcopal visitation, to denounce the schools as sectarian. This charge, originating from misapprehension, was successfully repelled by a clergyman present, who has zealously promoted them, and is fully acquainted with their utility, as well as with

the disinterested designs of the Society; who declared it was absolutely impossible that the schools could be in hostility to the established church. A clergyman in the parish of E—, who was previously hostile to them, having had their nature and the general object of the Society more fully explained to him, has now become the steady friend of both. Indeed, the plan upon which the schools are conducted is so excellent and unexceptionable, and their effects so valuable and important, that they cannot fail to obtain the approbation of candid minds, wherever they are properly known. A Protestant bishop has lately preached a sermon in express recommendation of the Society's plan."

We may here observe, that the number of scholars educated at the expence of the Society is 3000, comprising an augmentation of at least 800 since the last [annual] report. Beside these, "the benefits of Christian instruction are not confined to the number of children taught at their expence, but are extended to all the children who attend the same schools. So that the total number who, according to their capacity, have free access to the fountain of Christian knowledge, by means of the Hibernian Society, is not less than 4,500 children. . . . It has been calculated, that to cover all Ireland with schools of Christian instruction, that is to place a school in each of its 2,400 parishes, and by these means to educate 200,000 poor children, would not cost £5,000 sterling per annum." It appears (p. 10) that "the increase of the schools above stated, has been effected principally in the north-west parts of Ireland, the boundaries of the respective lines gradually extending to the south, east, and north. In some parts the lines of the schools run out, to an extent of fifty or eighty miles, passing through, crossing in different directions, and entering the borders of several of those counties which have for ages been most profoundly involved in the darkness and depths of Papal superstition." It is added (p. 11) that "the experience of the last year has also afforded ample additional evidence, that the native Irish, who have renounced Popery, and have been qualified under the direction of the Society, are best adapted to promote its objects. They are more perfectly acquainted with the character, prejudices, and habits of the Catholic poor. They enter with greater ardour into the designs of the Society, and discover superior zeal and activity in promoting them. Having, whilst under instruction themselves, been habituated to the reading of the Scriptures, and imbibed a relish for them, they feel no small pleasure in teaching them in their schools. Besides, schoolmasters of this description are never likely to be again under subjection to the priests."

During the last year (p. 14), seven "young men, who were supported by the Society, and have enjoyed the advantages of tuition under a highly

respected clergyman, in the south of Ireland, who was alluded to in the two last reports, have commenced their labours. Five are stationed over schools situated in four different counties, under the countenance and protection of Protestants of great respectability, who speak in high terms of their exertions and usefulness. These schools contain a very considerable number of children, about two-thirds of whom are the children of [Roman] Catholics. By their sedulous attention to their duties, and their exemplary spirit and conduct, the young men have even extorted support, countenance, and commendation from their very enemies. Some time since one of them was attacked, in the midst of his school, upon the controverted points, by a Popish priest, who appeared to be armed with all the popular arguments in defence of his errors. The young schoolmaster, however, by a simple knowledge of his Bible, and a plain application of the great truths of it, put the priest effectually to flight, and he has not since disturbed him.

“Of the two other young men, not stationed over schools, one has been appointed a sergeant schoolmaster, a situation lately created in the Irish militia, and of singular importance, especially when filled as it is in the present instance; since the strictness of military discipline thus comes in aid of sound Christian principles. A steady, pious, and devoted young man, occupying such a situation, exempt from military duty, and solely engaged in the enforcement of religious principles and precepts, occupies a sphere of usefulness of no ordinary kind, and with the Divine blessing, may prove an instrument of lasting benefit to multitudes.

“The remaining young man of the seven is gone to conduct a school of 500 children, on the property of a gentleman in the county of D—. The present meeting will not hear without a high degree of pleasure, that this is the first of five schools which this gentleman intends, in succession, to establish on his estate. If from no higher motives than those of a sound policy, and an enlightened self-interest, may the Protestant gentlemen of Ireland be induced to copy this truly commendable example.”

The following passage (in p. 16) oscillates between hope and despair. In the neighbourhood of Cork a school has been opened. “The first week 60 children attended. This number was soon increased to 100. A month, however, had scarcely elapsed when, by the secret influence of the Catholics, it was suddenly reduced to 50. It has since advanced again to 112; but not quite a fifth of this number are the children of Catholic parents.”

Hitherto our extracts have been taken from the Report—we come now to the Appendix, consisting of seventeen articles, furnished to the Society from their correspondents and functionaries in Ireland. The follow-

ing occurs under No. I. p. 25.—“ There are three principal causes which powerfully operate to support the Catholic religion in Ireland. The priests see their interest and emolument depend on its support, and look forward to great things;—the multitude are devoted to it from an ignorant persuasion that it is the only true religion;—and the men of respectability and property, actuated by political motives, watch against every thing that would affect their religion, as tending to weaken their party, lessen their consequence, and frustrate their political designs. Connected with all this, and the cement of the whole, is the nature of the connection between this country and England. The Catholics look upon this as founded in oppression and injustice. All the old Irish families, down to the peasant and the beggar, are full of the opinion that the estates formerly the property of families who bore their name, of right belong to them individually. The Catholic religion is regarded by the politicians among them; as the great barrier between them and a cordial union with England; proving it to be the chief engine to work upon, and keep up the hostility of the multitude. From certain experience I find, that conversion to God turns the disobedient to cordial submission to, and rejoicing in, the connection of this kingdom with England. Not a Catholic has been benefitted by the labours of this Society who is not, in this respect, a changed man, and as truly loyal as he was before disaffected. A case in point occurs while I transcribe my journal. John H——, a young man, brother to our Irish teacher, whom I mentioned before as brought to the knowledge of the gospel, when he came to carry off his brother from this place, has returned from his father's residence, in the upper part of this county (a wild district bordering on the county of Mayo). He left our school to help his father in his spring work, but was obliged to fly from it; being in constant danger from the change in his religious views, and fearing every night that he should be dragged out by a party, and sworn into their rebellious combination, or lose his life: to avoid this, he purposes immediately to go to England for labour, that he may enjoy safety and a good conscience.

“ To return: I conversed with a young man I met proceeding in the same direction. He was a Catholic, and had learned his catechism; but could not tell me who was Jesus Christ—why he came into the world, or where he now is? Alas! this poor young man is not singular in his ignorance. I have met with many, very many, who make conscience of all the commands of the priests, equally in gross darkness. I took all the pains in my power to instruct this youth.”

The next passage comprises a postscript to a letter from the same person whose journal furnished the last extract; it appears in p. 27:—“ P. S. I

cannot close without mentioning a circumstance that shews the dreadful delusion of the lower order. O'H——, when expostulating with the people for losing the opportunity of educating their children, from their blind subjection to the priest, was answered, How can we go contrary to his commands? Is he not God on earth? This poor young man can now with difficulty get a lodging in the parish, and happening to lodge a night in the next parish, the coadjutor called at that house by order of his priest, as he stated, and informed the family that they must be at the expence of having mass said in their house, to purify it from the pollution it received by the admission of such a wretch."

No. 3, (p. 28) from the same—(date, Sept. 29, 1812.)—"Last spring two young men, with impediments [defects] in their sight, called at my house. They were harpers, educated to that profession by the Belfast Harp Society, which has been formed with a view to revive our national instrument. They were both rigid Catholics, full of ignorance and prejudice. The day after their arrival the youngest of them, a mild pleasing young man, was attacked with an alarming inflammation in his stomach. His companion, the day after, fearing immediate death would be the issue, requested of me the liberty to call on the priest, to give him the rites of his church. I told him it was a step I could not sanction, though as I looked on all interference with the liberties, even of a deluded judgment, to be a species of persecution, I would not prevent the priest from coming if the poor young man persisted in desiring it, after I had spoken to him, I spent some time conversing with the afflicted person, as he was able to bear it. He listened with great attention, and the issue was, that he seemed not to be anxious for the priest. Shortly after it pleased God to restore him, though he was so reduced by the violence of the distemper that he could not leave my house for three weeks, during which time his companion remained with him. Hearing [lessons] every day repeated on the nature and evidence of salvation, their attention was excited; they both spent much of their time in our school, and before their departure they entertained very strong doubts on the subject of their religion. They left this place each of them furnished with a Testament, in order that they might have it read to them when opportunity offered. Some time after this they parted. The eldest returned to Belfast, I trust, with a witness in his conscience which he will not easily silence; and the youngest, James M'M——, proceeded to the counties of Roscommon and Galway. In the latter place he was in the zenith of Popery; and here all that he witnessed, instead of removing his doubts, multiplied and confirmed them. Such were the ignorance and bigotry of the poor in this country, as to prevent their giving him a draught of water as he passed, because, as he

could not speak Irish, they deemed him a heretic ; even among the great, he beheld nothing but gross superstition, deep ignorance, and great disaffection. Passing from the county of Galway, he came to W——, and in the family of Mr. C—— had again the much desired opportunity of having the Scriptures read to him by Mrs. C——. Hearing the character of Mr. G——, he went to church, and was astonished and pleased to hear from him sentiments similar to those he had heard here. He then resolved to pay us another visit, and arrived here about three weeks ago: His progress, since his arrival, has been truly astonishing. He is alive to nothing but the gospel. From morning till night he is occupied in committing portions of Scripture to memory ; C——, before breakfast, and after the family retire to rest, is employed in reading, repeating, and conversing with him on the subject. D—— and C——, whom he soon discovered to be suitable mates for him, read to him during the day ; and some of my family assist him in the evening, after school-hours. His harp lies neglected, and he sighs for some way of support more congenial to a Christian life ; for although he has much joy indeed from his discovery of divine truth, the prospect before him, as to getting through the world, causes him many heavy hours. Conversing on that subject, he said, “ I must go to America, or to England. I cannot stay in this kingdom. The Catholic gentry are the principal patrons of the Irish harp ; to them I have been taught to look for support, and I have experienced their bounty : but my present views cut off all my expectations from that quarter. Each of them has his chaplain ; some from devotion, but most because it is respectable to keep one. In these families, each morning is ushered in by the celebration of mass, and the assistance of the harp is esteemed the revival of a part of the splendor and solemnity of their religion ; but I dare not now do it ; I could no longer countenance such an abomination.”—The writer expresses an opinion that a surgical operation might obtain for this young man the use of his sight. He is mentioned again under No. 5, (p. 31.)—“ I find myself particularly interested in the case of James, the young harper ; believing that, if spared, our Lord intends him for great usefulness. His want of sight, and consequently being unable to read, may appear to disqualify him for serving in the gospel : but yet I have never met an individual, however qualified, that has, for the time, made such a proficiency in the knowledge of the word of God ; not merely in committing it to memory, but in the ability to understand, and rightly to apply it. He can already repeat near fifty chapters, and those of his own selection ; among which are Isaiah liii. and liv., Ezekiel xxxvii. and xlvi., John xv. xvi. and xvii., the first ten chapters of Romans, Ephesians i. and ii., Galatians i. iii. and iv., 1 Co-

rinthians i. and ii., 1 Thessalonians iii. and iv., a part of the Hebrews, from chap. ix. of which, he overturns the doctrine of transubstantiation; the whole of the three epistles of John and that of Jude. His thirst for spiritual knowledge continues insatiable, and his application is only limited by the opportunity of getting others to read to him. His abhorrence of error is in proportion to his love of the truth, which indeed is great."

Who but must deplore what follows, under Appendix, No. 8, (p. 93.) For obvious reasons, too shocking to mention, only initials are used;—speaking of the district of K. it is stated that—"in this neighbourhood reside the friends and family of the schoolmaster H——. As may be expected, they are the objects of much persecution on his account, as well as for the influence which his instructions have had upon some of them. In fact C——, who went to see them, represents them to be under fears, if not of assassination, of expulsion from that part of the country. Of the justice of this apprehension you will have some idea, when informed that H——, at the time he resided with his family there, having disposed of no small part of his goods to people of some property in the neighbourhood, the priest, when apprized of it, authoritatively proclaimed, "that no one indebted to H—— should pay him a sixpence, and that if he presumed to call for payment, he would send him to one who would pay him in the manner he deserved."—Have our young travellers passed through Ireland with their eyes shut and their ears closed?

Again (p. 37);—"Since I wrote you last, two very large school-rooms have been fitted up, and a committee-room, with all necessary conveniences, at an expence of about £40. The very first week we had 60 children, and soon had above 100. The fourth Sunday after it was opened, one of the Popish priests gave notice in his chapel, that "no Catholic parents were to allow their children to go to our school, upon the highest penalties the church could inflict." In consequence we lost at least one-half of our scholars. The committee, on the Monday following, appointed another gentleman and myself to write to the priest. We drew up a letter, and sent it him accordingly. The purport of it was to enquire whether the report was true;—and if so, whether it did not arise from some mistake or misapprehension of our design. He returned us for answer, that he acted under the authority of his bishop, who had determined not to allow any of his flock to attend the schools where any but Catholic books were used, or where the teachers were Protestants.

"We have now about 112 scholars. Notwithstanding the authority of the mother church, we have still 19 or 20 Catholic children."

The following is part of a letter from a military officer, dated Sept. 28, 1812 (see p. 39).—"The inhabitants of this country are very poor, and, in general, very ignorant and superstitious; and nothing but the mighty power of God can be expected to work a radical change. They believe, implicitly, in what their priests tell them, and every one who asserts any thing to the contrary is esteemed their enemy. Any thing that bears the resemblance of English they are taught to abhor. I have known the priest even refuse baptism to the children of Catholic women who had married Protestant soldiers, because, to use his own words, the father was a heretic, and the woman had sold herself to the devil. Such is the detestation kept up by the priests, in the minds of the lower order, against Protestants; and while the horrid system of confession continues, it will be so. When the Lord graciously opens the minds of any to receive the truth, all around is immediately a scene of persecution: they are publicly cursed by the priest, from the altar, before the whole congregation; and very often they are obliged to leave that part of the country, where they have resided, to escape the fury of these sons of the church."

Our readers by this time will have formed a pretty accurate idea of the state of religious knowledge in Ireland, the pains taken to suppress it, the wretched bigotry which prevails in that country, and the dark ignorance which overspreads it. It is not that land of liberality which some suppose, and others chuse to represent it.

Before we conclude, we beg to say that the Hibernian Society seeks to attain its object "by means of schools, in all of which the Holy Scriptures are daily taught, and into which no sectarian book is admitted; by the dispersion of Bibles and Testaments, and plain religious tracts; and by the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ." It appears, from a note subjoined to the Report, that persons who choose to confine their donations to *any one* of these modes of accomplishing the views of the Society, may rely upon their being strictly appropriated to the purpose that may be specified. We think it but proper to add that we personally know the worthy treasurer, who is a magistrate for the county of Middlesex, and that the Society owes him a balance of more than £700. The report is printed by T. Rutt of Shacklwell, but no name of any bookseller appears.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE REFORMED
RELIGION, RECOMMENDED BY THE EDITOR OF THE
PROTESTANT ADVOCATE.

(Continued from page 25.)

25. *Tracts on the Roman Catholic Question ; viz. 1, Serious Examination of the Roman Catholic Claims ; 2, Sequel to the Serious Examination ; 3, Reply to Dr. Milner's Observations on the Sequel ; 4, Supplement to the Reply, being an Answer to the Vindicator of the Remarks on the Bishop of Durham's Charge. By the Rev. Thomas Le Mesurier, Rector of Newton Longville, in the County of Bucks ; and late Fellow of New College, Oxford.*

If our readers will be pleased to turn to the 333d page of the first volume, they will see that we mentioned the first of these Tracts, at the time when we took the liberty of recommending, for general perusal, the author's excellent pamphlet entitled "A Plain Statement of the Roman Catholic Question." In the edition of 1809, (the "Serious Examination" was first published in 1805,) the Tract is accompanied by the others that followed in the course of the controversy ; and we feel convinced that we shall do great service to the Protestant cause by calling the public attention afresh to the whole *suite* of tracts. Mr. Le Mesurier's reading is very extensive, and his mode of conducting an argument is admirable. The acumen of intellect which he possesses, fits him in an eminent degree for contending with Dr. Milner and the other Popish advocates. He exposes their sophistry, and frees historical, legal, and theological truth from all the entanglements with which those artful apologists for error delight to fetter it, and tears off the imposing vizor which they are pleased to bind upon its face. This volume takes up the Roman Catholic Question from the year 1805, when (in the month of March) the petition of the Irish Roman Catholics was presented to the two Houses of Parliament. A copy of the petition itself is given in the Appendix to the *Sequel*. All the late debates arise out of the terms of the petition, and therefore, by reading it, set out at length, and attending to Mr. Le Mesurier's Examination of the assertions made in it, and the claims which it urges, the defence made, by Dr. Milner and his associates, and the refutation of their reasoning by Mr. Le Mesurier,—any attentive reader may obtain a well-grounded and connected idea of the principal points in dispute. It were very easy for us to detail the whole of the matter contained in this valuable book. It were only requisite to copy into our pages the very copious tables of contents prefixed to the whole collection

But we shall pursue the same mode in this instance which we adopted in others; viz. we shall extract a good many passages from the work, which may at once serve as specimens of Mr. Le Mesurier's manner of conducting the controversy, and furnish the readers of the *PROTESTANT ADVOCATE* with many interesting facts, and many useful arguments concerning the question.

We ought to state, by way of giving a notion of the size of the volume, that the *Preface* extends to xvi pages; the *Serious Examination* is comprised in 81 pages; the *Sequel* to the Examination in 84; the *Appendix to the Sequel*, consisting of 14 articles, numbers lxvii pages; the *Reply*, with its additional notes A and B, reaches 247; and the *Supplement to the Reply* 42 pages; making 537 in all.

Our first extract shall be taken from page 4 of the leading Tract: "Under an arbitrary government, such as are that of Russia and some others, the Roman Catholics may perhaps be left without any restriction, because in the appointment or removal of his ministers or servants, from the highest to the lowest, the sovereign is under no sort of controul: not only he may remove from office, but he may imprison or banish, or even put to death, an individual who shall disturb his government, without any of those forms, without any of that public and direct proof, which in this kingdom are required to be adduced and observed, before a man can be put under restraint, or even stopped in his machinations against the state.* In this country it is wise, nay, it is necessary, to prevent by restrictions and disabilities imposed by law, a danger which cannot thus be summarily obviated or effectually kept under.

"Such at least was the reasoning of our ancestors when they enacted the laws from the operation of which the petitioners require, nay, claim as their right, to be relieved. And it must not be forgotten by those who seek to be informed on the subject, that it is the institutions of our ancestors, at the very period when our liberties were most clearly defined and established, which are now brought into question, and that if indeed the members of the Romish Church have been made subject to "† Humiliation and ignominy," this was so settled by those very statesmen whom we have been used to venerate as models of political wisdom, and as being equally enlightened and liberal.

* This is evidently spoken of the general course of justice: and must be taken to be true, notwithstanding the statutes which occasionally pass for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Proclamation of Martial Law, &c. These are exceptions which only prove the rule. The relief sought for by the Petitioners is against the general law of the kingdom.

" They thought it, I repeat, not safe, and not even compatible with the existence of a Protestant Church in this country, that members of the Romish persuasion should be allowed to have any share either directly or indirectly in the administration, of even the lowest departments in the state. They did it, as I think it will be found, upon good grounds; they did it after abundant experience of the mischief which was produced in their time, by the existence within the realm of a body of men, who were avowedly hostile to one part of its constitution, and whose consciences, were by the very nature of their religion subjected to the will and controul of a foreign potentate, most directly interested in subverting the government as it was and is established.

" By the laws of this realm, as it has existed ever since the reformation, the King is declared to be the head of the church as well as of the state. There is no Roman Catholic that does not consider this as a direct usurpation upon the lawful power of the Pope: it is a fundamental doctrine of his church: and, whenever an opportunity has been given, there is not an individual of that communion who has not shewn that he viewed it in that light.

" This of itself must awaken suspicion: but that suspicion assumes a very serious character when we consider that the foreign power which has thus, in the opinion of the members of the Romish Church been dispossessed of its right, is one that in all ages has been remarkably tenacious of its claims, however founded, or under what circumstances soever set up; that it has scrupled no means by which it could procure them to be established; and in the present instance has certainly exerted itself to keep that part of the nation which owned its sway, distinct and separate, and even at enmity with the other.

" It was not till after the clearest proof of the existence of this dangerous spirit in its full force, not till after conspiracies against the state of the most atrocious sort had been discovered, that the first penal or restrictive laws were made against the Roman Catholics; and more especially in Ireland, which is the country of the petitioners: the late system was not established until the experience of many years, and I believe near two centuries had shewn, the necessity that existed for guarding against the consequences of the Papal supremacy as it operated upon the minds of every member of that communion."

The Papists are very fond of calling the attention of their Protestant fellow-subjects to the ostensible regard for an oath, because they scruple to take an oath of a certain kind. Mr. Le Mesurier shews the weakness, or rather the audacity of this sort of appeal in the following words, (page 16.) " The first ground upon which they rest, is, that they have taken

the oaths prescribed to them as "Tests of their moral and religious principles," and they appeal to "the sufferings, which they have long endured, and the sacrifices they still make, rather than violate their consciences, (by taking oaths of a religious or spiritual import, contrary to their belief,) as decisive proofs of their profound and scrupulous reverence for the sacred obligation of an oath."

"As to this, I must first observe, that the oath, which they have such an abhorrence of taking, is the oath of *Supremacy*, that oath in which is acknowledged the authority and jurisdiction of the King in matters ecclesiastical, as well as civil. This oath (let it be noted) they do not take, *because they hold that the jurisdiction, and authority in matters ecclesiastical within this realm belongs not to the King, but to the Pope.* To my mind therefore this is no proof of their scrupulous reverence for the sacred obligation of an oath. They do not take the oath because it would be considered by the Pope as an act of rebellion against him, for which they would be excommunicated. This is only simply the case of a man refusing to swear allegiance to a prince, whom he considers as an usurper, and which certainly, whatever other merits it may have, is never alledged as "a decisive proof of his profound and scrupulous reverence for the "obligation of an oath." This refusal to take this oath, I cannot consider therefore as giving much weight to the other oaths, which they have actually taken.

"As to these, the reader will recollect, that they are a *substitution* for the oath of supremacy, calculated to confine their acknowledgment of his Majesty's authority to matters purely civil. Those who take them do certainly at the same time renounce several of the most pernicious, and avowed doctrines of the church of Rome, as for instance, "they reject, "and detest as unchristian, and impious, to believe that it is lawful in "any way to injure any person or persons whatsoever under pretence of "their being heretics, and also that unchristian and impious principle "that no faith is to be kept with heretics, &c.*" And they do also swear to defend the "settlement of property in their country as established by the law in being," and abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment.

"But what is very remarkable is, that in the same breath with which they adduce the taking of these oaths as a proof of their loyalty, they declare it to be "painful to their feelings that it should be still thought necessary to exact such tests from them (and from them only of all his Majesty's subjects.†)" So that it is clear that the very oaths, which they rely

* Petit. p. 8.

† Pet. p. 11.

upon as proofs of their loyalty, they are desirous to have done away; and that, if they were admitted to all the privileges which they claim upon condition of taking these oaths, they would be still dissatisfied. As to their being the *only* subjects, from whom these oaths are required, can it be considered as a wonder or a grievance? For do not all other subjects of his Majesty take the oath of supremacy? And is it not because the members of the Romish church will not take that oath, that these oaths were substituted in its place, as a matter of *accommodation*, and *favour* to them? If these oaths are objected to, what oaths would they substitute? or must *they be exempt from all oaths*, while the protestant must still bind himself as before?"

Those who have espoused the cause of the Romanists in parliament have often reasoned in this way (as Mr. Canning did)—parliament has taken off some restrictions already, and to proceed in abolishing the remainder would be but an act of consistency. Parliament has done what it proposed to do—to relax is one thing, to do away *all* restrictions is another. Mr. Le Mesurier quotes the language of the Irish act of parliament of 1778; where in it is declared that "it is reasonable and expedient to relax the disabilities and incapacities under which the Roman Catholics laboured." He then asks, (page 24,) "have not these disabilities and incapacities been *relaxed*? Were they not then *relaxed*? And has not even a subsequent *relaxation* taken place? Has not then the preamble of this statute been fully acted up to? Has not its purview been completely satisfied? When parliament said that it was expedient to *relax*, did it mean *entirely to do away*? Is this the mode in which words are construed?—The subsequent passage of the act, stating that it would "tend to the cultivation, &c. that his Majesty's subjects of all denominations should enjoy the blessings of a free constitution," &c. which are printed in Italics by the editor of the petition, cannot do away the meaning of the word "relax," or explain away the clear intent of the legislature. Besides, I have contended, and do contend, that the Roman Catholics, as the law at present stands, *do actually enjoy* the blessings of a free constitution; to which it is certainly, as I conceive, not essential that a man should have a share in the government." As to the latter affair Mr. Le M. argues most sensibly, page 13,—the petitioners appear to entertain a notion common to many persons, that power is a matter of property, and that a man is as much entitled to a share in the government, as he is to be the holder of lands and goods. It should be remembered, that the grievance complained of is merely the exclusion from the great offices of state, and some of the subordinate places in the administration of justice, and, in some sort, from corporations. This is treated as if the petitioners were thereby

deprived of the most valuable rights; whereas, if this exclusion be necessary for the maintenance of the constitution, it is in truth beneficial to the petitioners themselves. Every body must know that it is often expedient to take power out of the hands of the people, for their own sakes, and lest they should abuse it to their destruction. What incapacities and exclusions are there not created every time that a qualification for office is imposed? And yet who talks of this as an injustice? How many men, how large a proportion of the people are cut off from sitting in parliament, simply because they have not three hundred a year of landed property?

"The question is simply, whether there are good grounds for the restriction; for, if there be, the restriction is not only legal, but equitable and just.

"Strictly speaking, indeed, no man has a *right* to the government of others, not even they who are in possession of it. It is a *trust*, and a most sacred one; it is a *duty* imposed upon them by that great Being who made us, and which they are bound to discharge with uprightness and with diligence. It is, in truth, cast upon them by his providence; and this is shewn by the great variety, which there is, not only in the governments themselves, but in the manner in which they have respectively been formed; all of which shew infinitely little of human foresight and contrivance in their first elements, whatever political wisdom may have been employed in the improvement and establishment of them. What alone the generality of mankind are entitled to, is the due and regular administration of governments; that they should be ordered with impartiality, and a strict regard to justice. In the present imperfect state of our nature it has been found conducive to this end, to devise and impose certain checks upon the rulers. In this country this has been effected by giving to the people, through the medium of representatives, a share in the legislature; and a certain controul or superintendence over the administration of public affairs. But this is not, in theory at least, and should not be in practice, a private advantage to the individuals who exercise it, but a public benefit to all; and they, therefore, who give no vote for members of parliament consider themselves as enjoying, and do in fact enjoy, the blessings of the British constitution, as fully as they who do, or even as they who sit in the house.

"I therefore, for one, do not see the existence of any grievance to be complained of; I do not, at least allow the situation of the petitioners to be what they state it, full of " manifold evils," " humiliating and ignominious;" a frustration " even of the privileges which they are capacitated to enjoy." A disadvantage it may be, but if so, it is one inseparable

ble from the profession which they have chosen to adopt. They have subjected themselves to engagements, which materially interfere with their allegiance to their Sovereign, or, at least, are or have been supposed by the legislature so to do."

The following passage is worthy of particular notice. To hear the Papists talk, and to listen to the harangues of their friends, one would take them for the most moderate of men; and might conclude that they must be incapable of abusing any power with which government might be pleased to invest them. But, "no argument like matter of fact is." Mr. Le Mesurier declares that he can place no reliance on their professions, "because (says he, page 35,) I find from history that the adherents of the Popes have never been backward in making such professions, or in breaking them when made. We have the example of Queen Mary, whose natural disposition was not wicked, who in other respects was merciful, and even kind, who yet broke through every restraint, and was guilty of acting, not only most cruelly, but against her word most solemnly pledged. She too began her reign with expressing the same *liberal* ideas which are now professed. In her first proclamation concerning religion, "She willett and straightly chargeth and commandeth "all her good loving subjects to live together in quiet sort, *leaving those* "new found devilish terms of Papist and Heretic and such like, and ap- "pying their whole care, study and travel to live in the fear of God, "exercising their conversation in such charitable and godly doings, as "their lives may indeed express the great hunger and thirst of God's "glory," &c.* Could any language be more *liberal*, or more unlike that of a persecutor? And yet this good lady must at that time have had in her contemplation the cruelties which she so soon afterwards exercised. It is notorious, also, that James II. made the same professions upon his accession to the crown; it is equally notorious that he took the very first opportunity of breaking them. I know not why the professions which any persons holding the same creed make upon the same points are to be more depended upon than those of these two crowned heads: for certainly in their breaking their faith they could be actuated only by a mistaken and ill-directed zeal; every temporal motive operated the other way; the measures which they thus pursued, in breach of their faith, tended to diminish, and not to increase their power. To the former of

* See Wilkins' *Concilia*, v. 4.

† When James made his profession and promise to maintain all the just rights and liberties of his subjects, it was said, "We have now the word of a King, a word never broken." See Hume, vol. 8, chap. 70.

them they produced only disquiet and dissatisfaction, and to the latter the loss of his kingdom. Surely then when we see those who are in full possession of power, merely because they are under such influence, acting not only contrary to their word, but to their true interests; when we see this take place in the case of two monarchs, whose veracity had never before been impeached, who were considered as persons of great sincerity and honour, which was the case with both, and is expressly related of James; when, notwithstanding, we see that no reliance is to be placed on their promises in any case where the interest of their religion was concerned, shall we not be excused if we hesitate to repose implicit confidence in the declarations and even the oaths of men, who are, in truth, contending for rank and for power; who in the application which they make, and the language which they hold, have in view the advancement of their temporal as well as of their spiritual concerns?"

We are free to confess that we were formerly inclined to give great credit to the English Roman Catholics for the forbearance which has marked their conduct, compared with the violence manifested by the Irish Papists. Mr. Le Mesurier's opinion on this subject exactly tallies with that which we ourselves had arrived at by dint of reflection, and we felt a lively gratification at finding our sentiments concurring with those adopted by such an acknowledged master of the question as he is. "My firm opinion, he says, (page 41), is, that too little attention has been paid to the members of the established church in Ireland; that too many concessions have been made to the Roman Catholics in that kingdom. I speak particularly as to the granting them what they call the elective franchise, in the admitting them into the magistracy, the putting them upon juries. It is upon these concessions that they now found their pretensions for more. If other arguments were wanting to shew the impolicy of these concessions, it is the manner in which they have been received. Contrary to what was professed, they have produced neither contentment nor satisfaction; they have, in fact, been considered as the fruits of a victory not yet complete; what they have gained they have received but as an earnest of what remains behind.

"For if this be not their way of viewing the subject, why did not the Roman Catholics of England, immediately upon the concessions made to their brethren in Ireland, come forward and pray to be admitted to the same privileges? Why? but because the Roman Catholics in England are few, while in Ireland they are numerous; because it was thought politic not to risk a defeat in the quarter which was weak, but to push the attack in that which was strong. They know well that the one must follow the other. They acted wisely for their own ends; and we, if we

are wise, though somewhat late, must act with the same vigour and concert. In Ireland little more than the citadel remains: in England we have not yet surrendered the out-works. Let us act accordingly. Let us not be deceived. The party by whom we are pressed have all the spirit of Cæsar,

" Nil actum reputans, si quid superesset agendum."

Should once the capability of being chancellors, judges, and privy counsellors be conceded, can we believe that they will be satisfied unless they actually obtain the possession of those offices? Surely not; even now it is avowed that the representative franchise is sought for as a means of obtaining the nomination to the offices which they are capacitated to enjoy, and from which they complain that they still continue to be in almost every instance shut out.

" We have, therefore, to contemplate, not only the possibility but the certainty, if we are bent upon giving full satisfaction to the Roman Catholics (for that with no less they will be satisfied is plainly enough told us) of seeing our Protestant King surrounded by Popish counsellors; and if not in England, yet at least in Ireland every measure of his government carried into execution by Popish ministers, and justice dispensed to the people by Popish judges: that is to say, in the first place, by men who are taught to consider their King as an usurper, and in consequence of that usurpation involved in errors which must doom him to everlasting misery.

" I leave to my readers to consider whether any great degree of respect or attachment is consistent with such sentiments.

" But further, let us remember that it is a fundamental maxim in our constitution, that the King by himself can do nothing; that he must in every thing act by the hands and upon the suggestion of others, who are responsible both for the advice and the act. The appointment of Popish ministers does, therefore, in fact, make a Popish government. It will become folly to talk of this as a Protestant country. We know how often our sovereigns have been constrained to take ministers whom they disliked, to sanction measures which they personally disapproved: and, indeed, would not the change of the law contended for, itself be the strongest instance possible of such a force? If on this point the sovereign be compelled to yield, where shall he make his stand?

" Behold him then surrounded with Popish counsellors and Popish ministers. Suppose now what is surely not impossible, a Popish rebellion in Ireland. Suppose only partial risings or disaffections: what will be the situation of government? But let me go further, and suppose, what is not impossible neither, that the men who have now promised to maintain

the rights of the Protestant established church should change their minds and call for the re-establishment of the Popish religion? They spare not to tell us that it was the religion of our ancestors, and they may by and by go on to say, as they must think, that it was a sin to depart from it; and they may act in consequence. But admitting that this generation will be faithful to their engagements, may not another start up which has made no such professions, and which may feel themselves bound in conscience to obey the mandate of a future Pope, and set about converting us by fire and faggot and the sword?

“ They must in truth so act, if they be sincere Roman Catholics: it is the natural course of their tenets; and what is to guard us against their most baleful effects, in the case of a religion which makes it a crime in its members to seek for information respecting the truth, or the grounds of their faith? which does not even allow its priests to read books of controversy without a special licence from their bishop? which lays its very foundation in the ignorance of the laity?”

Here, for the present at least, we close our extracts. There is hardly a single topic in the whole range of the Roman Catholic Question which is not discussed with similar clearness, and in a manner equally satisfactory and convincing.

(This List will be continued.)

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE VETO.

To those who are acquainted with the tenets of the Romish church, and the nature of its hierarchy, matter of astonishment must arise, that so enlightened a nation as the British should be erroneously led to believe, that the constitution in church and state would be completely secured from harm by investing the King with a veto in the appointment of Popish bishops. In my endeavour to evince the contrary, I shall avail myself of the letters of Melancthon, published in your excellent work, by quoting them occasionally; in which he gives a concise account of the origin and policy of the Romish hierarchy, together with copious extracts from the decrees of general councils, and the body of the canon law, which are the only repositories of its doctrines. In his third letter,* he shews that all bishops are required, under pain of deprivation by the Pope, to make diligent enquiry within their dioceses for heretics, and to have them punished agreeably with the canonical sanctions: that according to them they are liable to the following punishments,—excommunication, confis-

* Vol. I. page 304.

ation of their goods, imprisonment, exile, death;* that all secular powers shall be compelled by ecclesiastical censures to swear, that they will extirpate heretics within their territories; and if they refuse to do so, they shall be excommunicated by the Pope, who shall absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and expose their territories to be enjoyed by any Catholics who shall gain possession of them, without contradiction, on extirpating the heretics therein. By these canons, which have never been abrogated, the extirpation of heretics is enjoined as a religious duty, and a full remission of sins and eternal salvation are offered to those who shall undertake it.† By the same it is declared, that all those who shall refuse to obey the mandates, decrees, and interdicts of the Pope, shall be accursed;‡ that all heretics are annually excommunicated under the Bull, *in cœna Domini*: that all persons who are bound to heretics, either by duty or by oath, are absolved from their fidelity and every tie of obedience:§ that they are not to be called oaths, but perjuries, which are attempted against the interest of the church. Under the sanction of these canons, the Popes, it appears, frequently absolved subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and sovereign princes from their coronation-oaths. My circumscribed limits prevent me from giving a more copious account of these impious doctrines, which the reader will find in Melancthon's second and third letters. They would have remained a dead letter in the Popish chancery, without producing any practical effects, but that the Roman Pontiffs contrived to have them inculcated and enforced in every Christian state, through the instrumentality of the Popish hierarchy, a well organized system, in which there is a regular and strongly connected chain of subordination, from the Pope to the most obscure priest.

Every Popish priest is obliged to take a canonical oath, in which he is bound in unlimited fidelity and obedience to the Pope, and not only to profess all the doctrines contained in the sacred canons and general councils, but that he will be careful that they are held by, and taught and preached to, his parishioners, or those the care of whom shall belong to him in his vocation.§ What kind of subjects are Papists likely to make to a Protestant state, when their pastors are bound by a solemn oath to infuse such impious and uncharitable tenets into them?¶ Their practical

* Vol. I. page 306.

† Page 305. Melancthon shews, also, that Doctors Troy and Milner maintain that all these doctrines are established by infallible authority.

‡ Page 307.

|| Idem.

§ See the oath in page 308.

¶ After this can we be surprised at the cold blooded religious butcheries which took place at Wexford-bridge, Vinegar-hill, and Scullabogue, in 1798?

effects have been woefully experienced in Ireland, for above 300 years; but particularly in the rebellion of 1798, when the mass of the Popish yeomanry, and even persons of wealth and consideration, shewed no regard whatsoever to oaths of allegiance.*

It is to be presumed, that a Popish priest would not be required to swear that he would not only profess, but inculcate into his flock the before-mentioned doctrines, unless by long study he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the sacred canons and the decrees of the general councils which contain them. Doctor Milner, Bishop of Castabala, published an account of a tour which he made in Ireland, printed by Keating and Co. Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, in the year 1808; and in this he boasted, that the students at Maynooth, intended for the priesthood, devote four years to the study of them.

In the treatise entitled *Tractatus de Ecclesiâ Christi*, written by L. Deobogue, professor of divinity in that seminary, and printed in 1809 by Hugh Fitzpatrick, printer and bookseller to the college, the infallibility of the general councils is maintained, and particularly the Tridentine council, which recognizes and ratifies anew all those that preceded it; and it concludes with the following words:—"all priests, therefore, should hold the council of Trent in the highest estimation, as it is a compendium of the tenets contained in all the preceding councils; and on account of its discipline, it may properly be called the manual of priests, or of all those who are candidates for holy orders."†

In page 312 thereof, the burning of John Huss is defended.

When every Popish priest is bound by oath, not only to profess such doctrines, but to infuse them into his flock, by which he must of course make them traitors to a Protestant state, I should wish to know what solid, or even plausible reason the King or his minister could have for preferring one priest to another for a Popish bishoprick, in the exercise of the *veto*.

It is to be presumed that a titular bishop, or a Romish dean and chapter, would not present any priests to the crown, one of whom was to be selected for the prelacy, but those who they were convinced would rigidly

* Sir R. Musgrave's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. from p. 372 to p. 375, and from p. 395 to p. 402; Vol. II. p. 119 to p. 124. All this can be proved by great numbers now living.

† In a certain great assembly it has been frequently asserted, that all the baneful doctrines of the Romish church are obsolete. But it appears that they are inculcated at Maynooth; and Melancthon proves, in his third letter, Vol. I. p. 308, that Doctors Troy and Milner insist on their infallibility, and that all Catholics must implicitly adhere to them.

adhere to the purport of their canonical oath, and consequently would be implicitly devoted to the Pope. This should be a cogent motive with the crown for rejecting them. Those principles and qualifications which should recommend him to the minister of a Protestant king, would draw on him the hatred of his own votaries; which was recently exemplified in the case of the enlightened and benevolent Doctor O'Connor, and in that of the liberal Peter Walsh, the Franciscan friar, in the reign of Charles II.*

Should a Popish priest take an oath of allegiance to a Protestant state and endeavour to infuse Christian measures of obedience into his flock, he would violate his canonical oath; and should he rigidly adhere to it he would be guilty of treason. As the education of a Popish priest is secluded, if it may not be termed *occult*, and as government are not allowed to interfere in it, they could not form any opinion of his moral and mental endowments. For this should they depend on the report of Protestant noblemen and gentlemen, in whose vicinity a Popish priest had lived, they may be most egregiously deceived. Previously to the rebellion of 1798, Popish priests, in many parts of Ireland, had acquired the esteem and good opinion of their Protestant neighbours, by their upright and peaceable deportment, and by their constant and warm professions of loyalty, and exhortations to it; and in many places they and their flocks, a short time before the dreadful explosion of that year, prevailed on the civil magistrates to administer oaths of allegiance to them; and in some places at the foot of their respective altars, to increase the sanctity and give the more imposing solemnity to it.

But it soon appeared that this was merely an artifice to disarm any suspicion which the government and the magistrates might entertain of their treasonable designs, and to lull them into a supine and fatal security; for

* Peter Walsh, and other loyal Papists, in 1666, in order to vindicate persons of their order from imputations cast on them, in consequence of their religious tenets, drew up and signed a remonstrance, in which they disclaimed all foreign power which should pretend to free them from their allegiance, or permit them to offer any violence to his Majesty's person or government. They declared their resolution to detect and oppose all conspiracies and traitorous attempts against the King; and that obedience was due to all princes and governors, of what religion soever, in all civil and temporal affairs. They protested against all doctrines and authority to the contrary; and declared it impious and against the word of God, to maintain that any private subject may kill his prince, though of a different religion. Those who signed this remonstrance were grievously persecuted. Having been excommunicated, they were deprived of all social comfort, and even of the means of preserving their lives. They were obliged to fly to foreign countries, where again they were in danger of being burnt as heretics, for denying the power of the Pope in temporal affairs.—Leland's History; B. VI. ch. 4.

when the rebellion broke out, those very priests and their flocks were among the most active in the crusade against heretics which ensued.* It is hence evident, that the exercise of the *veto* by the crown, even in the most unqualified manner, could not have any tendency to secure the Protestant state against the deleterious principles of the Romish church, which the members of its hierarchy are bound by the most solemn oaths to maintain and to enforce against it. It is astonishing, then, that it should have been the subject of long and solemn discussions in so enlightened an assembly as the imperial parliament, and that they should have regarded its attainment of so much importance, as to have made it the consideration of admitting Papists to seats in parliament, and to all the high and confidential offices of the state.

The crown, by nominating a Popish priest for the prelacy, does not acquire any controul over him after his elevation. On the contrary, he is bound in unlimited fidelity and obedience to the Pope by his consecration-oath, in which he swears that *he will observe, and cause to be observed, all his decrees, orders, and mandates, to persecute and oppose all heretics, schismatics, and rebels against him; to preserve, defend, enlarge, and promote his rights, honours, privileges, and authority* ;† and how is this to be effected, but by doing every possible injury to, and even by subverting an heretical state like England? In consequence of this oath, William Rufus told Archbishop Anselm, that he could not preserve his allegiance to the Pope and to his temporal sovereign at the same time.§ It was the first cause of a rupture between Henry VIII. and the Pope; “for the King having come to a knowledge of it, sent to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and informed him, that he found that the clergy of this realm were but *half his subjects*, or scarce so much; *every bishop or abbot, on the entering of his dignity, taking an oath to the Pope derogatory to that of their fidelity to the King*; which contradiction he desires his Parliament to take away. Whereupon these oaths, by the King's command, being read and considered, the Parliament so handled the business, as it occasioned the first renouncing the Pope's authority about two years after.”—Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.—When archbishop Cranmer was consecrated, he refused to take that oath, without

* Sir R. Musgrave's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 372 to p. 375, and p. 395 to p. 402; Vol. II. p. 119 to 124.

† See the observations of Richerius, an eminent Romish divine, and a doctor of the Sorbonne, on the policy and the effects of this oath, framed by Pope Gregory VII. who first usurped a supremacy in the church.—Melancthon's Second Letter, Vol. I. p. 263.

‡ Speed, p. 441, 442.

first signing a strong protestation against any thing contained therein, "contrary to the laws of God, the King's prerogative, or to the commonwealth and statutes of the kingdom; nor to tie himself up from speaking his mind freely in matters relating to the reformation of religion and the government of the church of England."* So conscious was that great man that a Romish bishop's oath was incompatible with the interest of his country, and his allegiance to his rightful sovereign.

The following Popes fulminated bulls against Queen Elizabeth, in which they declared her deposed, absolved her subjects from their allegiance, and invoked them to rise in arms against her: Pius V. in 1569, Gregory XIII. in 1580, Sixtus V. in 1587, and Clement VIII. in 1600. In consequence of this, Ireland was constantly disturbed and disgraced by rebellions during her long reign; and Popish prelates, in obedience to those bulls, were the chief promoters of them.

As Philip II. declared himself the Pope's champion for the conquest of Ireland, he gave that monarch the nomination of Irish bishops, that through their agency he might accomplish his designs. Accordingly that monarch caused Juan Mendoza, a Spaniard, to be appointed primate of all Ireland, and he was succeeded by Guaramus,† a Spanish priest. Don Mattheo Oviedo, of the same nation, was made archbishop of Dublin.‡ Owen Mac Egan, the Pope's vicar general, was killed in battle, leading on the Irish and their Spanish allies against the Queen's troops.¶ The titular bishops were the chief incendiaries in the destructive Irish rebellion of 1641.§ They acted the same part in the reign of Charles II.: which the reader will find in Lord Orrery's state letters, and in secret consults and intrigues of the Romish party in Ireland, contained in State Tracts, Vol. III. p. 626 Doctor Reilly, the titular primate, negotiated with the French government for troops to invade Ireland; for which he was arrested, and narrowly escaped capital punishment.¶¶ His successor, Plunket, was hanged for treasonable practices. Doctor Talbot, titular archbishop of Dublin, was imprisoned for his turbulent conduct, and died in prison.**

Peter Walsh relates the following incident, in his history of the Irish remonstrance, mentioned before. "James Butler, Duke of Ormond,

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. I. cap. 4.

† Moryson's Itinerary, p. 12, 13.

‡ Pacata Hibernia, p. 302.

¶ Idem, p. 351.

§ B. I. cap. p. 326, 327, 122.

¶ Col's History, Vol. II. p. 8.

** State Tracts, Vol. III. p. 630.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, after the Romish synod was dissolved, in June 1666, in the presence of Father Ronan Magin, a Roman Catholic doctor of divinity, dean and vicar of Dromore, and Father Peter Walsh, procurator of all the clergy of Ireland, with great feeling, laying his hand on his breast, made the following declaration: "as I am a Christian, these twenty years that I have had to do with these Irish bishops, I never found any of them either to speak the truth or to perform their promise to me, only the bishop of Clogher excepted; for during the little time he lived, after his submission to peace, and commission received from me, I cannot charge him." In the year 1729, the Popish prelates of Ireland applied for, and obtained a bull from the Pope, to raise money by the sale of indulgences, *to be speedily applied to restore James III. to his right, and to put his Majesty George II. and all the royal family to the sword.** It appears that a number of Romish prelates being assembled at the house of M^cCarthy, alias Rubagh, titular bishop of Cork, Connor Keefe, bishop of Limerick, presented a letter to said M^cCarthy, from Doctor Butler, archbishop of Cashell,† informing him that his holiness the Pope had at last complied with the request of the Irish archbishops and bishops, in granting them a bull for the above purpose. The purport of this bull was, "that every communicant duly confessing, and receiving the sacrament on the patron-days of every respective parish, and every Sunday, from the 1st day of May to September, having repeated the Lord's prayer five times, and once the Apostle's creed, *and upon paying two pence each time, was to receive a plenary indulgence for his sins; and all approved confessors were empowered to absolve in all cases.* Every parish priest was to pay £5 towards that fund, and was to account upon oath for the collection of it; and the Pretender had an agent in each province to collect it." The whole of this is to be found at large in the fourth volume of the last edition of the Irish Commons' Journals, and the appendix xlvii. contains all the letters and papers relative to it.

It appears that the Irish titular prelates have not been indifferent spectators of the events which have passed in our times. Mr. John Keogh, one of the most active and zealous members of the Catholic body from 1791 to 1798, made a long speech in their committee, on the 13th of July 1810, in which he boasted of the important services which he rendered them, in 1792, by converting their committee into an assembly of delegates,†

* Could it have been conceived, at that time, that any descendant of George II. would range with the apologists for Popery, and the partizans of the Papists in 1813!

† In an excellent pamphlet, published by John J. Stockdale, Pall-Mall, and entitled "the Proceedings of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, of 1792 and 1793, &c." the reader will find a full account of that assembly, and of the dread-

chosen and returned by the counties and cities of Ireland, and that he found the influence of those titular prelates necessary for its accomplishment. The following paragraphs in his speech are extracted from the *Dublin Evening Herald*, which may be deemed their official paper. "Terrified by the threats of government on the one side, weighed down by the millstone of aristocracy,* on the other, the counties remained unmoved, apparently unaffected; at least they did not make any effort towards appointing representatives to the intended convention. This obstacle was to be overcome, or the hopes of the Catholics were blasted for ever. I again came forward, I went through the four provinces, accompanied by my lamented friend *Theobald Wolfe Tone*.† I attended the meeting of the Catholic bishops in *Ulster*, held in that province. With these prelates I found it necessary to have an interview; likewise with the bishops of *Connaught*, who had been tampered with, and deceived, by the misrepresentations of a Catholic lawyer. In my journey thither, I was accompanied by my dear and much lamented friend *Thomas Braughall*,‡ with whom I travelled the south of Ireland. When a good example was once set, it was followed with enthusiasm, and the convention became the genuine, full, and com-

ful effects which it produced from 1792 to 1798, and of the origin and policy of the convention law, enacted for the express purpose of preventing the electing such a representative body.

* The late Lords Fingal and Kenmare, and some respectable Catholic gentlemen, perceiving the wild designs of the committee, withdrew from it in 1792; for which they were grossly abused by John Keogh and his associates.

† Tone, the pensioned and accredited agent of the Catholic committee, had recommended separation from England in 1791. In the year 1794, it was discovered that he had been negotiating with the French government, then administered by Robespierre, for an army to effect that separation; on which he fled to France. He was afterwards taken prisoner, in the year 1798, on board the *Hoche*, with a French army, in which he was an officer, on the coast of Donegal, when it was on the point of making a descent in Ireland; and having been convicted of high treason, he committed suicide, to elude the sentence of the law.

‡ Thomas Braughall, a most active and zealous member of the Catholic committee, was arrested in 1798, and a great quantity of papers relative to the treasonable conspiracy formed by that body were found in his house. He would probably have suffered capitally, but that he was pardoned, at the instance of a Roman Catholic peer, by Lord Cornwallis, who was sent to Ireland, and shewed great mercy to the rebels, in the hope of reconciling the Papists to the union. Edward Lewins, Braughall's nephew, was sent to Paris as ambassador to the French Republic, by the Irish rebellious union, in 1794; and Braughall went on a visit to him in 1802. They were often seen going to the palace of Talleyrand. It is astonishing that Mr. Keogh, in the year 1810, should boast of his conduct in the Catholic convention of 1792 and 1793, an assembly which brought unutterable calamities upon Ireland.

plete representation of the Catholics of Ireland." When he finished his speech, the committee unanimously voted him thanks for his long, faithful, and unparalleled services in the cause of *Catholic emancipation*. It is well known what part some of the titular prelates took in the events which occurred in 1798.*

I shall now submit to the candid reader, whether the nomination of Popish bishops by the crown could have any tendency to alter or abate those principles which they are bound by oath, and by the canons of their church, to profess, or to counteract or diminish their practical effects.

VERIDICUS.

STEADY OPPOSITION TO THE ADVOCATES OF POPERY, RECOMMENDED.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—At the commencement of the second year of your steady and successful opposition to the views of the Roman Catholics, which have alarmed, and ought to alarm, every real friend to the British constitution and the established church, I beg leave to congratulate you on the past, and to express my anxious hope that all such views will, in the succeeding year, be opposed with equal firmness and perseverance, and a success that shall be decisive. It is a happy circumstance, that the more the Catholic question, as it is called, is discussed, the more its impolicy, and the unbounded pretensions of the Roman Catholic clergy become evident; and excite an apprehension that, striving to grasp at one half of the sceptre, they would hardly scruple to break it short, rather than not determine the sway of the whole, should events favour their ambition, as it did that of their predecessors in former times, (which God forbid!) by intestine wars or violent political dissensions. Hitherto, however, we have the happiness of seeing a check given to this evil spirit of ambition, and of insubordination to the established government: a spirit which no wise government would suffer to acquire strength in any shape, or under any pretext. As to the religious doctrines which distinguish their church, their maintenance depends so absolutely on the benighted state of those who hold them, or of those to whom they are addressed, that, were they not interwoven and compacted with the policy of the Romish hierarchy, as they are, a Protestant could only contemplate them with pity for the ignorance which, at this hour of the day, the high noon of general in-

* Sir R. Musgrave's History of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 22, 30, 171.

formation, continues blindly to retain them. It has been very lately proved how dangerous that hierarchy knows the simple word of God to be to their favourite doctrines, since they have refused to give the Bible, even without notes, to their followers. Whence does this arise, when all other Christians, of every denomination, have not only shewn themselves to be unanimous in the expediency, and active and bounteous in furthering the means of so doing, they alone avoid it, and shrink from the appeal to the Bible itself? They have a pressing reason for it,—THEY DARE NOT RISK IT:—they know this well; and feel that they must either prolong the errors of their religion, or confess themselves teachers of doctrines inconsistent with the Scriptures. If they have preferred the former, still, even by so doing, they yield a triumph, (the more glorious because unwilling), to the word of truth, and to the cause of those who dare to give it as it was given to man, in the original tongues, or otherwise rendered into the vernacular language, as truly and as nearly as the abilities of the learned and labours of the pious could make it. And I confess, Sir, that this very refusal is with me, and I imagine will be with others, an additional reason for objecting to the giving of any encouragement to their religion, or the concession of any power to its teachers.

To their wish and eagerness for political power, the objection, though not perhaps so generally impressive as it ought to be, is one which may be stated in plain and intelligible terms, consonant to common sense and common prudence. "If two men ride one horse," says honest Dogberry, "one must ride before;" but if they wish to ride different ways, pulling the bridle in opposite directions, they will both be more likely to get into the ditch, than either of them to the end of his journey. Would a house of Parliament, Mr. Editor, distracted by the different views and contending influence of Protestants and Catholics, be likely to do any better? Probably not. But it may be said that there are always two parties in both houses. There are so; but their opposition touches not the vital principles of the constitution in church or state, it affects subordinate circumstances only, as far as it is regular, and all the members of both are understood to concur fully in the great and essential principles of the constitution. Can the Roman Catholics do so? Can, or will, their clergy, the regular part of some of whom introduce into their oaths of spiritual obedience the clause *salvo ordine meo*,—can or will their clergy, I say, introduce henceforward into every oath of spiritual obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors this clause, *salvo rege meo*, or *salvo jure regni*, or one equivalent to it? If not, how is it to be expected that they, or any under their known overpowering influence, can faithfully,

consistently with the absence of such a clause, maintain the prerogative of the crown, the welfare of the state, or the integrity of the constitution? If then it be asked, why is not the Roman Catholic entitled to be on the same footing with the Protestant, the answer is simple and clear;—it is because he cannot give the same *security* that the Protestant does. If without this he is to be allowed it, why is it to be required of the Protestant? or why should not the oath of supremacy be annulled, and the oath of allegiance be made compatible with a deference to any political enemy of this kingdom, were it the greatest? Why should not the test-act be abolished at once, if the divided allegiance of the Roman Catholic be admissible? The Dissenters do, I believe, flatter themselves that this would follow concession to Roman Catholics; but they do only flatter themselves, and would find their punishment in their error, and in Roman Catholic members of Parliament, the most strenuous opposers of their admission, because they would fear them more than the members of the church of England, ever remarkable for moderation. When the Roman Catholics at Killala thought they were able to act alone, *the Dissenters who had joined them found it prudent to make the best of their way home.*

And here, Sir, I wish to notice one of the provisions of security reported to have been laid before Parliament during the last session. This is a clause of a proposed oath, *viz.* that the Roman Catholic should swear that *he did not believe the Pope to be infallible.* Now as no tolerably well informed Roman Catholic does believe the Pope, *standing alone as Pope*, to be infallible, this clause was wholly nugatory; and occupied the place of the only one that would have been essential as to Protestants, *viz. that the Roman Catholic did not believe GENERAL COUNCILS to be infallible as to TEMPORAL CONCERNS, or to be obeyed AS TO THESE, to the prejudice of any sovereign or state, or the constitution or laws of any government.* This would be a great step, as far as an oath would go, towards security; and something of this kind I suppose Sir J. C. Hippisley had in view, when, by the unexpected turn which the debate is said to have taken on the appearance of his *portentous trunk*, his motion for an examination of the principles held by those who have written on the subject, was negatived. That it should have been so disposed of was the more remarkable, as motions relative to precedents, requiring an examination of the bulky folios of the Commons' journal, at least as numerous and as ponderous as the books referred to by Sir J. C. H. are so frequently acquiesced in. Sir J. C. H. seems to have thought that he could stop in his progress where he thought proper; and to have seen clearly that limits to

concession were necessary to the safety of the state. The consequence might easily have been foreseen.

It is not necessary to read much in order to know the true spirit of the Church of Rome. The history of England, from the time of the conquest to that of the Revolution, displays it clearly and fully, not so much by the observations of historians, as by the facts themselves which it records. We need not so eagerly seek to know what her *doctors* have said, whilst we know what *she herself* has done, and is capable of doing, and must ever do as long as she remains the same, when she has, or obtains possession of power. Either, if well known, might suffice. I am happy to see that so much of both what she has perpetrated, and is capable of doing, has been brought forward in the PROTESTANT ADVOCATE, and I most sincerely hope and trust that the whole Protestant community, seeing the danger that is before them, will steadily and decisively oppose whatever may threaten, even remote or eventual injury, to the welfare either of church or state,

X. N. L.

OF THE LIBER TAXÆ CANCELLARIÆ ROMANÆ.

(Continued from p. 28.)

We have now produced such a body of evidence respecting this very curious and scarce book, as must not only satisfy every unprejudiced person, but, we trust, remove the doubts of the most incredulous. If there be any prejudice which can resist the force of such proofs, and we should not be surprized if some such should be found even yet to exist, it will only be with those who have determined to admit merely what is favourable to their cause. "*Non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris*:"—as has long ago been said of such men. Still much advantage will have been gained by this discussion. Not only shall we have given important information to the sincere inquirers after truth; but for a while at least, we shall have stopped the mouth of the gainsayers. Sir John Coxe Hippesley and Mr. Lingard will henceforth be cautious how they treat those Protestants who most truly adduce, or have adduced these "*rates of the Pope's Custom-House*," as evidences of the turpitude of the See of Rome. It will not, for the present, be repeated that they are either from gross credulity or bad faith giving currency to "a most stupid and ignorant fabrication." Such, however, was the sort of accusation which was brought in open parliament by Sir John Coxe Hippesley against a most worthy and honourable as well as an ingenious gentleman; and, what in these days we

cannot but value most highly,—a right good Protestant:—and still grosser language has been used by Mr. Lingard towards other gentlemen, simply for having stated what is as plain an historical fact, and as capable of proof, as that there once existed a man of the name of Tetzels,* who hawked about indulgences in a manner so scandalous as even to shock his own people. For the partizans of the See of Rome have been made to blush, and must remain still chargeable with carrying on this vile and impious traffic.

It was partly in order to repel this attack, so confidently as well as groundlessly made, that we felt ourselves called upon to investigate this subject with so much minuteness; and we cannot help saying that we back look upon our labours with no small degree of satisfaction; not only as they have enabled us to perform what we undertook, but because in so doing they have made us acquainted with certain facts and circumstances of which we should otherwise in all probability have remained ignorant, or but partially informed. The very curious old translation and commentary of 1625, but for the provocation so given us, might have slept in obscurity:—nor should we have had the same motive for searching out and laying before our readers the account of that still more important and curious copy of the work which is in the Cheetham Library at Manchester. We have now further to state that our endeavours have been successful in another respect. We can now apprise our readers where there exists a copy of the works of *Espenæus* or *Espence*, and where they may satisfy themselves, if any doubt remain on their part, by actual collation, that the passage quoted by us from his commentary on the Epistle to Titus is authentic. It is to be found in *Bishop Cosin's Library* at Durham: and there it has been collated at our request, and we can now pledge ourselves for the accuracy and fidelity of what we have cited from it, though then cited at second hand. Now it is impossible to imagine a witness more unexceptionable, or more full as to the point in question. *Espence* not only proves the existence of a book called the *Taxæ Cancellariæ Romanæ* but that it was a book containing all the abominations which the Protestants have asserted that it contained. There can be no room left for evasion here. He is precise and particular that there “is offered to them that will pay for it absolution for all sinnes, and to many license for what they shall doe.”—This is not a matter of fees to be paid to officers, as has been ingeniously imagined by Mr. Lingard, but sums to be received by the Pope or his treasurer. The whole tenour of the dissertation (the second annexed to the commentary on the Epistle to Titus) shews this: for it is a

* See “The Rise of the Reformation,” &c. a pamphlet published by J. J. Stockdale, Pall-Mall; (extracted from Robertson's Hist. of Charles V.) p. 13.

discussion on the word "*Turpilucris*," or "filthy lucre;" from all propensity to which the apostle directs that a bishop should be free. *Espence* shews that this is so far from being the case with the Bishop of Rome, that on the contrary the Popes and many of the bishops of that church, employ the most scandalous means to fill their coffers: and, as one instance, he alleges the putting forth of this book of the *Taxæ*; the infamy of which is thus pointedly charged upon and brought home to the Popes themselves. Another of these instances, by the by, we cannot resist the temptation of adducing, as it has been mentioned by our valuable correspondent MELANCHTON, in our last number. He will probably be glad to find himself supported by such respectable authority. *Espence* alleges the words of Adrian VI. to the Imperial Diet; (who, our readers may recollect, has been often characterized as the last of the honest Popes, and who died after filling the papal throne only two years, not without strong suspicion of having been poisoned on account of his being inconveniently serious in the work of reformation:)—"Most shameful also it is," says this Pontiff; "that they [the bishops] suffer them [the clergy] to cohabit with concubines, harlots, and lewd women, and to beget children on them, taking for this a certain yearly payment; nay, in some places, they even exact it from such as do not keep mistresses. "They may have them," say they, "if they choose." "*Turpissimum quod et hos cum concubinis, pellicibus et meretriculis cohabitare, liberosque procreare sinunt, accepto ab eis, atque alicubi a continentibus, certo quotannis censu: habeat, aiunt, si velit.*" Now, we will add farther, can it be thought incredible, nay, strange, that, in a church where practices so imprudently scandalous as these were permitted, even such a book as the "*Liber Taxæ*" should be put forth? And we will further ask our readers whether there is any improbability that such a book of Rates, in particular, as that which the learned and venerable *Mr. Baron Maseres* has reprinted in his "*Occasional Essays*,"* should have really issued from the Pope's chancery. It must be observed that these are rates which were not drawn up for the public eye; they were the private instructions issued to those who were the Pope's representatives in Ireland,—the bishops and grand penitentiaries. It happened that *Egane*, being of the latter description, and by that means in possession of this document, and being scandalized, as he states, by this and other abominations of the church of Rome, abjured his errors, and became a Protestant; and afterwards published this book; probably in part as a justification for his conduct in quitting

* Printed for White, Fleet Street, 1809; we take this opportunity of correcting an error in our first volume, p. 457, where for "fifth" edition, it should have been "first;" which is our's.

that impure church. However that be, there is the book, and it passed and has passed uncontradicted by the Romanists; though certainly they were then, as much as they are now, bound to shew that it is a forgery; and that no such document, or any thing of that kind, ever was either drawn up or acted upon. We shall further observe that the book went through more than one edition. The copy which *Mr. Baron Maseres* has followed appears to be of the fifth. Now, it so happens that we formerly had in our possession a copy of the first edition, and have now before us a transcript which we made of it, on account of its appearing to us a great curiosity: not knowing at that time that we should have occasion to make use of it for any such purpose as the present. It is manifestly of a different edition from the other, for there are variations in the title page, as well as in its wanting the appendix, and having the papers at the end somewhat differently disposed. It is "printed for Benjamin Southwood at the sign of the Star next Serjeant's Inn, in Chancery Lane, 1673." *Baron Maseres's* copy, on the contrary, is "printed for John Marshall, at the Bible in Gracechurch Street, Joseph Marshall, at the Bible in Newgate Street, and Fred. Burleigh in Amen Corner, 1715." According to all appearance the last (which is marked as the fifth) edition was printed after *Egane's* death. At any rate here is an interval of forty years, or nearly, during which the genuineness of this book was not disputed. Probably, it was thought that the cheapest way of getting rid of the scandal, was to buy up and destroy the copies.

The reader may be curious to see what were the rates which were considered as fit to be established in Ireland towards the close of the seventeenth century, and compare them with what was settled for the Continent upwards of a hundred and fifty years before. He will find that whereas for a dispensation to marry in the fourth degree, the rate in the old book was 17 grosses,* or about £1. 5s. 6d.; the more modern book required of the Irish £2. 4s. But if the parties had married without previous dispensation (for so we construe the expression "commit fornication notwithstanding their consanguinity which they well know,") the sum exacted was £30. And for marrying in the second degree £100: In the first £1000. The dispensation for a bastard to enter into holy orders and to be capacitated to hold a living, instead of 12 grosses, or 18 shillings, is taxed at £5. 1s. 1d. For killing a priest instead of 7 or 8 grosses, the pardon was to cost £6. 2s. And the license to keep a concubine, which in Queen Mary's time cost Mr. Strickland † five shillings, would in 1673 have cost an Irishman £6 2s. 6d. The imputation of

* A Grosse is equal to 1s. 6d. English. See Vol. I. p. 374.

† See Vol. I. p. 377.

too great cheapness is thus in part done away. We admit, however, that there are some apparent inconsistencies in these rates : and that we cannot always ascertain what is meant by a dispensation, and what by a pardon. But probably it was well understood by those for whose use the tariff was made. Indeed we doubt not that at this day in Ireland, as in all other countries which are tributary to the Pope, some such table as this exists, according to which it is settled what is to be paid for every dispensation and absolution which are not matters of course ; more especially for such as are considered of a more important nature, and, as they are technically called, reserved cases.

We trust that we shall not be found to have trespassed too long on the time of our readers upon this article ; they will consider that it is combined with many religious as well as political considerations. It involves a vindication of the good faith of Protestants in their charges against the Pope and his adherents. And we have met with but too many of our brethren, who out of fear lest they should be thought illiberal, and expose themselves to that obloquy which our adversaries have always at hand, are very apt to give up points which are both tenable and material, —and under the name of bigotry to give up the high principles of our ancestors, which to minds that dislike exertion may be easily made to present an unfavourable aspect.*.

But it may be asked by some of our liberal brethren, as well as by some of the *mitigated* Roman Catholics, what is this to us of the present day ? How are we chargeable with the errors or the wickedness of Popes of former ages ? To this the answer is ready. It every way concerns you,

* We have met with this in a quarter where we should least have expected to find it. And this leads us to mention that it is through the Rev. Mr. Mashiter, of Ardwick, near Manchester, that we obtained the curious detail which we gave in our last number. Having some time ago been directed to two dissertations published by this gentleman addressed to a neighbour who had been converted to Popery, as proving to what extent the Papists were active, we observed in one of them a reference to a copy of the *Liber Taxæ*, which occasioned our applying to him for further information ; and in the course of our correspondence we learnt to our great surprise, and deep concern, that his efforts had not met with the approbation of his diocesan ; but that his lordship after commending his zeal, had expressed an opinion that prudence should have restrained him from agitating a subject of such vast national importance at so critical a period. Now we must observe that the work is solely an exposure of the corruptions of Popery, called forth by the defection from the truth of a person for whose welfare the author was anxious, and probably bound by some tie of duty so to be. How then this could be ill-timed or uncalled for we cannot divine. The title of Mr. Mashiter's work is, "Two Dissertations addressed to a Friend, and recommended to the serious Perusal of the Advocates for extending the Power of the Roman Catholics in this Country : by a Clergyman. Bickerstaff, London ; Dean, Manchester, 1807."

and all other Romanists from the days of the Reformation to this present hour. For these are enormities confessedly of that age when our ancestors resumed their independence and reformed their doctrine and discipline upon the very ground of the corruptions *then* prevailing in the church of Rome. It is for what *they* did *at that time*, that they were and *we now* are, branded by the members of that church as heretics and schismatics. Whatever therefore was done at *that time*, at the very period of the separation, is our justification for what we are doing *now*. Besides their constant theme is, that the doctrines of their church are *unchangeable*: it is upon the very ground that what they now teach, is what was always taught and established in the orthodox and universal church (for such is the import of the word "Catholic") in all ages. They can never, therefore, with consistency defend themselves on the ground of any change which may have taken place. We are always at liberty to appeal to what was the doctrine and what was the practice of Popery at the commencement of the sixteenth century. But, moreover, we do believe that what all their bishops, with the Plowdens and the Clinchs, and the rest of their advocates assert, is true: we believe their church to be what it professes to be, "*semper eadem*;" if they will allow us only to begin the period at the time when its corruptions were fully established under Innocent III. who became Pope in 1198. From thenceforth its conduct and doctrine seem to have been pretty uniform. At this moment we believe all its corrupt institutions to be in full vigour, and this of indulgences in particular. We are sure that it is so in Ireland: and we think, that, although here in England, where they are so surrounded by men who think differently, much care is taken to veil and to disguise what would be most grossly offensive, it is so in substance. We are not averse, however, to let their rulers speak for themselves, and therefore we will subjoin an explanation of what indulgences are, as it was put forth two or three years ago from authority. It is to be found in the Laity's Directory: a sort of almanack drawn up and published under the sanction of the Romish vicars apostolical, which, besides the usual intelligence respecting the fasts and festivals, communicates such spiritual instruction and information as the occasion may require. Among the rest it gives notices of the "*indulgences granted to the faithful*." This is usually done by simple declarations of the fact. But in the Directory for the year 1811, in consequence, as we conjecture, of certain discussions which had taken place respecting this system of indulgences, and particularly this "*Liber Taxæ*," the vicars apostolical thought it proper to introduce their notice with the following elucidation of their doctrine, which we give the rather as it has not been repeated in

the Directory for the last and the current year, and so may not be accessible to such of our readers as might wish to see it.

It runs thus: as published by Messrs. Keating and Co. "Printers to the R. R. the Vicars Apostolic, No. 38, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square."

"Plenary ✝ Indulgences.

"Granted to the Faithful in the four Districts of England.

"An indulgence is not a leave to commit sin, nor a pardon of future sins, nor indeed, properly speaking, any pardon of *sin* at all; but it is only a remission of the whole or of a part of the *temporal punishment* that often remains to be suffered for sins which as to their guilt and eternal punishment, have been already remitted.

"For the validity and effect of an indulgence, it is not only necessary that there be a competent authority in him who grants it, and a just cause or motive for the grant; but it is also necessary, on the part of him who obtains it, that he renounce and be sincerely sorry for all his sins, that he be in the state of grace, and that he duly perform all the conditions prescribed.

"Hence indulgences, so far from withdrawing sinners from performing good works, serve to excite and encourage them to greater fervour in the practice of them. They must apply for indulgences with a penitential spirit, with a sense of the great debt of punishment they have contracted by their sins, and with earnest petitions to be discharged from it, through the merits and satisfactions of Christ, by the power of the keys which he has committed to his church. If this debt be not paid by penitential sufferings, or graciously remitted by indulgences in this life, it will, after death, retard the entrance of a soul into Heaven, until the last farthing be paid in the prison of purgatory.

"Of indulgences, some are called *plenary*, which, when fully obtained, remit the whole debt of temporal punishment that remained due on account of past sins; others are for a certain number of years or days, which when fully obtained, remit so much of the debt of temporal punishment, as would have been discharged by the performance of so many years or days of canonical penance.

"The Holy See Apostolic, considering the spiritual necessities of the Catholics in this kingdom, has been graciously pleased to authorise the Rt. Rev. Vicars Apostolic to grant to the faithful committed to their charge in their respective districts, the following *plenary indulgences* on certain specified conditions, leaving to their choice the seasons or solemnities which they shall think proper to appoint for this purpose."

The Vicars Apostolic, in consequence, do appoint certain seasons, and declare the conditions; which we shall not insert, as they may be seen in every directory; only one we will set down as a specimen, and especially as it relates to their great feast of SS. Peter and Paul and the Octave. During which season the conditions are—

“ 1. That the faithful confess their sins with sincere repentance to a priest approved by the bishop.

“ 2. That they worthily receive the holy communion.

“ 3. That for some space of time they pray to God, with a sincere heart, for the conversion of infidels and heretics and for the free propagation of the holy faith.”

We have inserted this chiefly as a document fit to be recorded,—and our readers will observe that it is among the great services which we think any man can render to the true faith, to ascertain and set in their proper light the doctrines and professions of those who are set in array against it. Our intention therefore is not to trouble our readers with many more observations, for the present at least. Yet something we will say.

First, it would be easy to shew that this exposition of the Vicars Apostolic in many respects does not come up to the doctrines of their church: for example, they speak only of the merits and satisfaction of Christ, whereas they well know that at Rome, and by their Popes, the merits of their saints are always most blasphemously coupled with those of Christ: “*Christi merita et sanctorum* :” as the words occur in a Bull of the late Pope Pius VI. accepted with many acknowledgements by all the Romish Bishops in Ireland.*

Again, when they talk of “ confessing sins with *sincere repentance*,” they have not told us if they mean by this *contrition* or *attrition*: which latter, being only the sorrow which arises from the fear of punishment, is declared by the council of Trent, when coupled with the sacrament (of penance) to be sufficient: and they anathematize all who should say that it is not so. If therefore these Vicars Apostolical require *contrition*, they require that which their constituent does not require. And if they mean only *attrition*, we Protestants know what to think of this sort of repentance.

We have here however the open avowal of the doctrine of PURGATORY in its full extent: and we desire to be satisfied for what possible purpose this imaginary “ prison” could be devised for inflicting temporal punishment, *after the guilt and the eternal punishment is remitted*, but that of adding to the subjection, the blind subjection, in which the laity were to

* The Bull “*auctorem fidei*” printed by Keating and Co.

be held by the priests, and to be made, wherever it could be done with safety, to purchase by large sums the indulgence which was *graciously* to remit it? If in this country, for obvious reasons, the purchase is not openly made, yet it most notoriously is so in other countries; and even here, advantage is made of it in another way. It should be observed, that to gain the indulgence, it is necessary that the party should have received the communion: now this he cannot receive till he have satisfied his confessor by doing such penance (such *satisfaction* they call it) as is imposed upon him, which is often pecuniary.

Lastly, we are told that indulgence is not "a leave to commit sin."—It is seldom that indulgences have gone so far *in terms*. Protestants have said that they are encouragements to sin: and let us see how the case stands upon the shewing of these right Rev. Vicars Apostolic. If a man comply with the conditions above detailed (and we will take that he does it with great sincerity of heart and piety) at the *stated seasons*, he at once, by virtue of this plenary indulgence, escapes purgatory, he is freed from all dread of this same temporal punishment. But now if he do the same things, with the same devotion and sincerity, at *other seasons*, what does he gain by that? Nothing. He remains still exposed to this purgatory-fire in its full force. Now, does or does not this tend to make men careless as to their actions and devotions at those unprivileged times? Is it or is it not likely that many men (mistakingly if you will) may say, "I will take my pleasure now, I will enjoy the carnival; for Lent, or Christmas-day, or the feast of the assumption of the virgin is coming, and I shall then get my plenary indulgence?" To us this appears to be a most natural consequence. To those who would contest this, to William Acanthen, John Centurien, John Castabalen, and Bernard Peter Thespien, (such are the names subscribed to this precious document) we would put this further question:—what good, what plausible reason can be assigned why the same acts of devotion, done in the same spirit, should be effectual to the obtaining remission of punishment at one season and not at another?

Have they ever considered what St. Paul meant by his reproach to the Galatians, "Ye observe days, and months, and times and years?" With his conclusion, "I am afraid lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain?"

With these questions we shall dismiss the consideration of *plenary indulgences* in England. In the sister kingdom we know that they are not obtained so cheap: and perhaps in some future number we shall say a word or two with reference to the penitents in that quarter.

PROCEEDINGS OF IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

CORK ROMAN CATHOLICS.

" On Monday, August 30, a very large meeting of Roman Catholics assembled at the Lancasterian School-house; scarcely were the doors open when the place became crowded, and the fences which were set up by the committee were torn down by the crowds. Instantly Mr. James Roche proposed Mr. Galwey, of Lota, to the chair; on which the party in opposition to the committee became clamorous against him. Still he took the chair, and persisted in keeping it, and still the other party shewed equal perseverance in opposing him. The clamour now became extremely violent, owing to this struggle between the two parties; several attempts were made by Mr. Roche and others to address the meeting, but the body of Catholics were determined against hearing any thing while Mr. Galwey remained in the chair. Some proposed an adjournment to the South Chapel or into the outer yard; the committee rejected this proposal, the others insisted on it; and at length the former adjourned into Sir Anthony Perrier's yard, adjoining. The other party removed to a large space outside the building, when Counsellor Daniel O'Connell interfered, and proposed a deputation to the committee, to know whether they would come forward and petition for simple repeal, without concession or restriction of any description. This was agreed to, and a deputation waited on them accordingly, which, after two hours deliberation, returned, and declared that the committee had given up all opposition, and were coming again repeatant, hoping to find forgiveness; that they were bringing back their chairman, Mr. Galwey, who, like the prodigal son,* was sorry for his former conduct. Accordingly they returned, and Mr. Galwey was allowed quietly to resume the chair. Mr. O'Connell having thus triumphed over the committee, procured them to pass all those resolutions which so strongly mark those meetings in which he, or others identified with him in politics, have any influence. On a vote of thanks to Mr. Magee, Mr. Moylan objected, and having in the course of his speech called Magee a convicted libeller, a dreadful clamour arose, which called

* " We are requested to state, by Mr. Galwey, who presided at the adjourned Aggregate Meeting on Monday, that it was against his own inclination, and only at the earnest request of a majority of the board, that he consented to fill that situation; consequently, that if Counsellor O'Connell stated to the meeting, as had been represented, upon Mr. Galwey's return, that he appeared as a repeatant sinner, that he was not warranted in so saying, and that it was not correct."—*Cork Southern Reporter*; and thence copied into the *Dublin Journal* of September 9.

up Counsellor O'Connell, who defended Mr. Magee, and the vote passed.* Thanks likewise were voted to Dr. Milner,† "a worthy prelate," as Mr. O'Connell in a long panegyric declared, "who had no fault but that of being an Englishman." By another resolution an alteration is to take place in the committee, which is to be increased from 34 to 68, and all their meetings hereafter are to be public, with free admission to enter and hear their debates.‡ This meeting concluded by the chairing of Counsellor O'Connell by the mob, a vast concourse of whom attended him to his lodgings, where he addressed them from a window, returning them thanks for their patriotic exploits. We have been careful in this detail not to relate any thing but what was circumstantially true, having received our information from authority on which we could rely, nor have we any inclination to exaggerate, which indeed is not possible."

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—The following letter appeared lately in the *Dublin Correspondent*, and, from its subject, seems well entitled to greater publicity, in your valuable miscellany. The writer is a baronet of ancient family, and considerable property in the county of Mayo, the wildest part of Connaught; and like many other misguided Protestants, in that province (the most

* We have already spoken as we thought of Mr. Magee. That this young man is a convicted libeller is a fact. Himself a Protestant, though a tool in the hands of Papists, we trust that during the continuance of his imprisonment he will seriously reflect upon the inconsistency of his conduct, and will emancipate himself from doing the degrading work of a faction.

† Dr. Milner has here got into good company. Mr. (Counsellor as they call him, in Ireland) O'Connell defends the convicted libeller,—but imputes to the Doctor the fault of being an Englishman. This in the Counsellor's opinion may be a fault; but we take the liberty to beg the favour of him to reconsider the matter, (if ever he condescends to the drudgery of sedate thinking) and to examine whether, under all the circumstances of the case, the Doctor's having been born an Englishman can be reckoned more than a misfortune. It is not probable that Dr. Milner was consulted on the affair; or was fairly asked on which side of St. George's Channel he would choose to be born? One thing is clear, at all events,—we see how dear Englishmen are to Counsellor O'Connell.

‡ We have seen the glorious hubbub which prevailed at the Lancasterian School-house;—by way of ensuring order, and silence, and the unrestrained freedom of debate, first, we observe the wise measure of increasing the number of the committeemen from thirty-four to sixty-eight; and secondly, we admire the care that has been taken that the proceedings are to be public in future. We see the use that is to be made of all this. The minds of the people will be inflamed. The mob has already been mad enough to chair Mr. O'Connell;—what they may next attempt we cannot say,—but we are sure that they are ripe for any thing which an infuriated demagogue may put into their heads.

obnoxious, perhaps, to *Popish influence*), he has been heretofore distinguished, as he confesses, for "his *attentions, sincere attachment, and services weak but unwearied* to the CATHOLIC CAUSE,"—nominally designed to promote *Catholic emancipation*, but in reality *Popish ascendancy* in IRELAND, and ultimately throughout the BRITISH EMPIRE.

The charges he brings forward against his *parish priest* (for whom he professes to have had "a *long friendship and perfect respect*,") are of a very serious nature ; especially that of levying heavy and repeated *contributions* on every *Romish* family in his parish, by his own authority, *contrary to law*, and then refusing to account for the sums so collected. This, however, is by means novel or singular, nor confined to the parish priest of Newport. It is an established exaction, under which the whole *Romish* population of Ireland have long groaned, and by which immense sums are annually raised by their priesthood, to promote the Catholic cause :—"for *corruption and ammunition*," as laconically explained in an Irish House of Commons, during the debate on the ominous grant of the *elective franchise* to *Papists*, in the year 1793. This is an evil of the most serious and alarming tendency, which calls for the vigilant interposition of THE BRITISH LEGISLATURE to correct, without delay, as they value the public peace and tranquillity.

The other charges of "*public defamation*," "*taking forcible possession*," "*substituting a witness's name to a will*," refusing to clear his conduct and principles (at Sir O'Neal O'Donnel's expense) from the suspicion of *posting treasonable "notices in Castlebar to divide the people*," &c. all tend strongly to prove the necessity of PROTESTANT EMANCIPATION, in that *Catholic* province, by enforcing obedience to the *laws* of the land, which there are not seldom violated with impunity, through the arrogance of *Papists* and the timidity of *Protestants*: the latter "*liberally contributing*," through fear, to erect *magnificent Popish chapels*, every where, throughout the kingdom !

Yours, &c.

Crito.

" To the Rev. Mr. Burke, Parish Priest of Newport.

" Sept. 27, 1813.—Newport House.

" I assure you, Sir, no angry motive makes me reluctantly enter the lists of paper warfare with you, for whom I had a *very long, uninterrupted, impartial friendship, and most perfect respect*.

" Your conduct, latterly, called on me to oppose your measures, calculated to create discontent, and (from the repeated complaints of your parishioners) reluctantly at first I communicated in private the feelings and disapprobation of your parishioners. I requested of you to call a

meeting of your laity, and to regulate according to their wishes, and that I would *liberally* take away the load by a *voluntary contributio*7. After repeated and friendly communications with you, I found the evil increase—and that I was to be *contemptible* or respectable. I preferred the latter, and *we are at issue*.

“ My tenantry, mostly Roman Catholics, complain of *frequent levies* on them, and that *no account* is given by you to liquidate debts long due, or account for sums received, no advantage to the chapel, and that every year it remains unfinished. I remind you, Sir, with feelings of pride, *my family gave the land*, and upwards of *three hundred pounds to this chapel*. I gave *my mite*, and would *cheerfully and liberally* give again, had a proper and usual method and arrangement been made, according to the wishes of the parish, and had my advice had weight with you, Sir.—But on enquiry, I find, that you suppose my tenantry are entrusted to your *equity* or *black-letter*. You claim the sceptre and press-warrant to aid you in your deliberate exactions—for you can't call them voluntary, when decency is forgot and *essential qualities* are denied, until these exactions are complied with. I am induced to believe this is a *true* picture of the word used by you—“contribution.” I know it, and will, when you think fit to question my veracity, prove it before any of your bishops; and I call on you to impeach my statement—and that you have made use of my name, to enable you to act—by meeting and seeking the investigation I am reluctantly prepared to accuse, but proud to relieve the parish from your severity and *schemes of the closet*.

“ A sincere love for my tenantry and attachment to the laws, require my saying, frequent *donations*, as you call them, (and if I venture to express some anxiety, it is worthy of your attention) ought to be accounted for.—You know best why the application, made by your parishioners, made you irritable and void of reflection. *Your fulminations from your altar have no effect or weight on me—I am not under the range of your artillery, and I possess the full confidence of my tenantry, you know—I am not yet displaced by you as lord of the soil.*

“ My conduct, my rank in life, might have entitled me to common respect and decency—*my attentions and sincere attachment to the Catholic cause, when under the direction of a GRATTAN, a FINGAL, and a PLUNKET:—my services, weak, but unwearied—and above all, your dignity as a clergyman, in the house of God, placed at your altar, ought to have checked your courage and irritation of mind, and made you recollect the essential duties; and not, in an oration of three hours, false and scandalous, charge me with wishing to change the communion-table to the chapel, and put down the altar, working on the feelings and passions of your parishioners!! Why? Because I aided the parish to enquire into*

the expenditures, to have advances made and promised to be paid, fulfilled, and future sums accounted for, and (*to the point*) expended faithfully for the chapel and in no other way!! but lawful and reasonable.

"You charged me with having *no religion*. I confess I never called on you for absolution, educated and born a *Protestant*. You raised the dead to life; you exalted the living.—"*But the great little man* should not take away your altar—you were their true shepherd, and would watch very well." All very indulgent; and you would give them the kiss of forgiveness for having required you to account for sums received—one guinea on every house at one time; *ten shillings and five shillings*; and now your edict for *ten more* on every house over *my extensive estate*.—It is not, however, too late, and I will correct the error, and I will be advised on the subject, and I will meet you and place you before a *jury of your County*.

"You announced to above *two thousand* (for you have admitted that fact before a moral, active magistrate), that any thing you said was on record. I now acquaint you, that it is sworn to, and that I will prove that you wished to lessen me as a Magistrate—and the greater the congregation, the more aggravated your crime. •

"I announce to you, that *you must not continue to take forcible possessions, or convey freehold property contrary to law*, and put the *minor*, now of age, out of his freehold. I charge you with this. Punish my purse if I don't prove it before a jury, and that the *Priest's will has not priority* to the regular forms as *by law* directed.

"I announce to you, also, that after a testator dies, *substituting a witness's name* is not *equity or law*, and I will prove that fact has been done; for, it is a record now in the Court of *Tuam*, and within a few days lodged there—and I have written to *Tuam* on the subject. *The will* was in your possession.

"I will make no apology, but say you roused my indignation and suspicion of your conduct and principles when you refused to offer, in your name, for your parish, *fifty pounds, which I was to pay*, to find out the persons that put up *notices in Castlebar, to divide the people*; and I did it to raise you with your parish, but you rejected it—you know best why!! The most respectable of your clergy did it.

I am your humble servant, and reluctant accuser,

NEAL O'DONEL.*

* It is evident that the worthy baronet is not accustomed to write for the public. We have printed his letter, verbatim, as we received it. It is written from the heart, and that an honest one. It adds another, and a striking, feature to the picture of Ireland exhibited in this number of the Protestant Advocate.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CLERGY IN THE DIOCESE OF ST. DAVID'S.

WE have just received (Oct. 23d) a copy of the following resolutions; and we most heartily wish that the example which has been set in the diocese of St. David's may be followed by the clergy throughout the kingdom.

“ Resolutions of the Clergy of the Archdeaconries of St. David's, Brecon, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, at the Triennial Visitation held at Haverfordwest, Brecon, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, in September 1813.

“ Resolved,—That we, the clergy of the archdeaconry of St. David's, now assembled at the triennial visitation of the diocese, impressed with a deep sense of the duty which we owe to the established church, of which we are members and ministers, take this opportunity of expressing our most grateful thanks to the RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES ABBOTT, *Speaker of the House of Commons*, for his zealous and effectual support of the PROTESTANT RIGHTS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

“ That we entirely approve, and think very worthy of adoption, the constitutional principles, the decided character, and truly Protestant sentiments of the petition of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, presented to the legislature in the late session of Parliament.

“ That all foreign jurisdiction is inconsistent with national independence; and that the acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy in this country is contrary to the King's prerogative, and to the fundamental laws of the Reformation and Revolution; and is subversive of our Protestant constitution in church and state.

“ That if the subjects of any foreign jurisdiction, ecclesiastical or civil, should petition the legislature to admit them to seats in Parliament, and to offices of political power, we will also petition the legislature not to grant such petition so long as the petitioners acknowledge any foreign jurisdiction, and refuse to take the oath of supremacy to the King, as by law required.

“ That THE LORD BISHOP OF THIS DIOCESE be requested to convey the thanks of this meeting to the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons.

“ That these resolutions be printed in the *Cambrian, Carmarthen, and Hereford Journals*, and in the *Courier and Morning Post*.”

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE intend giving an interesting extract from Bishop Gibson's *Pastoral Letters* in our next.

We request the favour of our correspondent J. W. B., *Cambridgeshire*; to give us a reference to the book from whence the form of absolution which he sent us, is taken.

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For DECEMBER 1813.

"We have nothing before our eyes in this our undertaking, but the preservation of the Protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecution for their consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of all their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government."—*The Declaration of the Prince of Orange, at the Hague, Oct. 10, 1688.*

ADDRESS TO IRISH PROTESTANTS.

We have received through two distinct channels the following address, which we take the earliest opportunity of inserting in these pages.

"TO THE PROTESTANTS OF IRELAND.

"Having lately seen a publication in the Dublin Evening Post, purporting to be a petition of Protestants and Roman Catholics of Ireland, to the Imperial Parliament for the suppression of ORANGEMEN. A petition, which, in its first declaration, asserts a direct falsehood; as it declares itself to be the petition of *Protestants* and [Roman] *Catholics* of Ireland; whereas, it is well known in Belfast and its vicinity, wherein it originated, that a great many who have signed, and are the most active in forwarding it, belong to that dangerous and pernicious sect of *Free-thinkers*, as they call themselves, known by the name of *Deists*. It may astonish some who are unacquainted with the evasions of this sect, that people who pretend to lead the rest of mankind into the paths of rectitude and truth by their rules of reason and philosophy, should be found so far to deviate from the paths of moral rectitude, as to *bear false witness against their neighbours*. Astonish! did I say? but why should it astonish the most ignorant, that they should bear false witness against ORANGEMEN, when they have conjured up false evidence against the Christian revelation, and at their tribunal of reason have arraigned the SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD, and condemned him as an impostor! These are the men who would pretend to reform the world, by overturning every thing that is dear or valuable.

ble to mankind. These are the men, who, by promulgating the writings of VOLTAIRE, ROUSSEAU, VOLNEY, and PAINE, raised a revolution in France, which overturned its government; and in its stead erected a revolutionary tribunal, in which every idea of justice established since the creation, was trampled under foot and set at nought. A revolution which involved all Europe in the horrors of war, and drenched almost every part of its plains with human blood. These are the men who took infinite pains to disseminate their accursed and pernicious principles in Ireland, and by means of PAINE's diabolical *Age of Reason* and *Rights of Man*, together with their inflammatory publications in the Northern Star and Press newspapers, raised a spirit of revolt in the minds of its poor, deluded, and infatuated inhabitants, which afterwards burst forth in the year 1798, and spread the miseries of civil war over their native happy land. They would now, by means of false accusation and misrepresentation, persuade the British Senate to suppress the meetings of ORANGEMEN, (a society which originated and commenced at the revolution, and was afterwards revived in the year 1795, by a few loyal Protestants in the county of Armagh, for the purpose of counteracting and defeating the secret schemes and the open treasons of the UNITED IRISHMEN,) because their institution is uniformly directed against those principles of deism and disloyalty which evil-disposed men unremittingly endeavour to disseminate.

"That the substance of this petition is a mass of false evidence and misrepresentation, may be easily discovered by the following review of its contents.

"First, it charges ORANGEMEN with being bound by a secret and illegal oath. As to their oath it is *no secret*, nor do they wish to have it kept secret; it has been printed long ago, and is before the world; and as to its *legality*,* it may be judged of by its contents, which are, "That they will support his Majesty King George the Third, his heirs and successors, so long as he or they support the Protestant ascendancy, the laws and constitution of these kingdoms." It will be said that this is conditional, but it perfectly agrees with that statute which settled the crown on the heirs of the Princess Sophia, *being Protestants*. If this be illegal I know not the meaning of the word legality.

"It next charges ORANGEMEN, that by their riotous and tumultuous proceedings they have disturbed the peace of the country. Another false-

* We are well aware of the provisions contained in the 39th of his present Majesty, ch. 79.—The sanction under which the Orangemen bind themselves to the principles of their institution, and to each other, is about to be rendered conformable not only with the *spirit* of the constitution, (which it is, and ever has been), but with the very *letter* of the law.—EDITOR.

hood. Where or when were they riotous or tumultuous? At no time or place. No: their processions are orderly and decorous; they neither abuse nor attack any person without being first attacked themselves, in which case they are obliged, for self preservation, to make a defence.

"It next goes on to charge, that on certain anniversaries they appear with party insignia, and sometimes with military arms, &c. Why is not the whole truth stated? why does not the petition declare, as it ought, if the authors had any respect for truth, that they assemble on the 12th day of July to celebrate the anniversary of the 1st day of July 1690, O. S. on which day William the Third, Prince of Orange, obtained a victory over James the Second, at the Boyne: a victory which, in its consequences, led to the establishment of the House of Brunswick on the throne of these kingdoms, and freed the nation from that abject slavery under which they groaned, during the dynasty of the House of Stewart. That ORANGEMEN on these, or any other occasions, assemble with military arms, (except such of them as are in yeomanry corps, on their parades) I defy the malevolence of their enemies to prove. No: it is another direct falsehood worthy of its mean fabricators. They, indeed, had recourse to military arms on a late occasion in the town of Belfast, when they were wantonly attacked, and insulted with the most virulent, abusive, and opprobrious language, and even assailed and struck with brick-bats, &c. (without giving any offence or provocation whatever) they were then compelled to stand in their own defence, the result of which is well known.* The perpetrators of this daring outrage, in open violation of the law, were composed of the lower order, hired and deputed for that purpose by their more wealthy and opulent neighbours, which is a stigma and a disgrace to their characters, that time cannot obliterate. ORANGEMEN meet only for celebrating that glorious event, and not with the intention of insulting or offending any person whatever. That irritation and a spirit of opposition should be manifested by those who detest the revolution, need be matter of surprise to no person who will, for one moment, calmly investigate and weigh the affair in his own mind. The reason why ORANGEMEN exclude Roman Catholics from their societies, is, because they conceive that Roman Catholics would never bind themselves to support the Protestant ascendancy or the Protestant succession to the throne;† but on the contrary, when opportunity served, would strive

* See Prot. Adv. p. 45, vol. ii.

† A certain dignitary in their Church, lately declared his opinion, that should Catholics swear to support the Protestant succession, they would thereby be bound to resist a Popish successor, should such a one appear, merely because he was a Catholic, which, he said, it never could be expected they would do.

to defeat it. That many treasonable societies, under different names, have arisen, and are likely to arise, manifesting a spirit of rebellion, hostility, and hatred against the present government, does not appear strange, when that spirit which agitated and raised the rebellion in 1798, is still kept alive by artful demagogues. I agree with the petitioners that the laws are fully equal to suppress all illegal associations. Why then apply for new laws? But this admission is made with the intention of propagating another falsehood, "that the laws are not equally administered;" because judge and jury, who are solemnly sworn to do justice impartially, will not yield up their consciences to every capricious whim of those men who are professed enemies to their God, and to their King. ORANGEMEN seek no protection but the laws of the land; these they are sworn and bound to defend. The laws are their shield of protection against the inveterate malice of their enemies.

"The petition further states, that the lives and properties of the petitioners are not safe, whilst ORANGE societies are connived at, and countenanced! The breast of every honest and unprejudiced man, will give the lie to such foul assertions. Is there one single man among the petitioners afraid that ORANGEMEN will destroy his life or property? They well know there is not:—they know this to be another gross and palpable falsehood.

"It next charges them with committing such outrages as have made Ireland more dangerous than the woods and savannahs of the American savages! Monstrous assertion! In a country where every man who will conduct himself peaceably, enjoys the most perfect security of any country on the face of the globe; in a country where every protection is afforded to the exercise of every civil and religious duty; in a country where the laws afford equal protection to every man, from the prince to the peasant;—this is the country of which they have drawn such a picture, and mean to present the hideous caricature to the legislature. That ORANGEMEN not only anticipate rebellion, but are in actual hostility against the deism and sedition at present propagating, and appearing in certain public prints, is a truth they will never attempt to deny; but that their engagements tend to excite rebellion *against the government of their country*, is a charge too monstrous in itself even to deserve a reply!

"These artful demagogues would endeavour to persuade the legislature to be governed by the wild chimeras of the Roman Catholic Boards' self-created tribunals, elected in Dublin and Cork, for the purpose, *as they pretend*, of petitioning Parliament for the removal of the disabilities affecting their body; but this is only a *pretence*. Their purpose, as appears by their proceedings, is to arraign every public man and public measure, at their tribunal, and if condemned by the Board, they are immediately

delivered over to their executioner, the Editor of the Dublin Evening Post, under this sentence, to be dealt with according to his pleasure. But Mr. Editor* happening to get a little too warm in executing sentence against our late illustrious Viceroy the Duke of Richmond, was arraigned (in a legal court) as a libeller, and all the eloquence of Counsellor O'Connell could not persuade the jury to acquit him. These Boards have presumed to interdict the use of British manufactures,† they have also presumed to order the Roman Catholics to register their freeholds, and to give their suffrages to no man who will not previously engage to give his vote in Parliament for what they call their emancipation. Their next resolve will be, if they shall at any time hereafter be *emancipated*, (in their own sense of the word) 'that they will vote for no other person to represent them in Parliament, but a Roman Catholic.'

"The people who are forwarding this petition to Parliament against ORANGEMEN, would persuade the British Legislature to admit Popery into the bosom of the constitution, by such arguments as these:—The Romanists will be perfectly harmless,—and there can be but few of them returned to Parliament for these many years to come; the Protestants therefore will have a majority in both Houses, which will beat down any opposition that may be raised.' A pretty argument truly! As well might they persuade the father of a family to admit a person into his house, who would be likely to raise strife and contention amongst his children, merely because a few of them would still submit to his guidance. As well might they persuade a man to admit a serpent into his bosom, because if it should attempt to fix its fangs in him, he would be able to throttle it. As well might they persuade a man to take poison, because an antidote might be found to expel it. Why do they not at once petition the legislature to obliterate from the records of Parliament, that resolution entered into by the Convention-Parliament, who met on the 22d day of January 1688, which declares, "That it had been found inconsistent with the Constitution of this Protestant kingdom, to be governed by a Popish prince." Why do they not at once petition for a total repeal of that statute which secures to the Protestant^r heirs of the Princess Sophia the succession to the crown, and thus, by a bold stroke, at once to destroy every principle of exclusion; and leave the succession open to popery and deism.

"That concessions to Papists will ever cause them to wish well to a Protestant establishment, is a position which, I think, no man will be hardy enough to assert; but should any man be found bold enough to do so, let him look back to their conduct for a few years. When the British

* Poor Mr. Magee. We have ever pitied this deluded young Protestant. See vol i, p. 649; and vol. ii, p. 92.—EDITOR.

† So did Buonaparte; so did the Americans!—EDITOR.

Parliament, in the year 1778, granted relief to the Roman Catholics, what return did they make? Why, in a few years after, the Papists in the south of Ireland, under the denomination of **WHITE-BOYS**, spread terror and dismay over a great extent of country, by maiming the inhabitants, and houghing their cattle, until the Irish Parliament found it necessary to pass a special Act for the purpose of suppressing them. In the year 1793, when the Elective Franchise was extended to Catholics, by the Irish Parliament, what return did they make for such concessions and indulgences? Why, they entered into another foul conspiracy, under the new name of **DEFENDERS** sworn to exterminate Protestants, as the pass-word by which they knew each other indicated,—proved on the trial of Weldon, in Dublin, in the year 1796,—this word was **ELIPHISMATIS**, being the initial letters of the following sentence, “**EVERY LOYAL IRISH PROTESTANT HERETIC I SHALL MURDER, AND THIS I SWEAR.**” They afterwards, in the year 1798, assisted by a party of deists who pretended to be Protestants and Dissenters, raised a most horrid rebellion, and in the county of Wexford, particularly, committed the most inhuman murders that ever disgraced the annals of any country. These are the people whom these demagogues would raise to the rank of British Senators, to make laws to govern this Protestant state! When that day shall come, which the Almighty avert, it may easily be foreseen, without pretending to the gift of prophecy, what return they will make. Then adieu for ever, peace, harmony, and concord in the British senate!

“**VERITAS.**”

“*Lurgan, Sept. 1813.*”

PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

THE following principal resolutions, among others, adopted August 12th, at a county and city aggregate meeting of the Catholics of **LIMERICK**, consisting of 10,000 persons, among whom were many of the first respectability and fortune [always!] will serve to shew the general line intended to be pursued by the Irish Roman Catholics, at large, in the continuance of their efforts, to obtain, as they phrase it, the full enjoyment of the blessings of the constitution.

“5th. That, as children of Ireland, we cannot but offer, in the warmth of our hearts, our unabated affections, and unshaken attachment to Henry Grattan, the father of his country; and that we rely on his fidelity and perseverance in the cause of our *unqualified* emancipation.

6th. That until such time as we are admitted to that unqualified emancipation, we are determined, by every legal means on our part, to seek so desirable an object: nor will we, for any temporal consideration, com-

promise the principles of our religion, consistent as they truly are, with those of the constitution, and the happiness of society.

" 7th. That by far the most powerful of those means, within our reach, is the Elective Franchise, which we therefore earnestly recommend to Catholics to exercise, on the principles of public good, not of private interest."

General Observation.

If our readers will be pleased to turn to p. 635, vol. I. they will see that on July 3d the Roman Catholic Board in Dublin declared that Mr. Grattan " had forfeited their confidence, and should not again be permitted to present their petition to Parliament." It might appear strange that the Limerick folks at an aggregate meeting should adopt language of another sort, but that the *consistent* Dublin aggregators keep them in countenance; for on the motion of the same ardent soul, Mr. O'Connell, alias O'Connell, alias Mr. Connell, alias Counsellor O'Connel, the Board came to a resolution indicative of a change of sentiment.

" At a meeting of the [Roman] Catholic Board, in Dublin, on Saturday the 6th of November, N. Mahon, Esq. in the chair, Mr. O'Connell moved the following resolution, which was carried unanimously,—That the chairman be requested to communicate with the Earl of Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, and, in the *most respectful* manner, to ascertain whether it is their wish, that a form of a bill for Catholic emancipation shall be put into their hands. The object in view is to lay before the legislature an authorized document, containing the views of the *Catholics themselves*, as to the form in which *their* claims *should be conceded*. This is done to satisfy inquiries which have frequently been made, without the means of giving a satisfactory answer. Mr. Connell gave notice of another motion, the effect of which was to declare inadmissible any arrangement on ecclesiastical matters which should not be sanctioned by the [Roman] Catholic prelates."

As to the other matters contained in the Limerick resolutions they are discussed in the notes on other popish documents, below.

Clause of the new Roman Catholic Petition.

A correspondent has sent us the following extract from the Chester Chronicle.

" One part of the intended Roman Catholic petition, is couched in the following terms.

" We abjure all temporal authority, except that of our sovereign;—we acknowledge no civil tie, save that of our constitution,—and for our lavish and voluntary expenditure, we only ask a reciprocity of benefits."

General Observation.

This abjuration amounts to nothing. It has been proved again and again that the *spiritual* jurisdiction exercised by the Pope and his devoted engines in these islands, involves in it a prodigious sway of *temporal* authority. When Queen Elizabeth was excommunicated by the Pope, and her subjects were absolved from their allegiance—did not this impious assumption of spiritual power operate to the severest (intended) infliction of temporal privation? was it not the signal for revolt, rebellion, civil commotion of every sort, assassination and slaughter? Do the adherents of popery in Ireland treat the *Catholic Question*, as they impudently call it, as a *religious* one merely? Look at the threats and insults resorted to at the last election. Did the Papists invade no *civil* rights of their fellow-countrymen at that period? look at what we denominated the *Popish non-intercourse Resolutions* in our last number, p. 47. Do they regard *spiritual* affairs?—What *lavish expenditure* is this which is alluded to, in the latter part of this precious morceau? Can any man of common sense be imposed on by stuff like this? will Parliament be so gulled?—If it be true that this abjuration of foreign temporal interference, and this petition for “a reciprocity [reciprocality] of benefits,” really form part of an intended Roman Catholic petition to Parliament, we shall be much obliged to any one who will favour us with a copy of the entire instrument. We shall publish it, with such annotations as we trust will shew at once the futility of its reasoning, and the audacity of its demands.*

Roman Catholic Discussion of the Veto.

An article in *The Dublin Evening Post*, (which has been called the *Gazette of the Papists*) dated October 26th, informs us, that “a meeting of some English [Roman] Catholics was held last week at Durham to facilitate the Veto.† There were present Dr. Gibson, Dr. Collingridge,

* Since this was written, we have procured a copy, which our readers will find below, p. 106.

† We refer our readers to Veridicus's Letter on the Veto, in our last Number, p. 71. Never did the Papists shew themselves worse politicians than in the hasty offer and the capricious refusal of a Veto. Their discussions at Durham are ill-timed. The *thorough-paced* Romanists have views of their own, of which the *mitigated* Romanists, (as the two classes have been designated in the Protestant Advocate) have not a glimpse. The latter would not object, it is presumed, to allow the crown the exercise of a Veto; but the former will admit of nothing that bears the semblance of control, or may but seem to concede a particle, however small, of that supremacy to the king, which they will not recognize in any one except a foreign Bishop. They may all of them save their spirits and leave their lungs at rest, and give their pens a holiday. Neither the people nor the Parliament can any longer be tricked by any offer of the kind.

and Dr. Pointer, the three [Roman] Catholic bishops, or rather vicars apostolic of the northern, western, and London districts; also a Scotch bishop, some minor clergy, and about six or eight laymen. Mr. Charles Butler* was expected from London. Dr. Milner,† the fourth Roman Catholic Bishop, *was not invited*, being found too closely attached to the principles of the Irish [Roman] Catholics, or as the *Vetoists* say, *hibernized*.

We understand that the discussion turned upon the *amount*‡ of ecclesiastical securities to be tendered, on their part, to the Parliament in the next session; and a sketch of this nature was agreed upon, by which the [Roman] Catholic clergy of England are to be placed under such marked restraints and coercion, as (should the arrangements be effected), must render them objects of pity,§ rather than alarm, to the most apprehensive."

The possession of a Veto will not tend to secure the affections of the Papists; and the recognition of the Pope's appointment to the exercise of Episcopal functions in this Protestant realm, cannot, in the opinion of competent judges, be held consistent with the principles of the British Constitution. The decisions of the provincial synod at Durham, will but inflame the acts of the great Romish Council of Dublin. Ill, very ill, would the Papists coalesce in amity with the Protestants, when they cannot harmonize, so far as to preserve the rules of common civility with one another.

* Mr. Charles Butler is particularly disliked by the Hibernian high-fliers. He is the very man intended by the *moderate* Counsellor O'Connell, in the succeeding article, under the apparently general description of *some* English Barrister who knows nothing of *itself*, [Ireland] its laws, or its inhabitants." Any attention or deference shown to Mr. Butler will cause Mr. O'Connell's bile to overflow. The Papists hardly know friends from foes. They conduct their own affairs wretchedly. We must not suffer them to tamper with the constitution of England.

† Dr. Milner's vehemence rises to the level of Counsellor O'Connell's violence. It is true, he is *hibernized*. He has undergone anti-vaccination. The Popish Virus of Ireland rages in his veins. The mitigated Papists at Durham suspect him because he is *hibernized*;—and Counsellor O'Connell imputes to him the *fault* of "being an *Englishman*." (See our last number, p. 92.) We would recommend it to the English and the Irish Roman Catholics to unite in a petition to the Pope, to send this mongrel, this hibernized Englishman, to Castabala, in order to preach to the Turks in Cilicia.

‡ This is a precious business. *The Amount of securities!* This implies that *some* securities are wanting. But how is this? are the Papists chaffering with Parliament for concessions? Is allegiance, then, become an optional matter? However this may be, in the opinion of the Irish Roman Catholics, the Dunelmensian Papists have been busied in weighing out, in the way of barter, by the rules of Tare and Tret, certain portions of securities for certain quantities of concessions.

§ *Pity!* The English Papists disabled from doing eventual mischief, are to be reckoned objects of *pity* by the "emphatical people," the glorious sons of Misrule in Ireland! We trust that the English Roman Catholics will go on in the good work which they

NEW PETITION OF THE IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS, WITH ANNOTATIONS.

A copy of the intended new petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland has reached us, and we hasten to lay it before our readers. We are bold to assert that it is stuffed with false assertions; that it is thick set with flaming words, "full of fury, but signifying nothing;" and that although it is sent forth by its framers as a masterpiece, it is a composition as flimsy as it is violent, and cannot impose upon any man possessed of common sense guided by common information. We shall print it entire, taking the liberty of accompanying it with a few brief notes, by way of shewing how completely plain truth can put down this farrago of impudence.

" Catholic Board.

Capel Street, Saturday, October 23. [1813]

Edward Blake, of Ffrenchfort, Esq. in the chair.

After the preliminary business, Doctor Sheridan presented the petition in its amended form to the secretary, who read it. It is as follows:—

"We, the Roman Catholic people of Ireland, again approach the Legislature with a statement of the grievances under which we labour,* and of which we most respectfully, but at the same time most firmly, solicit the effectual redress. Our wrongs are so notorious and so numerous, that

have taken in hand. Little as we regard the Veto, lightly as we esteem it, let them but convince their countryman that no harm can betide them by dividing the allegiance due to their Sovereign, and withholding a moiety of it from him; that their spiritual guides shall not interfere with the temporalities of British subjects, like Sir Neal O'Donnell's parish Priest; let them but submit to such "restraints and coercion" as mark the difference between a state of barbarism and civil society, and such as their Protestant brethren recognize, respect, and themselves submit to;—and the Legislature will soon place them on a level with the most favoured class of British subjects. In that event, instead of being objects of pity, they will become the envy of the world.

* What are these grievances of which these violent men complain? The penal statutes are repealed. The Papists are excluded from some three or four-and-thirty places of trust in the government of the country and the administration of its laws. The fact is,—they are greedy of power. If it be asked, why do they covet power? the answer is this,—that they may extend the pale of their church, and crush those whom they count heretics. A strange anomaly would it be for Popish members of Parliament to make laws for a Protestant State; or for popish Privy-Counsellors to advise a Protestant Monarch how to construe, and how to maintain unbroken, his coronation-oath. A popish Parliament and a popish administration shewed "what manner of spirit they were of," when James II, after he had stolen away from Eugland, abused the kingly power in Ireland. We were then taught a lesson, concerning a popish government, never to be forgotten. We cannot help calling the attention of our readers to the unceremonious way, [to say the least of it, in which these fiery zealots "approach the Legislature," They introduce the words "most respectfully," it is true; the word

their minute detail is quite unnecessary, and would indeed be impossible,* were it deemed expedient. Ages of persecution† on the one hand, and of patience on the other, sufficiently attest our sufferings and our submission. Privations have been answered only by petition—indignities by remonstrances—injuries by forgiveness. It has been a misfortune to have suffered for the sake of our religion, but it has also been a pride to have borne the best testimony to the purity of our doctrine by the meekness of our endurance.‡

"humble" they disdain to use, and lest the former expression "most respectfully" might seem degrading in the eyes of those who have witnessed their intemperate harangues, and those violences which have distressed even their own advocates,—they clap their hats upon their heads, set their arms à-kimbo, and "most firmly [*audaciously*, we say,] solicit [*demand* "had been more germane to the matter",] effectual redress." We appeal to all the world whether, by "effectual redress," we are not to understand an *impairment of political and ecclesiastical power*.

* We agree in the use of this word "*impossible*." We do deem it an *impossible* task for the Papists to enter upon a detail of *wrongs*. Let any impartial man read in the History of Great Britain since the era of the reformation say, whether the enactment of the laws coercing Papists, (which laws, so far as they were penal, are all repealed in Ireland), were not occasioned by reiterated and various attempts against the established constitution of Church and State? There has never been a law enacted to restrain the Papists, without an overt act on their part rendering the restriction necessary. Language more becoming the Irish Roman Catholics had been this—"we humbly approach the Legislature, blushing for the outrageous crimes of our ancestors, promising all dutiful submission to the laws, and abhorring the use of the sword, the rack, and the faggot."

† How many *ages* have elapsed since the violences of the Papists were restrained? Can *restriction* be called *persecution*? It no more can deserve such a name, than *rebellion* the name of *patience*. *Sufferings and submission! massacres*, rather, and *sedition*. Have the Irish Papists no shame? or do they imagine that the Protestants have no memories? Here we must "amend the record." For "*privations, &c.*" read "*privations of power wantonly abused, have been answered by fresh outrages; well-merited coercion by daring demands, and deserved disabilities by unrelenting hatred.*"

‡ The Papists have never suffered for their *religion*; unless *their religion* teaches them to excommunicate their sovereign, to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, to offer his crown to a foreigner, to rise in arms against him, to kill the bodies of their fellow-countrymen, and to consign their souls to everlasting damnation and the "blackness of darkness for ever!" Christianity teaches them very different things; comparing what true religion enjoins its disciples, with the conduct of Papists—how deeply must we deplore the corruptions of popery! So far as the Irish Roman Catholics have been guided by the precepts of the *gospel*, they have never suffered for their religion. What foreheads of bronze must they have, to tell Parliament of *the meekness of their endurance*. They can hardly be kept from the perpetration of deeds revolting to humanity—too dreadful to particularize—by the point of the bayonet. If they feel indignant at the idea of submission to a British king—*this they owe to a Pope*. Pope Adrian IV assuming

"We have sustained the power which spurned us—we have served the arm which smote us—we have lavished our strength, our talents, and our treasures, and buoyed on the prodigal effusion of our young blood, the triumphant ark of British liberty.*

"We approach then, with confidence, an enlightened legislature; in the name of nature, we ask our rights as men. In the name of the constitution, we ask our privileges as subjects. In the name of God, we ask the sacred protection of unprecedented piety as christians.†

"Are securities required of us? we offer them—the best securities a throne can have—the affections of a people. We offer faith which was never violated—hearts that never were corrupted—valour that never crouched; every hour of peril has proved our allegiance, and every field of Europe exhibits its example.‡

a power of giving away kingdoms, absolutely made over Ireland to Henry II. We wish to emancipate them from the yoke of popish slavery. We wish them to enjoy the benefits of pure religion, and, with the Protestants, to partake of that "liberty wherewith CHRIST hath made them free." They cling to slavery. They contend for the corruptions of the church of Rome, which once gave them up, like the lowest species of bondmen, to a foreign power. The English Protestants labour to make them "free indeed."

* A very emphatical flourish! It might sound very well as part of a speech in the House of Commons, but it reads rather oddly as a paragraph in a petition to Parliament.

† Unless the Irish Romanists choose to de-civilise themselves,—to ask for the natural rights of man is a strange request. The very phrase, "rights as men," savours of a detestable school. Popery, however, and jacobinism, in Ireland and elsewhere, but particularly in Ireland, we know to be nearly allied.—As to the constitution, there is no end of talking about it as something theoretical; we only recognize in the constitution *ed quod est constitutum*. Now, how can what the petitioners intend by "privileges" consist with a Protestant constitution?—The "unprecedented piety" of Papists! "The maiden modesty of Grimbald!" How do they measure their piety? By the number of Ave-Marias, Credos, and Pater-Nosters, repeated on certain days, or in a given time? By fasting on seasoned lobsters? by believing in Dr. Milner's reported miracle at St. Winifred's Well? by anathematizing the Protestants—the very Parliament which they petition? Let them shew their piety towards God by their obedience to their earthly superiors, by their love to mankind, and particularly by their charity towards those who differ from them in opinion.

‡ How can they expect to impose upon Parliament by the gabble of this paragraph? "We will not give you what you require, (they might as well say) we withhold from you the securities which you demand—but we will fob you off with something else." Securities! what security can be expected from a people infamous for revolt against their sovereign. The history of three centuries marks, in letters of blood, an unparalleled series of seditions, conspiracies, rebellions, horrible barbarities exercised on man and beast, individual murders and massacres in the mass. Each restraint complained of, was the result of repeated aggressions time after time. Monstrous assurance! to talk

"We abjure all temporal authority, except that of our sovereign. We acknowledge no civil pre-eminence, save that of our constitution, and for our lavish and voluntary expenditure, we ask only a reciprocity of benefits.*

"Separating, as we do, our civil rights, from our spiritual duties, we humbly desire that they may not be confounded. We 'render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but we must also 'render unto God the things that are God's.' Our church could not descend to claim a state authority, nor do we ask for it a state aggrandisement. Its hopes, its powers, and its pretensions, are of another world; and when we raise our hands most humbly to the state, our prayer is not that the fetters may be

of the *affections* of a class of people more disaffected to its own government than any in Europe.—"*Faith never violated!*" In 1798, multitudes, after taking the oaths prescribed by law, rushed into the ranks of rebellion, regardless of good faith, and the most sacred sanction of fidelity which the wit of man could devise.—"*Hearts that never were corrupted.*" Some of the men who were corrupted by the gold of France, have been hanged; some live to this day in the land of the enemy, who can, now, hardly offer them an asylum; one escaped the vengeance of the law by committing suicide.—Did not the *valour* of the Irish Papists *crouch* when King William gained the battle of the Boyne? What said James II. himself, when he lay in prison before Londonderry, his patience being exhausted by the slowness of the besiegers—"had my soldiers been *English*, they would have brought me the town stone by stone before this time." We are sick of this continual trumpeting of Irish valour by Irishmen. Let us hear no more of it. Let us leave his drum to Parolles, and to Bobadil his punto, his reverse, his stoocam, his passada, his montanto. The Irish are brave, and so are the English, and so are the Scotch, all brave, and each people not less brave than their neighbours. Foul befall those that would institute invidious comparisons between them.—The *allegiance* of the Irish Papists was very conspicuous in the *hour of peril* which assailed them at *Vinegar-hill*.

* This paragraph is another empty flourish. The worthy Sir Neal O'Donell shall tell them, how dextrously the spiritual fathers contrive to finger temporalities. The good baronet shall tell his own tale. *Respondet pre nobis Aristoteles*. The sole question is, concerning obvious danger to the state,—to the sovereign,—and to the subject, by the unconstitutional influence of the Pope's *spiritual* jurisdiction. The sort of abjuration here attempted is nothing to the purpose. The Catholic Board, the object of which is to overturn our constitution, act very foolishly to mention the constitution by name. An *English barrister* would counsel them to proceed more warily. What is the "lavish and voluntary expenditure" of the Papists? The Protestants contribute far more than they do to the exigencies of the state; because, compared in number with the Protestants, they form but a small body of men. We know that they are fond of counting themselves by *millions*. If we should take their own words, there are more *Papists* in Ireland than *men*. 'Tis an "*emphatical people!*" They put the state to a vast deal of extra-expense, by compelling the government to pay a great number of soldiers to keep them in order.

transferred to the hands which are raised for us to heaven. We would not erect a splendid shrine, even to liberty, on the ruins of the temple.*

"In behalf then of five millions of a brave and loyal people, we call upon the Legislature to annihilate the odious bondage, which bows down the mental, physical, and moral energies of Ireland, and, in the name of that gospel which breathes charity to all, we seek freedom of conscience for all the inhabitants of the British empire.†

"May it therefore please this honourable house to abolish all penal and disabling laws, which in any manner infringe religious liberty, or restrict the free enjoyment of the sacred rights of conscience within these realms.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."‡

Mr. Scully rose, humbly to move that the petition, as read by the secretary, be now definitively adopted. He had the satisfaction to inform the Board, that every amendment suggested by *his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin*, had been immediately adopted by the committee, and he was

* This paragraph is a compound of nonsense *malaxed* with modest assurance. The very point in debate is, the alarming degree in which the *civil* duties of the Romanists are endangered by their supposed *spiritual* duties. They are for ever confounding rights with duties, though they here ask the Parliament not to fall into that error. There is nothing in this whole paragraph which is not founded in a clear *petitio principii*. An *English barrister* would certainly have warned them against any thing so childish as *begging the question*. We conceive that there is some typographical error in the copy of the petition; for, as it now stands, it is (in the last sentence but one) replete with mystery, if not nonsense. It is (as Foote said of one of Dr. Squintum's harangues) "finely confused, and very alarming."

† "Five millions"—for this,—read three millions, *nostro periculo*. "Freedom of conscience!" We appeal to all the world, whether, under the glorious constitution of Great Britain, every subject does not enjoy freedom of conscience. There is no Popish Inquisition in Britain. There is no yearly anathematization, on holy Thursday, of any class of men in this land of freedom. A Protestant state reveres toleration. Does Popery respect it? The Papists continually mistake the nature of toleration. They do not understand it; and they fancy that the Parliament cannot distinguish between *freedom of conscience* and the acquisition of *political power*. The former they enjoy;—their conduct has not yet shewn that they may be safely entrusted with the latter.

‡ The prayer of the petition is of a piece with the body of it. The *penal laws* are already abolished; and there are no "disabling laws which in any manner infringe religious liberty, or restrict the free enjoyment of the sacred rights of conscience, within these realms."—We beg to remark, that *these realms* cannot be a proper expression, the petition purporting to be that of the Roman Catholic people of *Ireland*.—As to the words which conclude this egregious petition, "and your petitioners will ever pray,"—we are willing to allow that *they are unquestionably founded in truth*;—let Parliament grant what it may—the Irish Papists will "ever pray" for more. Their craving for power will never cease till they possess it completely, and can wield it at pleasure.

assured that those amendments, which were four in number, would meet the full concurrence and approbation of the present meeting. Mr. Scully thought he might therefore congratulate the Catholics upon the perfect and cordial approval by their bishops, of this their ninth or tenth application to the Legislature, for the complete removal of the grievous disabilities under which they so unjustly labour.

The chairman, after some conversation, put the motion, "That the petition, with the amendments, as reported by the committee of accounts, be now definitively adopted."

This was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. O'Connel gave notice of a motion which he intends to make next Saturday, that whoever presents the petition of the Irish Catholics to the legislature, may be communicated with, respecting a bill for their emancipation. His object was to have a bill prepared by the Board, that the emancipation of the country might not be confided to *some English barrister*, who knew nothing of itself, its laws, or its inhabitants. It might be objected, that there was a want of respect to the legislature in this mode of proceeding; but he denied that such was the fact. Persons who apply for road-bills, trade-bills, &c. uniformly come with the bill prepared, and surely it would not be said, that the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland was a matter of less importance than a sugar regulation, or a new road. The necessity for his motion must be obvious. The late bill bore the most unequivocal marks of having been drawn up in total ignorance of the penal laws. Upon the subject of religion, every thing would be set at rest by the synod, which will certainly meet on the 10th of November, and if his information was correct, the Catholic clergy would effectually defeat all opponents of their late conduct, by fair argument and reason. He need not observe that they would never consent to barter any part of their religion for the temporal benefit of the laity, even if the latter were base enough to require it, which he knew they were not. One most material objection to the late bill, was the increase it gave to that influence which was already so much overcharged, as to occasion regret to every lover of constitutional liberty. He meant the influence of the crown. He thought it necessary to throw out this much, in order to guard against misrepresentation. When he came to make his motion, he should enlarge somewhat more fully on the topics he had now but glanced at.

Mr. Mahon stated as a fact within his own knowledge, that the Catholic bill, when it left this country, was a bill for simple repeal, and that it was after having crossed the water, that it underwent those alterations which totally changed its nature.

Sir John Hope.

Mr. O'Connell entered notice of a motion which he intends to submit at the next meeting of the Board, for a vote of thanks to that distinguished officer, the late commander of the forces in this country. It was a mark of respect to which he conceived him well entitled for the uniform impartiality displayed by him in his official station in Ireland. He had discountenanced all party business in the army, and had relieved the people from the insults of party times: all this too he had done during the Richmond administration.

We have printed Mr. Scully's motion, &c. by way of letting the good people of England see a little of the *unassuming* manners, the *temperate* language, the *peaceful* demeanor, of the Irish Roman Catholics. We beg to say, however, that we do not mean to affirm that they are *all* of a like cast with those who assisted at this meeting of the *soi-disant* Catholic Board. Counsellor BELLEW, and his adherents, conduct themselves very differently from Counsellor Connell, and his crew of inflamed zealots. By the way, we request the attention of the English reader to what the agreeable Mr. Scully (who has a notable *head-piece*) says, viz. that certain amendments were suggested by *his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin*. If we turn to the red book, the Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland, and Bishop of Glendelagh, is the most Reverend Euseby Cleaver, D. D.—but it is impossible that a Protestant Prelate, such as the Bishop of St. Asaph's brother, would undertake the task (incompletely done, after all,) of purging the Irish Popish petition from its bulls, blunders, and false assertions. The person meant by Mr. Scully (*O lepidum caput!*) is neither more nor less than the famous *Dr. Troy*, notorious for his *moderation*, and for his abhorrence of all religio-political intrigues.—“Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?” No, good Mr. Scully;—the Protestant Church of Ireland is not yet reduced to a *caput mortuum*;—the Protestant ascendancy survives all the efforts of its enemies;—Dr. Troy is but the *titular* Archbishop, but the shadow that proves the substance true. Mr. Scully's language, though very “*emphatical*,” is not very decorous; nor will the violence of this *headstrong* man tend to *conciliate* the feelings either of the English people or the British Parliament. They may smile at folly, but it will not become them to connive at insult.—

We have noticed the detestation in which an *English barrister* is held in another place. It is fit it should be known that the words *Saxons*, *Englishmen*, *Protestants*, and *Heretics*, denote a class of persons all equally hated by the bigotted Irish Papists.

Sir John Hope will not relish any compliment paid him by a set of men

who abuse the administration of the Duke of Richmond. Has poor Magee's punishment for libelling the Duke of Richmond no effect on M. O'Connell?

We now request the attention of our readers to two short papers relating to the proceedings of foreign Roman Catholics.

Deputation from South America.

It seems that a deputation is arrived in London from the existing government at Buenos Ayres. The gentlemen composing it, had not, at the date of this note, been received by the king's ministers. Many obvious difficulties present themselves. They are representatives of a province in a state of revolt from the authority of one of our allies. The matter, however, in which *we* are concerned is this;—the person who is in possession of the chief command at Buenos Ayres is a *priest*, who has declared himself *hostile to the celibacy of the clergy*. The deputation have announced a wish to carry to South America some teachers versed in the *new method of instructing youth*. This gives us great pleasure. Whether in Ireland or in South America, we must wish the mass of the people to be put into a way of reading, and particularly of reading the Scriptures. A knowledge of the Scriptures must have a direct tendency to dispel the delusions of Popery.—We beg to refer to the leading article in our last number.

October 1813.

Pope's (late Spanish) Nuncio.

"The *Conciso* informs us, that, on the 2d of October, the Spanish secretary for foreign affairs appeared in the Cortes, and made a report of many important matters; and, among other things, he made mention of the Pope's nuncio,* so lately sent out of Spain, who, from Tavira, in Portugal, had *protested against all that the Spanish government might determine in ecclesiastical matters*." In other words, *against the suppression of the Inquisition!*

* Concerning this personage, see p. 1 of this present vol.

RESUMED NOTICE OF THE BISHOP OF DURHAM'S CHARGES, &c.

Vigilance, & Counterbalance to past Concessions, and a Preventive of future Prodigality, recommended in Two Charges and a Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham. A new edition, with a Preface in reply to Mr. Lingard's Preface. By Shute, Bishop of Durham.. To which are added, Two Letters to the Author of "Remarks on the Bishop of Durham's Charge, occasioned by the Vindication of those Remarks, lately republished." By a Clergyman of the Diocese of Durham.—Rivingtons, Cadell and Davies, and Hatchard.

To these tracts we have already called the attention of our readers, and have adverted, as well as to that attack which has led to their republication in the present form;* but we feel ourselves called upon, for many reasons, to take more particular and pointed notice of them; for we know of none which are of more value in themselves, or which have more largely contributed to that which we consider to be of the first importance at this period, that is, the awakening the attention of Protestants to the points really in dispute between them and the Romanists. Indeed, we could almost thank Mr. Lingard for the pains which he has taken to prevent, as much as he could, this venerable father of our church from discontinuing his labours upon this subject. He has done it, indeed, in a manner greatly calculated to raise disgust and indignation in every fair and liberal mind. He has treated the most solemn subjects with a levity more becoming a professed jester, than a teacher, as he is or ought to be, of God's word; and this was of his own pure choice. For, that he has used misrepresentations of all kinds, that he has perverted texts, and denied or distorted doctrines and facts, just as might be most convenient for his argument, we did not wonder at; and we have never yet known the cause which he is supporting put on an appearance in the least degree plausible, without such aids. But he might have done this in such a way as to leave us at liberty to think him serious, however mistaken, in pursuing what he conceived to be the truth. But how can this be the case with a man whom we perceive, in the agitation of the most sacred concerns both of this life and of the next, constantly striving to raise a laugh, and evidently labouring for the sole purpose of turning his opponent into ridicule? Still, as we have said before, when we consider the effects which have followed upon this, we are almost inclined to forgive him. In the answers which he has called forth may be found that account of our faith which may be highly useful

to all those who might not know how to stop the mouth of the gainsayers, and who might find it difficult or irksome to recur to the older defenders of our doctrine and discipline. And in these tracts of the Bishop of Durham we have presented to us such a model of that perfect sobriety, dignity, moderation, and firmness combined, which should always adorn the Episcopal character; such clearness of conception, and precision of expression, as cannot fail to be highly profitable to all those whose province it is to teach, as well as edifying to all those who desire to learn. We are particularly struck with the bishop's preface to this collection. It says just what it ought, and no more. It explains in a few words all that is necessary to be known, and shortly touches upon those points in Mr. Lingard's conduct which would not allow of his lordship's being altogether silent. At the same time, it is made abundantly clear, that it is not by any feeling personal to himself that his lordship is actuated, but by an anxiety lest the sacred cause which he is bound to support should suffer through any inadvertence of his. We shall, therefore, on the present occasion, chiefly confine ourselves to certain extracts from this preface, presuming our readers to be not unacquainted with the tracts themselves; subjoining such strictures on Mr. Lingard's writings as may tend to throw a stronger light upon what the bishop has written.

"The two charges (his lordship begins), and the letter to my clergy, which are re-published in this volume, were assailed at the time of their publication with the usual weapons of controversial Popery—misrepresentation, evasion, and untruth, by a writer of the remarks on them. The misrepresentations and obliquities of the remarks were detected and exposed in the replies which appeared on the occasion. I am content to leave them to the chastisement which they have received; and might have abstained from all reference to the writer and his remarks, if he had not, in the preface to the collection of them lately reprinted, given additional proofs of disingenuousness and disregard to truth, which I am the more desirous of noticing, because it may enable readers, who are not conversant in that controversy, to judge of the veracity of Popish controversialists.

"In the preface to the second edition of his remarks, the author said that "the Bishop of Durham, from one extremity of his diocese to the other, preached a crusade against the opinions, I had almost said the persons, of the Catholics." The falsehood of this assertion has been sufficiently exposed by a clergyman of the diocese of Durham, in his letter. It is not, therefore, for my own sake, but for the sake of truth and Protestantism, that I here confront the malignity of this writer with a passage of the charge upon which he has animadverted. "In recommending

zeal, it may appear needless for me to caution you against want of charity towards those who do not belong to our communion. Our defect lies more in lukewarmness and indifference, than in bitterness of spirit. Yet the caution is more necessary at present, in proportion to the greater need of vigilance, on our own part, in counteracting the effects of the unre-mitted endeavours which are employed by Romanists and dissenters to promote each their own cause. Charity is certainly not incompatible with the most active zeal against erroneous opinions."

"This (as the bishop goes on) is a part of the crusade (crusade, indeed! *we say*) which I preached against the persons and opinions of the Roman Catholics. Though he excepts "persons" by his "I had almost said," yet it is evident that he meant to mislead and exasperate his readers by his most false and unjustifiable insinuation."

The Bishop then proceeds to state more in detail, by another extract, the object of his charges, thus exposing still more the malignity of the imputation cast upon him by the remarker. And his Lordship then proceeds to shew still further "the want of veracity" in his opponent. That gentleman says that "the charge of 1806, while it professed to delineate the creed of the Roman Catholic church, attributed to it doctrines which its professors disclaim." Conscious of the untruth of this assertion, he does not mention a single doctrine, that I ascribe to the Romish church which its professors disclaim. This is a species of falsehood practised on the public by the Popish writers from the earliest days of the reformation, and it becomes the more necessary to expose it without reserve, because many of the advocates of the Roman Catholic claims are so far deceived by it as to suppose that there is very little difference between the doctrines of the two churches of England and Rome."

The Bishop then shews that Mr. Lingard does not in fact disclaim any of the doctrines and usages which he has attributed to the Roman Catholic church—with one single exception, which his Lordship therefore notices in the following marked terms:—"But he (the remarker) does disclaim the suppression and mutilation of the second commandment in their books of religious instruction, and with an effrontery almost incredible, refers to the "Catechism for the use of the French Empire" as a catechism in which the exact words of the second commandment may be read."—(Tracts, p. 108; note). "In this catechism there are two recitals and one explanation of them. In the first recital, (p. 66) the second commandment is *wholly suppressed*. In the second recital the *idoltrous act* of bowing down to images is *suppressed*. In the explanation, (p. 71) the *idoltrous act* is again *suppressed*."

After instanting a similar act of suppression in those who drew up the

index expurgatorius of Spain, the Bishop refers to the old and modern apologists of our church for proofs that no imputations have been cast upon the Roman Catholic church which she does not deserve: and concludes with an expression of his sentiments, to which we must particularly call the attention of our readers, and it were well indeed if they could be brought to the ear and fixed in the memory of every Protestant, at this important crisis. "There would be no fear of Popery making any advance amongst us, if the public were always on their guard against her misrepresentations. The vigilance which, on another occasion, I have recommended, would sufficiently counterbalance any ill effects which may arise from the misunderstood liberality of a former Parliament,* and prevent the surrender of our remaining constitutional rights, and their barriers. *The more I consider the subject, the more fully I am persuaded, that the security of our Protestant establishment depends on our decided rejection of all claims which are inconsistent with those two great national works, the REFORMATION and the REVOLUTION; and on our inviolable adherence to the principles and examples of our ancestors, in those trying periods, when true religion and national independence were the measure of public polity; and when life itself was held of no value in comparison with the truth and purity of the Gospel.*"

These are sentiments and language worthy of a Protestant bishop, and we are happy in having an opportunity to record them: the more so, as we are thereby enabled to pay to the distinguished prelate who has uttered them, that tribute of praise and respect, which every one who is at all acquainted with the state of our church, cannot but acknowledge to be his due. We shall now proceed to corroborate what he has said by a few short observations.

First, the reader will see how faithfully Mr. Lingard follows the maxims of his sect in the complaints with which he sets out against the supposed persecution under which he and his church are suffering. The Bishop preached a *crusade* against them! why, do our readers not know, or can they forget, what the real *crusades* were? They were associations for the purposes of extermination. Whether directed against infidels, or against heretics, they were to destroy every individual man or thing against whom or which they were directed. Now, what is it that the Bishop of Durham laboured? what is it that we, if we may be permitted to enrol ourselves under his banners, have laboured, and are labouring? was it not,—is it not, to keep things as they are, to resist innovation? but who ever heard of a *crusade of preservation*? It would be an absolute contradiction in terms. But thus it

* In the grant of the Elective Franchise.

is that every good Protestant who will not lend a hand to promote measures which could prove his ruin, is stigmatized as illiberal, and bigotted, and persecuting. We resist popery, not only because her doctrines are false and in opposition to the word of God, but because they are also essentially and incurably persecuting; because it is impossible that any papist, if he be serious and earnest in his belief, should not feel himself bound in conscience to subvert every other church.—Having therefore a real persuasion that our's is the true church, we refuse to deliver it up into the hands of its enemies; and for this, and this alone, we repeat, we are called bigots and persecutors. We are treated by the Rev. John Lingard, and by Counsellor Clinch, and Dr. Milner, just as the allied powers are by Buonaparte, who pathetically complains of them as subverting the governments and attacking the rights of others, and not suffering him (poor soul!) to be at peace.

The next accusation is, that the Bishop, and all true Protestants with him, impute to the papists doctrines which they disclaim. But the fact is that there never was a greater untruth than this. To use the Bishop's words—"we ascribe to Mr. Lingard's church the doctrine of transubstantiation, purgatory, the worship of saints, the bowing down to images, the denial of the cup to the laity, public prayers in an unknown tongue," &c. &c. Does the remarker disclaim these doctrines and usages? He does *not* disclaim but defend them. That Mr. Lingard does this by the most miserable equivocation and suppression of the truth, does not alter the case: he defends them not honestly nor fairly, nor as if he really believed the doctrines of his church; but still he defends them.

We will make our words good. He defends transubstantiation, not as it is described and defined in the canons of his church, but according to a fashion of his own. He calls it all along *the real presence*: and when he is reminded that this is the language also of our divines, that we acknowledge a *real*, but a *spiritual*, presence, and that it was for not acknowledging transubstantiation *in terms* that all the martyrs were burned in the Marian persecution, he takes no notice of this, but boldly reprints his tracts as if they had passed without observation.

Again he ridicules what he calls "the old tale of indulgences," insisting that an indulgence in his church is nothing but a relaxation of the penance in this life, as was customary in the primitive church: and when he is reminded of the terms of these indulgences; that they are absolutions "*tam a peccatō, quam a culpā*," and therefore, certainly "*a culpā*;" when he is further reminded that the existence of purgatory is a settled doctrine of his church, and he is called upon to reconcile that doc-

trine with his assertions, he says nothing but reprints those assertions as if they had never been in the slightest degree controverted.

We could point out various instances of the same kind, which most imperiously called for an acknowledgment of some sort from Mr. Lingard. But no, he acts that prudent part which his predecessors had acted before him. Having, to the apprehension of every fair man, been fully and decidedly confuted, they take no notice of the confutation, but, at a convenient time, force again upon the public their "twice told tale," as if it had never been discredited.*

In the letters of the Durham clergyman, subjoined to the bishop's charges, the reader will find in what way Mr. Lingard labours to get rid of the charge of idolatry; and he will be amused with the defence into which he enters of the second council of Nice. He will there also find other instances of Mr. Lingard's inattention to truth, and his garbling and mistranslating passages, at the very moment when he is arraigning his opponent for having, as he alleged, been guilty of that very thing. He will see him denying that a passage was in Bellarmine which must have been under his very eye when he was quoting from that author; and he will see him, through thick and thin, now defending and now giving up, and throughout extremely embarrassed indeed what to do with the saints. Yes, reader, the canonized saints of his church, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, and *Saint Buonaventure*, and other celebrated, though less dignified, names.†

It is time to close, but we must say a word more upon that general defence with which Mr. Lingard professes to parry all attacks. He is *misrepresented*. To shew that this is the case, we should have expected that he would have appealed to the canons of his church, to the decrees of Popes and general councils. In one of his tracts (p. 95), he says, "it is possible that his right reverend opponent may have applied with greater application to the study of the thirty-nine articles, than of the canons of the

* We do not know if we quite do Mr. Lingard justice. It is better to let him speak for himself. Having said, that to Mr. Le Mesurier "he would not reply," he explains this afterward (pref. p. 6,) by saying, that "he did not conceive it necessary. Notwithstanding the confident denial of that gentleman, he trusted his readers would give him credit for the knowledge of his own belief." Now, it was never said that Mr. Lingard did not "know his own belief," though that may bear some question, but that he wilfully dissembled the doctrines of his church. We have some idea of pointing out to our readers a few of the instances in which he was proved to be guilty of this, and then perhaps they will be at no loss to guess why Mr. Lingard thought as he says, that "it was high time that this religious war should terminate."

† See Charges, pp. 204, 222.

council of Trent." And he actually, in one instance; (at p. 105) cites a decree of that council. Pursuing this course, so reasonable, and thus intimated to them, most of Mr. Lingard's opponents, and particularly the one to whom "he would not reply," had rested their arguments principally upon those decrees and those councils: and looked, as might well be expected, that their statements, derived from such sources, should be either allowed or disproved. But no, it now turns out that this is all wrong. It is not to the council of Trent, to Pius V's catechism, or to any councils or Popes, that we are to go in order to find out what Mr. Lingard believes. He says "it may be required that the Protestant prelates would condescend to learn the Catholic doctrine from the Catholics themselves, and renounce the right which they so frequently exercise, of dictating to us the articles of our belief. Let them distrust the assertions of interested polemics," (such, we suppose, as *Saint Pius V*) "and venture to study our creed in some of those authors who have carefully distinguished the doctrines of our church, both from the erroneous tenets attributed to us by our adversaries, and the *unauthorised opinions of private individuals* in our communion."—(p. viii.)—Now who are these authors, does the reader think, to whom Mr. Lingard would appeal from the *unauthorised* opinions of private individuals? Popes, cardinals, or saints, or celebrated doctors? We have them in a note, and certainly among them is the famous Bossuet, of equivocating memory, completely exposed by Archbishop Wake and Bishop Bull, but still in great vogue with all those papists who are ashamed of their proper tenets: but who besides? Why, we are recommended to "Holden, Analysis fidei; Veron, Regula fidei;" names to which we should conceive we might apply what Mr. Lingard elsewhere (p. 117) has said of Vaux Ledesma and Du Roy, "names that, I dare assert, not one Catholic in a thousand has heard of before." And to these are added, as a still greater authority to be sure! an anonymous writer! "An Essay on Catholic communion, by a minister of the church of England!" These are the grave authorities which we are to consult, and by which we are to be bound, and not by general councils, popes, cardinals, or vicars apostolic! Surely we may stop here. Surely we may apply to this man the strong passage which we recollect to have met with somewhere, as applied to an equivocator of the same kind, "*cui testi, etiam jurato, qui tam manifesto fumos nobis vendidit, non crediderim.*"

Mr. Lingard seems to be following after fame by attacking famous men. He flies at high game. He first arrayed himself against the Bishop of Durham, and since that against the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Gloucester, and Lord Kenyon. Some such spirit it was which led an obscure person to set fire to the temple of Diana, at Ephesus. It

has however recommended him to his sect; and, as we are informed, he has been brought up from a Roman Catholic college near Durham, to the metropolis; in order, no doubt, to co-operate with Mr. Gandelphy and Mr. Butler, in their efforts to gloss over the doctrines of their church. What success may await him, it is impossible to say. But, as to fame, we may venture to predict, that he will go down to posterity not ranking at all higher than Harding, Saunders, and Father Parsons:—and in that warshipful society we will leave him for the present.

The List of Publications will appear in our next Number.

MELANCTHON'S TENTH LETTER.

On the Origin of the Catholic Committee, (so called) in Ireland, and the Policy of the Convention-Law preventing the electing and meeting of any such assembly.

In my Fifth Letter (see Vol. I, p. 434) I proved that, for nearly 300 years past, the Irish papists have regarded as friends, the enemies of the British empire, and that, during a war, they have uniformly solicited their assistance to separate their native country from England. This cannot be a matter of surprise from the principles of their religion, of which I gave copious specimens in my Third Letter, p. 304 of Vol. I; for they inculcate deep-rooted hostility to a Protestant state. As the French Republicans had formed a design of overturning not only their own government, but that of every European state, soon after the disturbances in their own country began; the Irish Roman Catholics set on foot, as it were of course, a communication with them. A statement to the following effect appears in that important record, the report of the secret committee of the Irish House of Commons, Appendix II, p. 7. "It appears that soon after the French revolution, certain individuals, encouraged by the example of France, aimed at the overthrow of the existing laws and constitution of this kingdom, and the establishment of a republic unconnected with Great Britain." We read in *Musgrave's Rebellion*, vol. 1, p. 129; "that in the years 1701 and 1792, Rabaud de St. Etienne, the bosom friend of Brissot, the famous leader of the Girondine party in the French national assembly, passed sometime between Dublin and Belfast, sowing the seeds of future combustion." The society of the Friends of the

Constitution, assembled at Clermont in France, in October 1791, resolved, that on perusing the various publications addressed to the national assembly, from different parts of Ireland, an address, then agreed on, should be forwarded to the authors of them.”—(*Idem.*) The Irish Roman Catholics manifested, at that time, symptoms of those revolutionary schemes which proved afterwards so fatal to the peace and prosperity of their country. At a session held by them on the 10th of February, 1791, in Dublin, styled a meeting of the general committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, they resolved, “that the several papers now read, containing resolutions and instructions from this city, and from the principal cities and towns of Ireland, be referred to a committee of right, who shall report thereon to this committee, on Friday the 18th instant.”—(*Idem.*, p. 91.) It afterwards appeared, that from this assembly, as from the Trojan horse, flowed all those calamities and disgraces which visited Ireland, from 1792 to 1798.—I shall now proceed to describe the origin and designs of the Roman Catholic committee and the united Irishmen, and of the Defenders, a popish banditti, who laboured in the same vineyard, and became subservient to them, in promoting their traitorous designs. Early in the year 1791, the Catholic committee engaged as their agent, Theobald Wolfe Tone, a barrister of considerable talents, high mental endowments, and an ardent temper; and they were afterwards guided by his opinion, in all their revolutionary projects. As he had a large family, no private fortune, and no practice in his profession, he was a proper instrument to promote their designs. Early in the year 1791, he published a pamphlet in favour of their claims, intituled “The Northern Whig;” and soon after a second edition of it, intituled “An Argument in Favour of the Catholics in Ireland;” of which some thousands of copies were circulated every part of Ireland. A design to separate Ireland from Great Britain is evidently discoverable in this work. The first sentence of the Roman Catholic declaration, published on the 21st of October 1791, proves that their principles were called into action by the fermentation which the French revolution had excited through Europe. “It is not (say they) in the present enlightened and improving state of society, for the Irish Roman Catholics *alone* to continue silent.” The better to promote their revolutionary plan Tone instituted the society of United Irishmen, which was a standard for persons of every religious persuasion to rally round;—all, at least all who entertained republican principles, or the visionary prospect of meliorating the constitution by parliamentary reform!* The main object of it was to

* Report of the Secret Committee of the Commons, Appendix II, p. 6.

lull the fears of Protestants, and to seduce them from their allegiance ; but particularly the Northern Presbyterians, whose deep-rooted antipathy to Popery was well known ; and they in some measure succeeded in seducing great numbers of them by holding out to them the prospect of forming a republic on the ruins of the constitution. This society held forth Catholic emancipation and reform of Parliament, as the ostensible objects of their union ; but it clearly appeared by the letter of Tone accompanying their original constitution, as transmitted by him, to Belfast, for adoption there, that, from the commencement, its leaders meant to subvert the constitution, and to separate Ireland from Great Britain ; for Tone, its founder, said, both in that and in their prospectus, published in the beginning of the year 1791 ;—" I have not said one word that looks like separation, though I give it to you and your friends as my most decided opinion, that such an event would be a regeneration of this kingdom."* A paper circulated by Tone in June 1791, contains the original design of their association ; † and in this it is thus stated :—" The external business of this society will be, 1st, publication, in order to propagate their principles, and effectuate their ends ;—2dly, communication with the different towns to be assiduously kept up, and every exertion used to accomplish a national convention‡ of the people of Ireland, who may profit by past errors, and by many unexpected circumstances which have happened since the last meeting ;—3dly, communication with similar societies abroad, as the Jacobin club in Paris, the revolution society in England, and the committee for reform in Scotland.§ Let the nations go abreast." Though every member of the then Roman Catholic committee was enrolled in the society of united Irishmen, and though it was instituted by their traitorous agent Tone, to forward their revolutionary designs, they remained behind the curtain, and seemed to have no immediate connexion with it. The better to varnish over their treasonable schemes, the Roman Catholic committee persuaded a few Protestants in Dublin, who were *Catilinarians*, and who hoped to rise from poverty and obscurity to wealth and celebrity, by anarchy and civil combustion, to fill all ostensible situations, such as chairman and secretary, to the society of united Irishmen, in the metropolis ; and those miscreants became the stalking-horse of their treason and

* Idem, p. 7.

† See the last number of the Prot. Adv. p. 78.

‡ They procured one in 1792.

§ They corresponded with these societies.

the scape-goat of their guilt.* This device also afforded the Roman Catholic committee a pretext for asserting, (which their fellow religionists and advocates never fail to do), that the treasonable conspiracy was begun by Protestants; though the wretches who filled those situations in Dublin, did not exceed fifteen in number. A leading object of the Catholic committee and their agent Tone was, to seduce the northern Presbyterians, and to procure their co-operation, or at least to lull their fears and suspicions; though subsequent events unequivocally proved, that they meant to have involved them in the general massacre of Protestants, which they had in contemplation from the beginning. For this purpose they sent many missions to the north in the years 1791 and 1792. One mentioned in Mungrave's rebellion, vol. I, p. 124, which took place in July 1792, consisted of the following persons;—Theobald Wolfe Tone, John Keogh, (one of the most zealous and turbulent leaders in the Roman Catholic committee,) Richard McCormick, one of their secretaries, (so deeply involved in their treasonable schemes that he fled to France, to avoid the vengeance of the law,) and Samuel Neilson,† a Presbyterian, who was one of the most active, intelligent, and enterprising members of the societies of united Irishmen in the north, and who used unabated exertions to reconcile his fellow religionists to accommodation with the Papists. To effectuate this, a correspondence took place, in the beginning of the year 1792, between Sinclair Kelburn, a Presbyterian minister at Belfast, as chairman of a town meeting of republicans held in his conventicle, and Edward Byrne, the friend and coadjutor of John Keogh, as chairman of the Roman Catholic committee then sitting in Dublin. Kelburn‡ wrote to Byrne to send him a declaration of the religious tenets of Roman Catholics, that he might read and explain them to his congregation. This declaration, signed by Doctor Troy, titular archbishop of Dublin, many of his clergy, Edward Byrne, and Richard

* Every person who filled these offices either fled from justice, or suffered some ignominious punishment.

† As soon as the northern Presbyterians heard of the indiscriminate massacre of Protestants which took place in many parts of the province of Leinster, particularly in the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Kildare, and Carlow, they became peaceable and loyal, and regarded with detestation their treacherous and blood-thirsty allies.

‡ In his evidence before the House of Lords he owned, that he became an united Irishman in 1791, and that as soon as the system began, emissaries were sent all over the kingdom to extend it. His mission to the north with John Keogh and Richard McCormick shewed the intimate connexion between the Roman Catholic committee and united Irishmen.

§ His conduct was such that he was arrested, and detained in prison a considerable time.

M'Cormick, was accordingly sent to Kelburn. This co-operation between two sects which had been uniformly hostile to each other, and evidently for revolutionary purposes, should have alarmed the government. On the 28th of January 1792, at a town meeting held at Belfast, in a Presbyterian meeting-house, Sinclare Kilburn in the chair, it was resolved, to petition Parliament to repeal the whole of the Popery laws; against which 255 of the most respectable inhabitants of that town protested. As the anniversary of the French revolution was to be celebrated at Belfast on the 14th of July 1792, with great pomp and splendour, the Roman Catholic committee of Dublin sent thither fourteen delegates, of whom one was a Popish priest of the name of Conelly, for the purpose of completing their coalition with the leaders of a body of Presbyterians in that town. As the Roman Catholic committee and the societies of *united Irishmen* were constantly sending missionaries to most parts of Ireland, in the years 1791 and 1792, to agitate and inflame the people, and were circulating publications for the same dangerous purpose, very alarming disturbances universally prevailed. The king's proclamation of the 21st of May 1792, states, "that, by seditious writings, incendiaries had endeavoured to vilify and bring into contempt the wise and wholesome provisions made at the glorious revolution, and that correspondence had been entered into with persons in foreign parts, to forward the above criminal purposes." The leaders of the Roman Catholic committee resolved, in the beginning of the year 1792, to call a convention of persons of their order, consisting of representatives to be chosen by all the counties, cities, and principal towns, of Ireland; for which purpose Edward Byrne issued his writs, which were obeyed, and the elections were held in the Popish chapels in every district, according to the plan adopted by the French republicans. At a meeting of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, held in Dublin on the 13th of July 1810, John Keogh made a speech, in which he boasted of his services on that occasion; and as it discloses the spirit and the principles of the primary convention which met in 1792, I shall insert the following paragraphs of it: "Animated by the relaxation they had obtained,* the Catholics of Dublin summoned a convention, from every part of the kingdom, to assemble in the capital. This measure excited an universal outcry from the Irish government and all its agents. Whether at county meetings, grand juries, or corporations, we were charged with an attempt to overawe the Parliament, or to erect the standard of rebellion. The Catholic nobility were again pressed into the service, for which they were apparently more calculated by their disposition than

* They had obtained very important privileges in 1792.

"their abilities. They pledged themselves, not only not to join in, but
 "to prevent the assembling of the convention. Terrified," &c.—See
 Veridicus's letter, p. 78, and the notes on Keogh's speech.

When Mr. Keogh (as Veridicus has told your readers) had finished his
 speech, the Catholics of Ireland; with loud and unanimous acclamations,
 resolved, on the motion of Mr. O'Connell, that "*the thanks of the Catho-
 lics of Ireland were eminently due to John Keogh, Esq. for his long, faithful,
 and unparalleled services to the cause of Irish Catholic emancipation.*"*
 Barbarous outrages continued to be perpetrated in most parts of Ireland,
 during the whole of the year 1792, by a Popish banditti called Defenders,
 an insurrection of whom was dreaded even in the metropolis, and which
 would certainly have taken place on the night of the 8th day of Decem-
 ber, had not the viceroy seasonably issued a proclamation to awaken the
 vigilance of the garrison and the loyal magistrates therein, by which it was
 saved from destruction. The proclamations of the 13th of February and 11th
 of March 1793, afford unequivocal proofs of the disturbed state of
 most parts of the country. At length the alarm was so general and so
 great, that, on Monday the 11th day of February 1793, "a secret com-
 mittee of the House of Lords was appointed to inquire into the cause of
 the disturbances which prevail in several parts of Ireland;" and they, in
 their report, (which the chancellor, Lord Clare, presented to the house on
 Friday the 7th of March,) shewed the real source of these rebellious move-
 ments. It stated, "that the defenders† were exclusively Papists, and
 appeared mostly in the night. That several of them were armed, forced
 into the houses of Protestants, and deprived them of their arms. That
 their measures were conducted with a degree of regularity and system not
 usual in people of such low condition, and as if directed by men of
 superior rank. That they were sworn to secrecy, and impressed with an
 opinion that they were serving the Catholic cause: That large sums of
 money have been levied, and still continue to be levied, on the Roman
 Catholics in every part of the kingdom, by subscriptions at their chapels
 and elsewhere, under the authority of a printed circular letter, signed
 by John Sweetman, secretary of the Catholic convention. It appears that
 the money so levied was expended in purchasing arms and ammunition;
 that stands of arms and gunpowder to a very large amount, much above

* This vote shewed the principles of the Popish committee now sitting.

† It was proved, on the trials of Welden, Brady, and Hunt, defenders, in Dublin,
 that they meant to have murdered all the Protestants, and to have joined the French on
 their landing; and this was acknowledged by some of themselves. See Musgrave's
 Rebellion, vol. i, p. 167 to p. 172. See also proofs of their nefarious designs, vol. i, p.
 66 to p. 81.; vol. ii, p. 239, 285, 288, 291.

the common consumption, have been purchased and sent from the metropolis to Belfast and Newry, within a few months, and that orders have been given for a much greater quantity, which could be wanted only for military purposes; that bodies of men were drilled or exercised at night by candle-light, and that attempts were made to seduce the soldiery; that an unusual ferment has, for some months, disturbed several parts of the north, which is kept up and increased by seditious papers and pamphlets of a most inflammatory tendency, which are printed at a very cheap rate, and circulated by clubs or committees among the people with the utmost industry, and which are calculated to defame the government and Parliament, and to render the people dissatisfied with their condition and the laws. The conduct of the French is shamefully extolled in them, and hopes and expectations have been held up of their assistance, by a descent upon this kingdom. It was also stated, that the convention, through their secretary, Sweetman, laid out considerable sums of money in defending from the vengeance of the law some of that ferocious banditti called Defenders, who were prosecuted, at the summer assizes of 1792, for the perpetration of barbarous outrages." This practice was afterwards systematically pursued by them, for it is thus stated in the report of the secret committee of the House of Commons, of 1798, appendix xiv, page 12: "That a bar of lawyers were regularly retained, to undertake the cause of all persons in the gross committed for state offences. Entries of money appear in their proceedings as paid to procure, as well as to buy off, witnesses; in many cases to gaolers for breaches of trust, and even to under-sheriffs for returning partial pannels." The committee concluded by observing, "that it is incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity to suffer the existence of a self-created representative body of any description of the king's subjects, taking upon itself the government of them, and levying taxes and subscriptions, to be applied at the discretion of such representative body, or of persons deputed by them."*

On the 30th of April 1793, the attorney-general moved for leave to bring in a bill "to prevent the horrid crime of conspiring to commit murders." He stated, with horror, that, in the course of his official duty through the kingdom the preceding summer, a variety of instances had appeared of conspiracies being entered into, and of assassins being hired, to destroy the lives of magistrates and peace-officers who had been active

* Such was the state of Ireland when many important privileges and the elective franchise were conceded to the Irish Papists; and it was stated in the preamble of the act of Parliament by which they were granted, "that from the peaceable and loyal demeanour of the Roman Catholics, it is fit that the restraints and disabilities under which they labour should be removed!"

in preserving the public peace, and in bringing offenders to justice ; and he mentioned the names of some persons of that description who had been murdered by hired ruffians for having done their duty. As it was well-known that missionaries from France had often arrived in Ireland, and that the disaffected maintained a correspondence with the French republicans, the attorney-general presented a bill for their prevention, and about the same time, one to prohibit the importation and removal of gunpowder. As government had unquestionable proofs that the defenders were encouraged to commit the barbarous outrages which I have mentioned by the Catholic convention, and that the generally disturbed state of the country was occasioned by their active and traitorous machinations, the Earl of Clare, on the 8th of July 1793, moved for leave to bring in a bill "to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions to his majesty or the Parliament." He prefaced his motion with the following observations : " I did not hesitate to say, early in the session, that any convention or body of men affecting to represent the people, or any part of them, is an unlawful assembly, and its existence incompatible with the public peace ; that in this realm there is no other representative of the people than the knights, burgesses, and citizens, assembled in the House of Commons. I sincerely deplore the disturbances that have taken place, and the quantity of blood that has been shed ;* but what renders the case peculiarly melancholy is, that those who are the secret fomenters of the sedition have escaped, and that the punishment has fallen only on the ignorant and deluded people. That a separation from Great Britain is the object of our agitators, did not require this paper† to convince us—it has long been their motive. The French revolution gave them the idea of engaging the Catholics by the project of personal representation, and I have not a doubt that the moment the allied armies retreated last year from France, a serious design was entertained to rebel against Great Britain, and to form a republic connected with France. The plan of election for the Catholic convention was calculated to further this scheme ; the parochial elections communicating with the county elections‡ had for their object, not only

* Great numbers fell that year, not only by assassination, but in conflicts with the army, for the defenders frequently had the hardihood to attack the king's troops. Proofs of this are given in Musgrave's Rebellion, vol. II, appendix ix, p. 239.

† He alluded to Fone's letter sent to Belfast the 14th of July, in which separation was recommended.

‡ The primary assemblies were held in the Popish chapels, in each of which they elected two electors, who assembled and elected the county members in the French style.

the speaking the sense of the Roman Catholic body, but by a prompt and general intercourse with the lower orders throughout the kingdom, it was intended to obtain a power of causing partial or general insurrection. At last the Defenders became so bold and terrific, attacking at noon day the houses of Protestants, and even the king's troops, when on their march, that the Viceroy said, in his speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the 16th of August 1793, " that he was under the painful necessity of employing for their suppression, his Majesty's forces." To such a melancholy state was the kingdom reduced by the traitorous machinations of the Roman Catholic committee, which having been converted into a general convention, assembled and proceeded to debate in the metropolis, with their doors closed, in December, 1792. They framed an address to the king, in which they gave a false and exaggerated statement of their grievances, which they forwarded by five delegates!* and having presented the same to his Majesty, he was graciously pleased in January 1793, to recommend to Parliament to take into serious consideration the situation of the Roman Catholics; and in consequence thereof, the few remaining restrictions were repealed, and they obtained the elective franchise.† On the 25th of April 1793, they held another session, when they voted their thanks to the king, the viceroy, the Parliament, and the Protestants of Ireland, for the important privileges conferred on them, declared " *that henceforward they would be regardless of all religious distinctions, would consider every man as a friend, who is a friend to Ireland and the constitution; and those only as enemies, who are enemies of either.* They resolved " that the sum of £1,500, together with a gold medal of the value of 30 guineas, with a suitable inscription, be presented to Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq. agent to this committee, [see Prot. Adv. vol. 2, p. 78,] as a testimony of his services and our gratitude;" and " that the sum of £2000 be applied to the erecting a statue to our most gracious sovereign George III, as a monu-

* Two of those men rose from the dregs of the people, and accumulated great wealth, under a constitution which they wished to subvert. It is surprising that they were allowed to approach the throne.

† It is stated in the preamble to the bill, as a reason for making concessions to the Papists, " that, from their peaceable and loyal demeanour, it is fit that the restraints and disabilities should be removed." It must seem singular, that the Parliament should assign this reason for granting extensive privileges to them, when it appeared, by unquestionable proofs, that the Papists were in actual rebellion. But it is thus to be accounted for. Government, with whom the bill originated, were led to believe that such privileges would *conciliate* the Catholics. The opposition, desirous of outbidding the government for popularity, insisted on making *unqualified concession* to the Papists, loaded them with flattery, inserted that paragraph in the preamble of the bill, and it should seem that government did not wish to oppose it.

ment of our gratitude for the important privileges which we have obtained from Parliament, through his paternal recommendation."*

With profound dissimulation, they condemned, in the following words, the Defenders, whom they had secretly encouraged and protected. Resolved, "That notwithstanding the earnest endeavours and frequent exhortations of the general and sub-committees, it appears, that many of the lower order of Catholics have persisted in associating with those deluded people called "*Defenders*:" we take this opportunity again to repeat, what we have so often, collectively and individually, endeavoured to impress on their minds, our utmost abhorrence and detestation of such illegal and criminal proceedings; and we once more call on those unhappy men, if such yet remain, by every thing dear to them, to us and to posterity, to desist from such unwarrantable acts of violence, which have already proved fatal to many of themselves, and to return to their obedience to the laws, and the laudable pursuits of honest industry."

They voted thanks to John Sweetman, Esq.† secretary to their sub-committee, and to Richard M'Cormick, Esq.‡ secretary to their general committee, for the spirit, activity, and diligence, with which they discharged the functions of their respective offices, equally honourable to themselves and serviceable to the Catholic cause, *and for their zeal for the public tranquillity, which on every occasion they have manifested.* The convention dissolved themselves on the 25th of April 1793, but committed the management of their affairs to nine delegates, who, as appears from the rebellion of 1798 and the barbarous outrages which preceded it, discharged their duty with the utmost zeal and fidelity. Three of them, John Sweetman, Thomas Braughall, and Dr. James M'Nevin, were notorious traitors. In my Fifth Letter, vol. I, p. 443-4, I stated all the negotiations which they carried on with the French government, in which M'Nevin confessed upon oath, before the House of Lords, that he acted as envoy. It is not less singular than true, that Mr. Grattan has ever been the constant and unqualified supporter of the Roman Catholic claims without any regard to a change of times or circumstances. In the debate for their relief in February 1782, he said, "it has been shewn that they have

* See Proceedings of the Catholics of Ireland. 2s. 6d.—Stockdale.—The statue never was erected; and it was discovered that, a few months after, they began a negotiation with the French government, administered by Robespierre, to separate Ireland from England, which negotiation they continued till 1798.

† A notorious rebel, who acknowledged his guilt and was transported, with a numerous batch of traitors, in the year 1798.

‡ As I stated before, he fled from the vengeance of the law to France in 1798, where he has ever since remained.

as effectual an influence in elections, by possessing leases of 999 years,* as by possessing the fee. At that time, I do declare, that I was somewhat prejudiced against granting Roman Catholics estates in fee, but their conduct since that period has convinced me of their true attachment to this country.† When this country had resolved not to crouch beneath the load of oppression which England had laid upon her; when she armed in defence of her rights, and a high-spirited people demanded a free trade, did the Roman Catholics desert their countrymen? No; they were found amongst the foremost. When it was afterwards thought necessary to assert a free constitution, the Roman Catholics displayed their public virtue.‡ They did not endeavour to take advantage of your situation; they did not endeavour to make terms for themselves,§ but they entered frankly and heartily into the cause of the country, judging by their own virtue, that they might depend on your generosity for reward. In 1799, when the fleets of France hovered on our coasts, and the Irish nation raised herself to arms, did the Roman Catholics stand aloof? or did they, as might be expected [indeed!] from their oppressed situation, offer assistance to the enemy?|| No; they pawned in subscriptions for the service of the country, or they pressed into the ranks of her glorious volunteers.**

* They were empowered to take them by the 13th and 14th of Geo. III, c. 35.

† Will Mr. Grattan assert, that this has been the case ever since?

‡ How have they manifested their public virtue during the period that has elapsed since the repeal of the penal restrictions?

§ In February 1792, they solicited a right of voting in counties only, and for Protestant members; but on the general alarm occasioned by the retreat of the Prussian army from France, a few months after, taking advantage of the public distress, they demanded what they denominated "*the whole of the constitution.*" In the year 1795, when many parts of Ireland were desolated by a ferocious banditti,—when an invasion of the French and an insurrection in the metropolis was dreaded, which actually took place soon after,—Mr. Grattan, in answer to the committee of the Roman Catholics assembled in Francis Street chapel, Dublin, the 9th of April 1795, said, "let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes *till after the war*; my wish is that you should be free now. There is no other policy which is not low and little; let us at once instantly embrace and greatly emancipate."

|| Soon after they were relieved from their oppressed situation, by a repeal of the penal restrictions, they solicited a ferocious enemy to assist them in separating Ireland from England, and to extirpate the whole of their Protestant fellow-subjects.

** There cannot be a doubt but that most of the volunteer corps, in the years 1782-3-4, meditated revolutionary schemes, and the subversion of the constitution, which their resolutions, printed and circulated by them, unquestionably prove. Some of their most popular leaders were deeply concerned in the rebellion of 1798, and in

However, in the course of this debate, that able statesman, Mr. Flood, said,—“ In the former laws, leases for years were granted to the Catholics upon the avowed principle of restraining them from any power in elections. This law went beyond toleration, it gave them political power, and tended to make a change in the state. If the Catholics gained equal power with the Protestants, the constitution could not survive. Though they wished to give toleration to Roman Catholics, they did not wish to shake the government.”

It appears that Mr. Flood spoke prophetic truth; for ever since they acquired that degree of power which must always attend the enjoyment of fee-simple property they have been incessantly endeavouring to overturn the constitution.—(Parliamentary Debates of that year transcribed in Plowden's Historical Review, vol. II. p. 51.)

In the month of January, 1795, Earl Fitzwilliam arrived in Ireland, as viceroy; and though, as is generally understood, he was ordered by the British cabinet not to suffer, if possible, the Roman Catholic claims to be discussed in Parliament; yet by the counsel of Mr. Grattan, who was his confidential adviser, he resolved to grant them in the most unqualified manner; for which his Lordship was recalled. The nine delegates of the Roman Catholic committee, incensed at this, assembled on the 9th of April 1795, in Francis Street Chapel, made some inflammatory speeches, little short of treason, and resolved to send three deputies to petition the king against the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam;† but it was treated with that contempt which it merited. They also resolved, “ that the right honourable Henry Grattan be requested to introduce the Catholic (impudently sinking the word *Roman*) bill, immediately on the meeting of Parliament.”

They also resolved unanimously, that “ the thanks of this meeting be respectfully presented to our agent, Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq. (afterwards a convicted traitor) for the readiness with which he accompanied our deputies to England, and the many other important services which he has rendered the Catholic body in pursuit of emancipation, services which no gratitude can over-rate, and no remuneration can over-pay.”‡ Accordingly Mr. Grattan, at their desire, presented the bill, but it was rejected

the treasonable conspiracy which preceded it, for which they were transported, hanged, or fled from outraged justice. (See Sir R. Musgrave's Rebellion, vol. i, p. 54 to p. 60).

† Before this occurred they meditated his dethronement, having opened a negotiation with the French for that purpose.

‡ It should be recollected, that, in 1791, while their agent, he recommended separation from England; and that M'Nevin, one of the nine delegates, had been often sent to France as envoy, to solicit the aid of the French republic to effectuate it.

in the House of Commons by a very great majority. Mr. Grattan again, on the 17th of February, 1797, introduced into the House of Commons the question of Catholic *emancipation* (as *they* call it); but it was rejected by 163 to 19.* The following incident, joined to the strong partiality which Mr. Grattan had for the Popish cause, and the intimacy which he had with some leading members of the convention, filled every person with astonishment. A short time before, or soon after the explosion of the rebellion, many members of the Roman Catholic convention, and many of the United Irishmen, were arrested. Some of them were convicted of high treason and were hanged; and as the remainder were convinced that they must share the same fate, they implored the royal mercy,† which they obtained, provided that they would transport themselves for life, and that their leaders would make a full and candid statement of the origin and progress of their treasonable conspiracy, upon oath, before a committee of the House of Lords, which they accordingly did, and the following very extraordinary evidence appeared in their report. Extract from the report (now become History) of the secret committee of the House of Lords, Friday August 3, 1798. John Hughes of Belfast, an united Irishman, sworn.

Whilst he was in Dublin in April, he dined with Samuel Neilson, at the Brazen Head; next day Neilson called him up at five o'clock, and they went to Sweetman's, near Judge Chamberlain's, to breakfast. Sweetman was then in prison, but Neilson lived in his house.‡ Neilson took Sweetman's carriage to Mr. Grattan's, and brought him along with him. When they got to Mr. Grattan's, Neilson told him he had something to say in private to Mr. Grattan, and desired him (Hughes) to walk in the demesne. Neilson, however, first introduced him to Mr. Grattan, and Mr. G. ordered a servant to shew him the grounds. He returned in about half an hour, and went into Mr. G.'s library. Neilson and Grattan were there together. G. asked a variety of questions touching the state of the country in the north; how many families had been driven out of it? and how many houses burnt by the Government or the Orangemen? Grattan said he supposed he was an united Irishman; he

* Whenever the Roman Catholic claims were discussed, Mr. Grattan was not only the encomiast of the Irish Papists, but gave the most unqualified pledges for their loyalty. Subsequent events have enabled the world to judge how far, if at all, those pledges have been redeemed.

† See this detailed in Sir R. Musgrave's *Rebellion*, vol. ii, p. 200.

‡ This shews the close and intimate connexion between the Roman Catholic convention and society of united Irishmen.

said he was. G. asked him how many united Irishmen were in the province? he said he reckoned 126,000. G. asked him how many Orangemen* there were? he said about 12,000. G. made no particular observation. Neilson and he left Grattan's about 12 in the day; they walked to their carriage, which was at Enniakerry. He asked Neilson what had passed between G. and him. Neilson evaded the question; said generally that he had gone to G. to ask him whether he would come forward, and that he had sworn him; that G. promised to meet him in Dublin before the next Tuesday.—Q. You have said, that you were introduced to Mr. G. at his house at Tinnehinch, in April last; recollect yourself, and say whether you can speak with certainty as to that fact? A. I certainly can. About the 28th of April last, I went to the house of Mr. Grattan, at Tinnehinch, with Samuel Neilson. On going into the house, we were shewn into the library: I saw a printed constitution of the united Irishmen there.—Q. Can you say, Mr. G. knew it to be a constitution of united Irishmen? A. I can, for he asked me some questions about it. He also asked me a variety of questions about the state of the north. When we were going away, I heard Mr. G. tell Neilson he would be in town on or before the Tuesday following; and I understood from Neilson, that Mr. Grattan had visited him in prison; and, on our return to town, Neilson told me he had sworn Mr. Grattan.

Thursday, August 9, 1798.

Samuel Neilson of Belfast sworn.—Q. Have you had any interviews with Mr. Grattan since you were liberated from confinement? A. I was twice with G. at Tinnehinch, in April 1798. I either shewed Mr. G. the last constitution of the society of united Irishmen, or explained it to him, and pressed him to come forward. I was accompanied at these interviews by John Sweetman and Oliver Bond. This Bond was a Protestant, and afterwards received the royal mercy. In a letter to the lord chancellor, Samuel Neilson afterwards corrected his evidence, by stating that he had another interview with Mr. Grattan, at Tinnehinch, in company with Mr. John Hughes, and that they both went in Mr. Sweetman's chaise."

I am far from intending to insinuate, nor do I even suspect, that Mr. Grattan had any knowledge of the criminal designs of these traitors; but as with great dissimulation they deceived him, from the year 1792 to

* The first society of Orangemen was formed in October 1795, in the county of Armagh. Every person of candour must allow, that it was prudent in the Protestants to unite for their protection, when the Papists, the majority of the people, had formed a treasonable combination, cemented by oaths, for their destruction and the subversion of the constitution, in the year 1791;—all this the defenders had done.

the year 1798, during which time he continued unremittingly to be their zealous advocate and encomiast, under the appellation of *energetic Romanists*, though they had secretly formed a treasonable conspiracy to subvert the constitution, to extirpate their Protestant fellow-subjects, and to separate their native country from England; the fermentation of which conspiracy kept Ireland in a state of feverish turbulence, occasioned desolation in some of its fairest provinces, and finally ended in a dreadful rebellion, by which 30,000 lives were lost, and Protestant property to the amount of £1,023,337 was destroyed;—after all this, I would ask Mr. Grattan, what plausible pretext he can offer, having been so grossly deceived by the Papists, for still continuing to espouse their cause? Should he not rather renounce and spurn it?

MBLANCTHON:

PARODY ON THE PETITION OF THE IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS. *By the Rev. John Graham, Curate of Maghera, in the County of Londonderry.*

A PETITION

To the Lords, Knights, and Burgesses, Noble, who sit in
The Parliament-house of the Empire of Britain;
The Pope's Irish subjects present this Petition,
To state their pretensions, and paint their condition.

Imprimis,

We hold that our liege lord the Pope
Is the only sure anchor of comfort and hope;
And although he's a slave, 'tis our stedfast opinion,
That to him belongs truly all earthly dominion.
With rage, therefore, burning, and fierce indignation,
We behold in these islands a tergiversation
From all that is holy, and ancient, and true,
To a system of faith that is false as it's new.
Whilst King, Lords, and Commons, for heresy's sake,
Deserve to be *blown up*, or burn'd at the stake;
We *firmly* demand then, ye lords and ye knights,
A full restoration of Catholic rights.
Let all that we ask, and no less be our own
Than the bench and the woollack, the sceptre and throne;
Then soon shall fair order, from tumult arise,
And our church climb triumphant aloft to the skies;

* Mr. G. has translated Buchanan's *Franciscanus et Fratres*; and it is not impossible but that he may be prevailed upon to publish that satire.

Our bishops and abbots, our priests and our friars,
 Rekindle with rapture in Smithfield their fires,
 Whilst an union with France, which no power can sever,
 Shall establish our holy religion for ever.
 Grant this, legislators, and then we may say,
 (Whilst heretics burn like dry stubble and hay)
 To the sticks and the stones in our good ancient way,
 Your pious petitioners ever will pray.

*Dated, at midnight, in the Valley
 of Glenullin, near Garvagh, this
 memorable 5th of Nov. 1813.*

JOHN DE FALKIRK, a new Correspondent.

WE seize with avidity the earliest opportunity in our power of announcing the accession of strength which we have gained, in being honoured with a letter from the author of the very interesting "*ANNALS OF IRISH POPERY*," which have appeared in the Dublin Journal, (commencing August 10th) signed JOHN DE FALKIRK. The series of facts which he has adduced, places the character and conduct of the Irish Romanists in a clear point of view. They completely exemplify the genius of Popery. We hope that we shall shortly be enabled to lay the *ANNALS* before our readers, accompanied by an exact citation of authorities.

In the second number of the "*Annals of Irish Popery*" mention is made of Dr. Robert Waucop, sometime Popish primate of Ireland. It is stated, that "he died in a convent of Jesuits at Paris, November 10, 1551. Pope Paul III. conferred the archbishopric of Armagh upon him during the life of George Dowdall,* who held it by donation from King Henry VIII. Waucop, though blind from his youth, was a very learned man. We find that he assisted at the council of Trent as a legate from the Pope, from whence arose the German proverb, "*legatus cecus ad oculos Germanos*,"—"a blind legate to the sharp-sighted Germans."† Dr. Waucop was the first who introduced the Jesuits into Ireland." The name of Waucop produced the following note to J. de F. who transmitted it to us.

* Dowdall was restored to the primacy by Queen Mary.

† This reminds us of Ambrose Fisher, author of a most learned and peculiarly argumentative defence of the Liturgy. He was blind. His book, dedicated to Sir Robert Filmer, was published by John Grant, 1630. The following mottoes appear in the title-page:—" *Cecorum mens oculatissima*."

"Read him that never read; for, by this wise,
 The blinde leads thee to church, who hast thine eyes."

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR—An intelligent and highly respectable gentleman, who is a true friend to the Protestant interest, has favoured me with the following extract from Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, as a note on the passage in the second number of my *Annals of Popery*, in which the Romish Primate Waucop is mentioned. Your inserting this curious document in the PROTESTANT ADVOCATE, will very much oblige your obedient servant,

November 9th, 1813.

JOHN DE FALKIRK.

"John De Monluck, bishop of Valence, was sent ambassador from France to the governor and Queen Mother, sister to the Duke of Guise, on the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin of France: and when said ambassador was to return to France, it pleased the Queen Mother to send me with him, to be placed page of honour to the Queen, her daughter, I being then fourteen years of age. But the said bishop went first to Ireland, commanded thereto by the King his master's letter, to know more particularly the motions and likelihood of the offers made by Ó'Neel, Ó'Donneel, Ó'Docart, (Ó'Dogherty) and Callock, willing to shake off the yoke of England, and become subject to the king of France, providing that he would procure the Pope's gift of Ireland, and then send to their help 2000 hackbutiers, 200 light horsemen, and 4 cannon.

We shipped for Ireland in the month of January, and were storm-stayed in the way, in a little island called Sand Isle, before Kintyre, where we were compelled to tarry seventeen days by reason of this storm. Thence we hoisted sail toward Ireland, but the storm was yet so extremely violent, that with great danger of the ship and our lives, we entered in at the mouth of Loughfeul (Lough Foyle) in Ireland, upon Shrove Tuesday, in the year 1545, for the skipper and mariners had lost all hopes of safety, having left their anchors behind them the night before.

Ere we landed, we sent one George Paris, who had been sent to Scotland by the great Ó'Neel (Ó'Neil) and his associates, who landed at the house of a gentleman, who had married Ó'Docart's daughter, dwelling at the side of a lake, who came to our ship and welcomed us, and convoyed us to his house, where we rested that night.

Grant gives three epitaphs upon him. In the first we read,—

*"Octo tamen vixit, non vidit, lustra, nec ulli
Mens oculata magis;"*—

and in the second—"Oculatus cæcus facem prætulit."

Fisher was buried in the cloisters of Westminster-Abbey. His work is not so well-known as it deserves to be. A copy now lies before us. Mr. Meene, the learned rector of St. Nicholas Cole-abbey, has one. Like his late friend, Dr. Farmer, nothing curious escapes him.

The next morning Ô'Docart came there and convoyed us to his house, which was a great dark tower, where we had cold chear, as herring and bisket, for it was lent.

There finding two English gray friars, who had fled out of England, (for King Edward the VI was yet alive) the said friars perceiving the bishop to look very kindly to Ô'Docart's daughter, who fled from him continually, they brought to him, a woman who spoke English to lie with him; which harlot being kept quietly in his chamber, found a little glass within a case standing in a window, for the coffers were all wet with the sea waves that fell into the ship during the storm. She believing it had been ordained to be eaten, because it had an odoriferous smell, therefore she licked it clean out, which put the bishop in such a rage, that he cried out for impatience, discovering his harlotry and his choler in such sort, as the friars fled, and the woman followed.—But the Irishmen and his own servants did laugh at the matter, for it was a vial of the most precious balm that grew in Egypt, which Solyman, the great Turk, had given in a present to the said bishop, after he had been two years ambassador for the king of France in Turkey, and was esteemed worth 2000 crowns.

In the time we remained at Ô'Docart's house, his young daughter, who fled from the bishop, came and sought me wherever I was, and brought a priest with her, who could speak English, and offered, if I would marry her, to go with me wherever I pleased. I gave her thanks, but told her that I was but young, and had no estate, and was bound for France.

Now the ambassador met in secret with Ô'Neel and his associates, and heard their offers and overtures. And the *patriarch of Ireland* did meet him there, who was a Scotchman born, called Waucop, and was *blind of both his eyes*, and yet had been divers times at Rome, by his post. He did great honour to the ambassador, and conveyed him to see Saint Patrick's purgatory, which is like an old coal-pit, which had taken fire by reason of the smoke that came out of the hole.

From Ô'Docart's house we went to the dwelling-house of the bishop of Roy, (Raphoe) not far from the narrow frith that runs through Lochfeul to the sea. The said Irish bishop had also been at Rome, and there we rested other three weeks, waiting for an highland bark which James Macdonel should have sent from Kintire with his brother Angus, to carry us back to Dunbarton, which being come to us, we parted to a castle which the said Macdonel had in Ireland; and from that we embarked, and rested a night in the Island of Jura, and the next night in the Isle of Bute.—(*Sir James Melvil's Memoires*, p. 8 & 9.—London, 1683.)

Catholics differ in one iota from their ancestors, he either deceives himself, or wishes to deceive others. Semper eadem is more emphatically descriptive of our religion than our jurisprudence."—MR. FLOWDEN.

ACT FOR REPEALING THE PENALTIES AGAINST INFRINGERS OF THE HOLY TRINITY.

We cannot help expressing our regret and surprise, that a bill of so much consequence should have passed both Houses of Parliament last session, with little or no opposition, and with very little notice from that part of the public, to which we look with respect, and confidence, and solicitude, on all questions in which religion is involved. We wish to excite the attention of our clerical correspondents on the subject, and most earnestly solicit their communications.—In the mean while, we submit to them some observations from a recent publication.*

"Socinians are excommunicate *ipso facto*, by the 5th and 6th canons of the church of England. They are specifically excluded from the benefits of the Toleration Act. Their opinions are pronounced "blasphemous and impious" in a subsequent Act of Parliament passed expressly against them, "effectually to suppress (to adopt its own phraseology) the *detestable crimes* of avowing and publishing them." Whilst this sheet is printing off, an attempt is making to procure the repeal of the above statutes. What will be the result, considering the times we live in, it is impossible to calculate: but whatever it may be, the spirit of the party is marked by the application; for there is perhaps scarcely another instance upon record of Parliament being moved to repeal statutes against which no instances of actual grievance could be alledged. Nor surely, amongst Socinians, can there be many, who, except under circumstances of peculiar oppression, could bring themselves to petition, specifically, for the abrogation of a law which, though "the denial of the Trinity" formed the subject of its concluding prohibition, set forth "*the railing upon and cursing God*" as the prominent offence against which it was enacted. Yet in the Bill of Repeal, as framed by its authors, and as presented to the House of Commons, and printed by its order of June 15th, an act with the above title exhibited at full length, is inserted. And this act, moreover, not cognizable in any part of the United Kingdom, except in Scotland, and there never put in force but in a single instance, and that 117 years ago: so that it is completely obsolete."

We here submit the act of the last session, that our readers may have the whole case before them.

* Norris's Practical Exposition of the Proceedings and Tendency of the British and Foreign Bible Society, p. 228, Note.

"Anno quadragesimo tertio Geo. III. Regis, cap. CLX, an Act to relieve Persons who impugn the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity from certain Penalties. [21st July 1813.]

Whereas, in the 19th year of his present majesty, an act was passed, intituled, *an act for the further relief of Protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters*; and it is expedient to enact as herein-after provided: Be it therefore enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that so much of an act passed in the first year of the reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, intituled, *an act for exempting his majesty's Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws*, as provides, that that act, or any thing therein contained, should not extend, or be construed to extend, to give any ease, benefit, or advantage, to persons denying the *Trinity*, as therein mentioned, be and the same is hereby repealed.

II. And be it further enacted, That the provisions of another act, passed in the ninth and tenth years of the reign of King *William*, intituled, *an act for the more effectual suppressing blasphemy and profaneness*, so far as the same relate to persons denying, as therein mentioned, respecting the *Holy Trinity*, be and the same are hereby repealed.

III. And whereas it is expedient to repeal an act, passed in the Parliament of *Scotland*, in the first Parliament of King *Charles* the Second, intituled, *an act against the crime of blasphemy*; and another act, passed in the Parliament of *Scotland*, in the first Parliament of King *William*, intituled, *act against blasphemy*; which acts respectively ordain the punishment of death; be it therefore enacted, that the said acts, and each of them, shall be, and the same are and is, hereby repealed.

IV. And be it further enacted, that this act shall be deemed and taken to be a public act, and shall be judicially taken notice of as such by all judges, justices, and others, without being specially pleaded."

ON THE BRIEF OF PIUS VII.

Edinburgh, 1813.

MR. EDITOR,—Wishing to promote the Protestant cause to the utmost of my power, I beg leave to offer a few facts to the consideration of your readers.

1. In 1809 the present Pope issued a Brief absolving the French from their allegiance to the family of Bourbon, which had the effect of bringing over many of those most devoted to that family to the interests of Buonaparte.

2. The Irish Catholics cannot be more attached to his Majesty and his

family, than the French were (before the revolution) to the house of Bourbon. And it should seem that the privations which the people of France had undergone, and all the distresses they had suffered from the revolution and the subsequent wars, had not been able to extinguish this sentiment, so lately as 1809, since it required the Pope's Brief to bring their minds over to Buonaparte's government.

3. The Pope has evinced a singular disregard for his religion, which counts matrimony a sacrament, by his *concordatum* at Fontainbleau; in which, for the secular consideration of having his Italian dominions restored to him, he has outraged common decency, by acknowledging the second marriage of Buonaparte, contracted while his first wife was living, and was wantonly repudiated without the sanction of any law, divine or human.

4. He that can do such things, may be expected to obey, with prompt submission, any *other* mandate of the Corsican, notwithstanding the resolution with which he defends the patrimony (so called) of the church.

5. What *security* have we, then, that he shall not issue a Brief, absolving the Irish Roman Catholics from their allegiance to his Majesty and family, in the same way, and with the same dire effect, as he did the French people in 1809.

6. Do not our fellow subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion enjoy more immunities, at this moment, than they had any idea of asking in the outset of this business: and have not their demands increased in proportion to the facility with which the government, from time to time, has listened to their representations and granted their petitions: and are they at present agreed among themselves as to the extent to which they wish to have their privileges enlarged?

7. Is it decent to push his Majesty's government at a time when this country is contending with the direst foe it ever encountered, and is loaded with a heavy debt, occasioned, in a great measure, by the glorious struggle we are making to restore the liberties of Europe; when the whole strength and soul of government are directed to that object; and when our situation imperiously demands the union of every good subject to assist in repelling the efforts of Buonaparte against Britain, the only state which has uniformly resisted his ambitious projects;—I ask, is it decent, under such circumstances, for our Roman Catholic fellow subjects, (I wish I could call them *brethren*;) to distract our attention, and harass our feelings, by urging their pretensions, without offering any *securities*, at this moment?

8. If they continue to follow that course, many people may be apt to conclude that Pius VII. must have already issued a brief addressed to the Roman Catholics of this country, conceived in the same spirit as that ad-

dressed to the French in 1809, well known to the Papists in these islands, but never, if at all alluded to, much less stigmatized by their bishops or their priests.

I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,

D. S.

ROMISH CASUISTRY.

MR. EDITOR,—In Dr. Milner's memorial on the Roman Catholic bill, we find a proposal, under a N. B. (see Protestant Advocate, vol. i. p. 626,) that those of that communion shall not be obliged to swear to the succession clause, as in the act of 1791, *lest it should oblige them to take up arms against the sovereign, in case he were to profess their religion*; but that, in lieu of it, they should swear *to maintain, support, and defend the succession to the crown, and to submit to the limitation of that succession to Protestants*.—What is that succession which the Doctor proposes to be maintained, supported, and defended? Is it simply the hereditary right to the monarchy? Why, Sir, that right belongs to the present reigning family only as *Protestants*. It has been supported against the Stuarts because they were *Papists*. The loyalty of the Roman Catholics, (such of them, I mean, as were loyal,) consisted in their maintaining, or being ready to maintain, the right of the present reigning family, the basis of which right was, that they were Protestants; and in their opposing the Stuarts, being Romanists. Are we, as a condition for granting the Roman Catholics political power, to relinquish our claim upon their loyalty? and to permit them to stand neuter if ever a Catholic pretender shall attempt to seize the crown?

But mark the spirit of evasion and mental reservation which appears in this proposed oath. They are to swear to *defend* the succession, and by *defending* we find is meant *standing neuter*! and by similar changes in the meaning of words, we find that to *support* signifies *to submit*; and to *maintain* signifies *not to oppose*.—Nor is this all. This N. B. of this notable memorial, in no obscure terms, tells us that we are not to expect that the Roman Catholics who have taken the oath of 1791 will keep it, for it tells us *that nobody would believe that they would keep it*, if the case for which it was provided, a Roman Catholic should appear, and assert his claim as the rightful heir of the monarchy. Does Dr. Milner perceive the deadly charge he has here brought against some of the most respectable men of his communion, that of having taken an oath manifestly such as they would not, and, according to their misguided conscience, could not keep? Did Dr. Milner sit silent when such an oath was proposed and carried in 1791? Did he acquiesce in it? Did he approve of it? Did he applaud it?

Sir, understanding the words of Dr. Milner's *N. B.* as words are usually understood by Protestants, I do not hesitate to say that they tend to destroy all confidence in oaths, and to support, in their utmost extent, every charge with respect to the doctrines of equivocation and mental reservation, made by Protestants against Papists. This *N. B.* with all Dr. Milner's science and practice in polemics, with all his shrewdness, and with all the wariness which some have imputed to him, makes a very curious disclosure. The fox's tail, with which the lion's skin put on by the doughty doctor was eked out, proved too scanty to cover his nakedness.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.

PH.

THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The preparations making for renewed hostilities by the Papists, and the note of war which has been sounded in Ireland and elsewhere, have called forth the energies of the Protestant inhabitants of various denominations, in the cities of London and Westminster, and the vicinity,—who so nobly stood forward as the champions of the constitution last year, and presented petitions to both Houses of Parliament;—that carried up to the House of Lords, being signed by 61,745 persons, whose places of residence were inserted opposite to their signatures;—and the petition to the House of Commons, signed by 60,946, designated in a similar way. On the 15th of November, a general meeting of the committee was holden at the London Tavern. The worthy chairman, Stephen Cattley, Esq. reported the proceedings which had taken place. Many important resolutions were passed (see the *Courier*, Nov. 22); but what we take peculiar pleasure in laying before our readers, and recording in the pages of the *PROTESTANT ADVOCATE*, is the address of thanks to the *SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS*, for the distinguished part which he took in the momentous question agitated during the late session of Parliament. We transcribe the resolution and the address, together with the concluding recommendation, in which we most heartily concur.

“RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY, That the especial thanks of this meeting be given to the *RIGHT HON. CHARLES ABBOTT*, *SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS*, for his dignified, patriotic, and highly constitutional conduct on that vital [the *Rom. Cath.*] question, and that the following address be presented to him from this meeting; namely,

“To the *Right Hon. CHARLES ABBOTT*, speaker of the House of Commons, &c. &c.

“*SIR*,—In conformity with the principles which impelled us, not long since, to petition both Houses of Parliament against the claims of the Roman Catholics, we feel it our duty to offer you our cordial thanks for the support given to the great cause of constitutional freedom by the pow-

erful and convincing speech reported to have been spoken by you on the 24th day of May last, in a committee of the whole house, on the recommended bill for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications under which his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects are said to labour. But we feel ourselves, Sir, more particularly obliged to you, for having, in your address to HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT, at the close of the last session, given due importance to the vote by which the House of Commons had rejected the pretensions of those, who, while they acknowledged a foreign jurisdiction, seek to administer the power and authority of the state; and for having also asserted, in an impressive and dignified manner, on that solemn occasion, the great constitutional maxim, that the throne, the Parliament, and the government of this country, are FUNDAMENTALLY PROTESTANT. This maxim, Sir, was engrafted into the constitution at the period of the glorious revolution in 1688, and its fruits have been the complete and uninterrupted enjoyment of civil and religious freedom; the preservation, in vigour and security, of the constitution in church and state; and a degree of national prosperity unexampled in the annals of this country. With the utmost gratitude for your manly efforts to preserve and perpetuate these inestimable blessings,

"We are, Sir," &c. —

"Resolved unanimously, That this address be written on vellum, and transmitted, with the resolutions of this meeting, to the Speaker by the Chairman, and that the same be printed and sent to the committees of the several parishes of the metropolis and its environs.

"Resolved unanimously, That it be recommended to the committees of the several parishes before referred to, that they, with the members of this committee, do use every means in their power to impress on the minds of their representatives in Parliament, the importance of this great national subject, and the imperative necessity there exists for their attendance in Parliament on every discussion upon it.

(Signed)

"STEPHEN CATTLEY."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO CORRESPONDENTS, &c.

We are obliged to postpone giving the promised extract from Bishop Gibson.

Another most curious letter of *Sir Neal O'Donel*, with the philological and explanatory remarks of our valuable correspondent *Crito*, in our next.

We cast ourselves on the mercy of *Fidei Defensor*, and *J. W. B.*

Scrutator, whose confidence we estimate very highly, in our next number.

The letters signed *Clericus Anglicanus*, which were printed in the *Antijacobin* and the *Protestant Advocate*, have appeared in the form of a pamphlet (Baldwin, London). The learned author's name appears on the title page,—the Rev. G. HUTTON, D.D. Vicar of Sutterton, &c. near Boston, and some time Fellow of St. Mary Magdalene College, Oxford. Our Protestant constitution has an able and spirited supporter in Dr. Hutton, and we feel proud to call him our friend.

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For JANUARY 1814.

"Before the Revolution, it is known how Popery and absolute power had invaded the constitution. The regal supremacy, of such absolute necessity to preserve the peace of the kingdom, was disclaimed, and the papal supremacy, by a solemn embassy to Rome, owned and acknowledged, and no footsteps left of the regal supremacy, but that which was worse than nought, an illegal high-commission court: and at that time the popular rights, in almost all the species of them, were invaded."

—Sir Joseph Jekyll. *Speech in Dr. Sacheverell's Trial.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

If our readers will have the goodness to refer to our last number, p. 103, they will see that Mr. Grattan was declared, by the Roman Catholic BOARD in Dublin, at a meeting holden July 3d last, to have "forfeited their confidence;" and that on November 6th last, the Chairman of the BOARD which sat on that day was "requested to communicate with the Earl of Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan [the repudiated patron of Popery, seemingly taken into favour again], and in the most respectful manner to ascertain whether it is [be] their wish that a form of a bill for [Roman] Catholic emancipation shall be put into their hands;" &c.—We now present our readers with the result, and lay before them the answers of the noble lord and the honourable commoner.

Letter from Lord Donoughmore.

"Knocklofty, 12th Nov. 1813.

"Sir,—In proceeding to answer the question to which I am called on for my reply, namely, whether I am prepared to receive a communication from the Catholic Board touching the form of a bill for their relief; it is necessary to keep in view the avowed principle and object, for the establishment and furtherance of which this proposition has been opened and enforced, in order to our being enabled to acquire a correct opinion of the nature and extent of the communication thus intended to be made. To arrive at such an understanding, without the possibility of doubt and

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cavil, the speech, as it has been reported in the public prints, of the able and respectable person * with whom this suggestion appears to have originated, furnishes us with lights sufficiently abundant.

“ From this report it is evident, in the first place, that, according to the then feeling of the Catholic Board, it was considered necessary for them to put into the hands of their parliamentary advocates the form of a bill, completely framed, with all its specifications and provisions. That the Catholic Board, and not the Lords and Commons now in Parliament assembled, should take into their consideration what species of bill would be likely to satisfy this country, whilst it should bid fair, at the same time, to reconcile to its provisions the other part of the nation. That the general sentiments of Ireland, expressed by numerous meetings in the counties and cities, and likewise the proceedings of the last sessions having been taken into consideration, not by the two houses of Parliament which are now sitting, but by the Catholic Board; it is affirmed as a fundamental proposition, that no specific measures for regulating the discipline of the Catholic church in Ireland ought to be proposed to the legislature, or advocated in behalf of the Catholic people of Ireland, without having been previously sanctioned by the approbation of their prelates; and lastly, that no oaths should be propounded in the bill which should not have received the like sanction of the same previous approbation.

“ Such being, then, the obvious and declared objects of the communication to which I am invited, as your selected advocate in that house of which I am a member; and an avowed claim having thus been made by the leaders of the Catholic Board, on the part of that body, to the peculiar right of originating the welcome measure of relief, whenever it shall come to their heavily-aggrieved and long-suffering community; as well as that of discussing and arranging all its various and necessary details, leaving a naked affirmative or dissent as the only remaining sphere of action to the representatives of the people and the hereditary counsellors of the crown,—on a question, too, of the greatest possible magnitude and importance, inasmuch as it affects the materials and the frame of the governing power of the state.—Being, moreover, well aware that I should as little consult the real interests of my Catholic countrymen as the dignity of that branch of the legislature to which I belong, by becoming a consenting party to the introduction into Parliament of any measure, however professing to be a bill for their full and complete relief, under such circumstances as these. Having revolved all these considerations in my mind again and again,—with whatever reluctance it is that I differ

* Mr. O'Connell.

in opinion upon the present occasion with those for whose motives, for whose public character and private worth I entertain the most sincere respect and esteem,—I feel myself bound by an imperious sense of duty to others, as well as to my own situation, to decline the communication which has been thus offered to me on the part of the Catholic Board.

“ With respect to the legitimate claim of his Majesty’s Catholic subjects to a complete and perfect equality in every constitutional power, privilege, and capacity with the most favoured members of the established church, twenty years have run their course since any declaration of my political creed has ceased to have been necessary on that important subject. Under the tests imposed by the Irish statute of 1793, I was then prepared to have opened to them even the doors of Parliament itself. It is now too late a period of my public life to retrace my steps. Securities for Catholic loyalty I desire none in addition to that bond of that memorable year, which they have so often sealed with their blood during the various fortunes of a war unexampled in length and pressure. That confidence which they have so long merited and received from their Protestant fellow-subjects, I now demand for them—the nerves of common strength—from the governing powers of the state.

“ But the same liberty of judgment and opinion for which I have been contending on the part of others, free and unshackled, I must not relinquish for myself, distinguished as I have been in the situation to which you have been pleased to call me, one of your Parliamentary advocates. Instructions I will not condescend to receive, for the discharge of that duty which I have undertaken on your behalf, not for the first time, and which I am not conscious of ever having deserted. I have no explanations to offer—no new pledges to give. Dictation from any quarter, however respectable, (pardon the expression, it is due to frankness and sincerity, I mean it not unkindly,) I should consider as little less degrading to the humble individual who thus addresses himself to your candour and to your feelings, than inadmissible as applied to the grand inquest of the nation, now in Parliament assembled.

“ I have the honour to be, very truly, Sir,

“ Your faithful and humble servant,

“ Nicholas Mahon, Esq.

“ DONOUGHMORE.”

“ Chairman of the Catholic Board.”

Letter of Mr. Grattan.

“ Tianshinch, 18th Nov. 1813.

“ Sir,—I find by the public papers that I have misapprehended the intention of the Catholic Board in the resolution which you were pleased

to communicate. The resolution ran thus :* " That the chairman be requested to consult with Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, to ascertain if it be their pleasure, or that of either of them, to receive a communication from the Board upon the form of a bill for our relief." I apprehend that by the words "consult with us," the Board meant that their worthy chairman should confer, and I therefore answered that I was ready to see you, to whom, at that conference, in the presence of Lord Donoughmore (in whose sentiments on this subject I entirely coincide), it was my intention to have stated my objections at large to the formation of a bill by the Catholic Board; and I should have accompanied my refusal to communicate with the Board on the subject, by expressions of hope that the Board would not resort to such a proceeding. I was perfectly aware that the worthy chairman, had no power to discuss the formation of a bill, and was entirely limited to the question of communication.

" I dare say that whatever misapprehension took place was entirely my error, and I am extremely sorry that my mistake should have caused a moment's debate.

" It remains for me now not to decline to answer that question which the Catholic Board is pleased to propose to me, regarding a communication with the Board on the subject of their resolution. My answer is, that my zeal in the Catholic cause is unextinguished; that I have great affection for my fellow-citizens of the Catholic religion; that I have a personal regard for a great number of individuals that are of the Catholic Board, without the least degree of enmity to any one of them; and it is in consequence of these sentiments, as well as from a sense of the duty which I owe to Parliament, and particularly to the House of Commons of which I am a member, that I decline a communication with the Catholic Board on a bill to be formed by them for the legislature, or on any proceeding like a dictation to Parliament.

" I make no doubt the Board will not fall into such an error; there are established regular ways by which they can convey their wishes. I am satisfied they will resort to such, in which they will be most respectable and persuasive.

" I have the honour to be, most sincerely,

" Your very faithful and humble servant,

" Nicholas Mahon, Esq.

" HENRY GRATTAN."

" Chairman of the Catholic Board."

To make observations on these proceedings at length, would far exceed

* We observe some variations from the copy of the resolution printed in our last number, p. 103, in that cited by Mr. Grattan.

the limits within which we must necessarily confine ourselves; but we cannot suffer them to pass without a few remarks.

Mr. Grattan, by some means or other, we know not how, seems to have regained, to a certain degree, the confidence which he once forfeited. Perhaps a portion of Lord Donoughmore's merits, on the supererogatory plan, have been assigned to the loyal patriot of Tinnehinch.* We cannot well suppose that, like Henry II. of England, he submitted to penance, and bared his back to the flagellation of the BOARD. However this may be, we can assure him, that the Papists will not be satisfied with half measures, or with any thing that savours of moderation. The BOARD disdains the aid of *advocates*; it will be served by *slaves* only. No man shall presume to form an opinion on the fittest mode of promoting its schemes; the BOARD claims to prescribe every point. Nor is it to its humiliated *messengers* alone that it issues its mandates, it aspires to *dictate to Parliament itself*. Both Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan declare as much. As if they had concerted together the plan of their letters, they both use the expression of DICTATION TO PARLIAMENT. Now when these two ancient friends of the Papists admit this to be the true character of the measure resorted to by the Board, can we suppose that *Parliament* will crouch to the dictation scouted by the peer and the commoner; or that any member in either house can be found who will undertake to explain away an attempt so characterized by audacity.

The BOARD! The time has arrived when we must give our unqualified opinion of the zealots who, self-constituted, take to themselves this designation. We deem it an unlawful assembly, meeting (to use the words of Lord Clare, when he made his salutary motion, July 8, 1793),† “under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions to his Majesty, or the Parliament.” This BOARD, as it ostentatiously calls itself, forms a perfect *imperium in imperio*. It presumes now to *dictate* laws to the hereditary and elected representatives of the people in Westminster. It supplies all the ferment of discord which agitates the United Kingdom:

“*Hec fonte derivata clades*

In patriam populumque fluxit.”

We are persuaded that we shall never know the comfort of domestic peace, nor act with that momentum of effect on our foreign enemies which a complete union of heart and hand can alone supply, while this pestilent gangrene continues fretting a sound constitution, and diffusing its poison like the *fomes* of a cancer. The law must put down the BOARD, or the BOARD will put down the law, and the Parliament beside, to which

* See p. 134.]

† See p. 128;—Melancthon's Tenth Letter.

it already endeavours to *dictate*. We cannot conceive why Lord Fingal, and Lord Prench, and the people who met together, not long since, under the *pretence of petitioning*, should have been held an illegal assembly, and yet that the Board should be suffered to sit. The Board;—as if it were a legally constituted, and a duly authorized body;—as if its proceedings were regulated by some act of the legislature, and all its forms of *notices*, and *motions*, and *resolutions*, and *adjournments*, &c. were recognized and laid down by statute.

Notwithstanding all the ardour, and the hopes of this petty Parliament, this mockery of legislation, the time is not yet come for making the concessions which it demands. That auspicious period was not afforded in 1773, nor, twenty years afterwards, in 1793; it certainly did not present itself in 1798, nor in 1803; that happy time, long looked for by the impatience of *restricted infallibility*, came not in 1813, nor will it arrive in 1814. The self-importance of the Papists must first be stripped off, and thrown aside. They must no longer cherish separate interests. The tiara must no longer rob the crown of that allegiance which is its due by the law of God and the constitution of the country. The infuriated religionists who demand *power*, must themselves learn to *tolerate* those who hold religious opinions different from the corrupt dogmata of the church of Rome. If they wish for equal privileges with Protestants in this world, let them not exclude Protestants from the kingdom of Heaven in the world to come. The season of concession has not yet arrived. We shall do incalculable mischief by prematurely granting what the Romanists so imperiously urge. We must wait till it can be safely granted; and we have great reason to be thankful that the legislature has maintained the last settlement of the constitution unbroken; if, after all, so many indulgences shewn to ungrateful men have not impaired its stability. Many a time have the partizans of Popery tried to cajole Parliament, many a time have they menaced it with the terrible consequences to be apprehended if the bulwarks of Protestantism be suffered to stand. The legislature has continued firm, and all Protestants have reason to be grateful. On the 17th of November Mr. Canning made a speech, in the committee on foreign treaties. There was, indeed, no necessity for it. It was of no service to the cause of his old friends, and it did not tend to strengthen that of his new ones. However, he made a speech. The report of it read well in the morning papers of the following day; and, if the speech was given correctly, the honourable gentleman must have studied it well, and spent no small pains upon it. We shall conclude with quoting one passage in the charming composition—previously observing, that we apply to the *Papists* and the *Roman Catholic Board*,

what the accomplished member for Liverpool used concerning the *French* and *BUONAPARTE*; and we appeal to every man of common sense, whether our use of the words is not fully as appropriate as that in which they were originally employed;—"IT IS IMPOSSIBLE NOW TO LOOK BACK TO THOSE PERIODS WHICH MANY HAD SUPPOSED THE MOST FAVOURABLE FOR MAKING PEACE, (that is, in the secondary meaning, *concession*), WITHOUT RETURNING THANKS TO ALMIGHTY PROVIDENCE, THAT AT THOSE TIMES WE HAD THE COURAGE TO RESIST THE TEMPTATION THAT WAS THROWN IN OUR WAY."

The following letters throw so much light on the state of society and manners in Ireland, that (having been favoured with a copy of them in manuscript) we judge it proper to print them for general information.

" To the Secretary of the Protestant Union.

" Sir,—It is most earnestly wished by the Protestants of this neighbourhood, who are as numerous as they are respectable, that the recent triumph over the machinations of Popery, in the House of Commons, may not throw the Protestants of Great Britain off their guard; and particularly that the Protestant Union may not be dissolved by that event.

" The occasion of my addressing this letter to you, Sir, is, not only to return thanks to the honourable member of the House of Commons who has given me a kind and early information of the result of Mr. Abbot's motion on the morning of the 25th ult., but also to communicate to the Protestant Union the delicate situation in which his Majesty's subjects who profess the reformed faith in the province of Ulster stand at this moment.

" We are unquestionably able, and from the frailty of human nature perhaps but too willing, to repel any attack which may be made upon us in the day-light, and of this our misguided countrymen are well aware; and we also desire for as much as in us lieth to live peaceably with all men. But what are we to do when determined plans are laid to insult, and way-lay us and our unoffending families, when we resort to or returning from fairs or markets on our lawful business; and when upon a legal investigation we have to contend, even before Protestant benches and juries, with men who, from the encouragement to perjury held out to them by the principles of their church, have an advantage over us, who cannot flatter ourselves with the hope of forgiveness from our clergy of a sin dreadfully prevalent in this country, and equally odious in the sight of God and man?

" Within the last three weeks the practice of assaulting us has prevailed in all parts of this province. The first cry is, *Five pounds for an*

Orangeman's head,—by which appellation all Protestants, even those who having been rebels in 1798, and are consequently inadmissible to the Orange society, are now known. The attack is then made with clubs and stones.

“ We know, Sir, that immense sums of money have been collected at all the Popish chapels in this neighbourhood, for some years back, for the avowed purpose of defraying *Catholic expences*; and some Protestant shopkeepers and traders have been induced, from prudential motives, to contribute to this fund.

“ If the Protestants resent the affronts or resist the attacks made upon them, they are instantly accused as the aggressors; and the superiority which they generally maintain, even when considerably out-numbered, gives some colour of truth to the false imputation: so that they are now, literally, driven to the ruinous alternative of either being, in the language of the Dublin Evening Post, *expatriated from the markets*, or submitting to be assaulted when they resort to them, with the probability of being prosecuted at law afterwards, and punished as disturbers of the public peace.

“ At the fairs of Garvagh and Dungiven, in this county, and at the last market of Colerain, and at the fair of Ahoghill, in the neighbouring county of Antrim, a few days ago, the Protestant tradesmen and farmers have been attacked in the manner I have described; and at the fair of Clones, in the county of Monaghan, a similar outrage was committed on the 27th of last month, the unfortunate result of which was, that a corps of yeomanry having been assembled to aid the magistrates in keeping the peace, one of them, returning home through the street, killed one of the rioters with his bayonet, after having been assaulted and knocked down, and severely beaten by a party of them who way-laid him.

“ In reporting this unhappy state of our country, I feel no disposition to extenuate or apologise for the misconduct or indiscretion of Protestants, (and ill conducted and indiscreet men will be found in all denominations of people;) but, from the bottom of my heart, I believe that the Roman Catholics are the aggressors in nine cases out of ten, at the same time that I am convinced they are seduced into the commission of these excesses by emissaries from the demagogues in Dublin.

“ The Protestant clergy, most of whom are magistrates here, have earnestly endeavoured to persuade their hearers of the necessity of giving no cause of offence to those who seek it, and even when offended and attacked, not to consider themselves warranted by any degree of provocation, however great, to take the law into their own hands. It is but just to add, that the Romish priest of the parish which I inhabit has also expressed his disapprobation of such proceedings as I have mentioned,

by publicly cursing on his altar (after the manner of his church) all those who presume to disturb the peace of the country at fairs and markets.

" In the mean time, Sir, I conceive it a duty which I owe to the insulted and calumniated Protestants of this province, to guard the minds of their brethren in Great Britain against the impression likely to be made on them by the false reports disseminated through the empire by seditious newspapers.

" I have the honour to remain, Sir,

" Your obedient servant,

June 10, 1813.

" J. G."

" *To the Secretary of the Protestant Union.*

" Sir,—The apprehensions entertained here respecting the peace of the neighbourhood, disturbed at our fair yesterday, have been but too fully justified by the event; notwithstanding all the precautions which were taken to prevent such an occurrence. No riot occurred during the whole of the day, as the yeoman infantry, by the orders of two magistrates, had been assembled in the morning, and kept under arms until night-fall; but on their return to their respective residences, several of them were attacked by a large body of men, who lay in wait for them, near the house of the Reverend Charles Kennedy, a Presbyterian minister, about a quarter of a mile from the town. When the yeomanry were overpowered, and some of them disarmed, they fled for refuge to Mr. Kennedy's house. The mob pursued them, and the hall door being closed just as they reached it, they broke it to pieces with clubs and stones, and at the same time they attacked the bed-room window, into which they threw upwards of an horse-load of stones, several of which were afterwards found in one of the beds, from which Mrs. Kennedy, terrified as she was, and in a declining state of health, had the presence of mind to snatch her infant children on the first alarm. Mr. Kennedy and one of his neighbours, who happened to be with him, held up tables to the windows to repel the stones; and when these bigotted savages had satiated their fury, and began to fear the consequences of what they had done, they retired in a body, leaving this innocent and unoffending family in a state of terror and agitation not easy to be described.

" Mr. Kennedy is this day making his depositions before one of the neighbouring magistrates, and it is to be hoped that three at least of the ringleaders in this atrocious outrage will be identified and punished.

" These, Sir, and such acts of violence, we who are well acquainted with the state of the country consider in the most serious point of view, convinced as we are that they are but the rash and premature ebullitions

of a more regular and systematic attack upon the lives and properties of his Majesty's Protestant subjects in Ireland.

" I have the honour to remain, Sir,

" *Maghera, in the
County of Londonderry,*

June 14, 1813."

" Your obedient humble servant,

" J. G."

*Extract of a Letter from Colerain to the Editor of the Dublin Journal,
dated on Saturday the 9th of October, 1813.*

" This day our quarter sessions ended, when fourteen persons concerned in the riots at Maghera on the 12th of June last were found guilty, and committed to the jail of Londonderry, for different periods, according to the degree of their respective offences.

" An equal number of each party have been convicted. The pains taken by the respectable bench and jury at Colerain, to investigate this business, were great and truly laudable, and the verdicts were, as they unquestionably ought to be, founded on the evidence adduced, for which evidence there will be *another and more awful day of reckoning.*

" It is but justice, however, to one of the best conducted corps of yeomanry in his Majesty's service, and to some of the *best men in that corps*, to observe, that the members of it who have been implicated in this affair were on their *direct* return to their respective homes when the affray happened; whilst their deluded antagonists had gone *out of their way*, in a direction opposite to that part of the country to which, at that hour, they ought to have been returning. Among the latter, one man was convicted, and sentenced to twelve-months imprisonment, as a ringleader of the holy mob, who, on the same night, took the "*civil and religious liberty*" of breaking the hall-door and windows of the Reverend Charles Kennedy, Presbyterian minister of Maghera; an outrage nearly fatal to a worthy and inoffensive family, and which has been productive of much trouble and an heavy expense to this persecuted man."

Extract of a Letter to the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

" The disaffected newspapers are sent gratis to the Popish clergy in the neighbourhood of Maghera, by some unknown persons in Dublin.

" The *Dublin Evening Post*, containing a gross abuse of the Bishop of Derry, one of the most active and public spirited prelates in Ireland, was sent to the Popish priest of Maghera, in the diocese of Derry, directed to him as *dean of the diocese*, a title which it is not legal for him to

assume. One *O'Mullane*, Popish curate of Derry, made an infamous attack on the Bishop of Derry, his lordship having founded an extensive school there, with that truly laudable attention to the education of the poor, which has uniformly marked the character of that Protestant prelate."

At a late meeting of the Popish Board, Mr. O'Connell observed, that when the legislature was opened to the half-christians of England, the Unitarians,* the Catholics have grounds to expect that they will be excluded.

It is much to be regretted that the bill for the relief, or, as some may say, the *encouragement of the impugnors of the doctrine of the Trinity*, passed both houses in the last session of Parliament without opposition.

"What boots it at one gate to make defence,

"And at another to let in the foe."—SAMR. AGON.

J. G.

Loyalty of Irish Roman Catholic Priests, and Establishments of the Jesuits in Ireland.

As we may well expect to hear a great deal of the merits and good disposition of the Irish Roman Catholics, upon the proposed investigation of the speech delivered by the Speaker of the House of Commons at the close of the last session, every fact which tends to illustrate the genuine sentiments of those religionists cannot but be valuable; and we therefore give the following anecdotes, which we have received from unquestionable authority.

Our readers may remember the rejoicings which took place in this country when the glorious news of the battle of Vittoria arrived. In many on the other side of St. George's Channel; the sources of joy seem to have produced only an equal degree of mortification. A gentleman, holding a public situation in the south of Ireland, being met, soon after the news had reached that country, by the Romish priest of the parish (who is, it seems, a near relation of the titular bishop), the latter complained heavily of a magistrate and some Protestant gentlemen, who had promoted an illumination on the event, on a day when it appeared peculiarly appropriate, the anniversary of the battle of Aughrim;—the priest stated, "that offensive tunes had been played by the yeomanry band; that the military had been called upon to interfere, and

* See our last number, pp. 149, 140; where for *infringers* read *impugnors*.

that the officer had prudently declined coming out with his men, or bloodshed would have ensued: in short, that had not he (the peaceable priest) interposed, a terrible conflict must have taken place." The gentleman, to ascertain the fact, called upon the officer, (a very discreet and sensible young gentleman, commanding a detachment of one of the English militia regiments) who assured him that he had *not* been applied to by any one to bring out his men; that he heard *no* tune that could be called offensive, except "*Rule Britannia*" could be deemed so; but that he observed the said priest going from house to house, rating every Roman Catholic inhabitant who had lighted up, and knocking down their candles!!!

We are further informed, that in Waterford there was a public dinner to celebrate that victory, but *not a single Roman Catholic appeared at it!*

Such is the influence exercised by the priests, and such is the spirit by which these men are actuated, who we are gravely told are as much attached to the constitution as ourselves! Thus does every individual of them, while he is exciting dissatisfaction, endeavour to cover himself under the false pretence that he is *oppressed*.

As probably we shall also be told, during the present session, of the niggardliness of the grant to Maynooth College, it may not be improper to inform our readers that the society of Jesuits in Ireland have £32,000 in hand, for the purpose of establishing seminaries; and that with this *view* they have lately purchased a house and some land, for the sum of £18,000. The house is large, £24,000 having been expended on it by the proprietor, a Mr. Brown, lately dead. His brother and heir, by whom it is sold, is an aid-de-camp of *the King of Saxony* (if he still retain the title), and with great difficulty obtained leave of absence to take possession. Happy we should call him in this circumstance, if we were sure that he rejoices in the emancipation of his master's *dominions*; his master *himself* is a prisoner. More happy still had he been, if he could have contentedly sat down, when an opportunity was given him, on his paternal estate; or, instructed as he ought to have been by the miserable and melancholy bigotry which has always pervaded the court of Dresden ever since it became Popish, had abjured that creed which keeps him half an alien from his native country,—a servant to an unhappy slave of Buonaparte. Happy had he joined the gallant heroes who have hunted down the destroyer of the liberties of Europe, and are striking their late disgraceful manacles from the wrists of mankind.

We shall be particularly obliged to any of our correspondents who will give us information of the manner in which this last and decisive success of the allied powers is received by "*the people*" of Ireland, as the Ro-

man Catholics of that country have been pleased exclusively and modestly to call themselves.—We subjoin a fact, sent us from Ireland, during the run of the late continental successes, which have gladdened the hearts of all loyal men.

“*Dublin, Nov. 3.*—If the course of the packet happens to be delayed, we are sure of a placard, placed at the foot of King William’s statue, announcing the defeat, flight, and DISTRACTION of the allies. One to this effect, and almost in the words recited, was, within the last two or three evenings, posted up; but however well intended, it had not, even with the veriest vulgar, the desired effect. On the contrary, it being written rather faintly, as if more was intended than met the eye, a fellow driving a dray stopped to read it—“*Poh!*” said he, “*this is another humbug—this is the way they are always deceiving us—I’m sure it’s too good to be true.*”

In addition to what we have already laid before our readers, we beg to add an extract from a letter sent to the Editor, dated Dublin Dec. 2.—“I sincerely rejoice with you on the glorious events which, in rapid succession, have taken place, and are as grateful to the feelings of the Irish Protestants, as they are grievous and mortifying to the *Talents, the Jacobins, and the bigotted Papists*. The common people over their whiskey and porter inveigh bitterly against the *Dutch*,—having discovered that they are *Orangemen!*—The good people of England have no conception of the state of this island. The Popish multitude are organized for rebellion. Two fellows were convicted, at the last assizes held at Mullingar, of tendering unlawful oaths, having sworn some people to be true and loyal to *Buonaparte* and his forces, in overturning England, to plant the tree of liberty, &c.—you shall have a copy of the oath, with observations thereon. This is *matter of record*.—It is a positive fact that in the counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, and Antrim, and in parts of Donegal, a Protestant cannot go singly to a fair or a market, for fear of being murdered.”—Let our readers compare what is here stated with the letters from *Maghera*.

We finish with the winding up of Mr. Magee’s affair. We still hope that this misguided Protestant will *emancipate* himself from the degrading service of the Papists.

“*Dublin, Nov. 20.*—MR. MAGEE.—On Saturday this gentleman was brought into the Court of King’s Bench to receive sentence.

“The *Attorney-General* [Mr. Saurin] rose, and desired to know whether council on the other side intended to move any thing in mitigation—

of punishment. Nothing being offered, he proceeded to say, that to him had fallen the very unpleasant task of making some observations in aggravation, not of the original libel, for which Mr. Magee had been tried, but of the seditious, base, and malignant libel which, under pretence of defending him, had been pronounced in that court, and afterwards published in Mr. Magee's paper, as the speech of his council [Mr. O'Connell, a Papist]—a libel the most false, the most dangerous, as tending to disaffect a large proportion of his Majesty's subjects, that ever had been uttered.

“ The libel had spared no character, however exalted, however arrayed in virtue, in wisdom, in learning, in integrity; from the chief-justice [Downes] on the bench, the King's law officers, down to the private citizen, who, in obedience to the summons of the court, and conformable to his duty, attended at the trial.

“ As to the judges and the law officers, they might well be supposed to despise such base attacks; besides, they were remunerated by the state for their time and attendance; but the case of the JURY was truly distressing, he was called upon under a heavy penalty to attend; if he did not attend he was fined, if he did he was insulted in the face of the court, and of his country, and hitherto with impunity. Amongst the false and malicious charges against the law-officers of the crown, the attorney-general had been represented as the enemy of a free press and the persecutor of all who wrote with freedom: how stood this fact? He had been in the office of the attorney-general seven years, and had prosecuted but three persons on account of seditious publications. The first was the celebrated publication called the Painter Cut—a libel calculated to incite hatred against England, and a desire of separation. The second was a report of the penal laws,* a compilation of falsehood and malignity, which the vile writer knew to be false, malignant, and seditious at the very moment he compiled it, and at the moment it was published. The third was the libel for which Mr. Magee now stood before the court.

“ In all these libels the authors had taken the utmost pains to identify their malignity and their sedition with *the cause of the Roman Catholics*; a cause in which he had never expressed his opinion; but *the respectable and worthy pari* † of that description of our fellow-subjects had repelled with merited contempt every effort to draw them into the vortex of sedition; every attempt to *disaffect* them to his Majesty's government, though that government had been the continued theme of slander with the agitators.

* See p. 160.

† These are the mitigated Papists who adhere to Mr. Bellew.

* The Attorney-General then quoted a case from Lord Hardwicke, where certain printers, by his order, were imprisoned merely for slandering some gentlemen who had cases in chancery, where he presided. How much greater, then, the crime of an advocate who, abandoning the defence of his client, takes advantage of his situation to insult the court, the jury, the law-officers, and every respectable person concerned; he was, however, happy to say, that he believed there was not a second in the court who would so far degrade the honourable profession to which he belonged; and he hoped that ulterior proceedings would shew the opinion entertained on that subject.—[Here there was a general expression of applause from the bar and the auditors.] As to Mr. Magee, he had in a publication, subsequent to his trial, claimed and avowed as his own all that his counsel had said, thereby grievously aggravating the crime.

" Mr. Connell rose to reply to the Attorney-General. In the course of his speech he used some expressions which Judge Osborne reprobated, in marked and very strong language.

" The court adjourned until Monday.

" On Monday the Court gave their judgment, and at the same time marked their disapprobation of the conduct of Mr. Magee's counsel. Judge Day in particular reprobated the conduct of an advocate who, abandoning the defence of his client for the purpose of gratifying his own personal rancour, opens the sluice-gates of sedition, and suffering the filth to roll down like a mountain torrent, bearing in its muddy course every thing sacred and respected,—the bench, the bar, the legal officers of the crown, and the invaluable rights of juries, the inestimable blessings of our happy constitution in church and state, till accumulating in its course all that was foul and foetid, it becomes too strong and too rapid to be stopt, but by the strong arm of the law.—Mr. Magee was ordered to be imprisoned in Newgate for two years, commencing the 24th of July last, to pay a fine of £500 to the crown, and to give security for his good conduct for seven years, himself in £1000 and two sureties in £500 each.—Mr. Whistler, who had been attorney in the cause, rose, and begged leave, in defence of his professional character, to assure the court, that, as agent to Mr. Magee, he was not directly or indirectly concerned or consulted in giving the instructions stated in the affidavit, for that defence which had incurred the displeasure of the court; nor did he in any manner authorise the publication of the counsel's speech. Mr. Connell said he bore testimony to this.—The court expressed much satisfaction at Mr. Whistler's conduct."

LIST OF PROTESTANT PUBLICATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE
REFORMED RELIGION, RECOMMENDED BY THE EDITOR
OF THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE.

(Continued from page 71.)

26. *A Commentary on the Proceedings of the Catholics of Ireland, during
the Reign of his present Majesty George the Third.*

Evertère domos totas optantibus ipsis

Di faciles. Nocitura togâ, nocitura petuntur

Militiâ.

Juvenal.

Dublin, printed: reprinted for J. J. Stockdale, 41, Pall-Mall, London.

WE most earnestly call the attention of those who have honoured us by placing confidence in us, and the public in general, to this admirable publication. It is particularly worthy the notice of the members of both houses of Parliament. The friends of our Protestant constitution will find many things in it to corroborate their steadiness, and we would flatter ourselves that the most bigotted advocates of the Popish cause cannot read it without feeling a sensible abatement of their strange ardour, and awaking to a sense of the great danger which may be expected to arise, from the placing any larger share of power in the disposal of a class of people who have assumed a tone so lofty, and a posture so threatening, as those which distinguish the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

The work was occasioned by that mass of aggravated falsehood, in all its varieties, intituled "A Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland." That work is said to have been compiled from the laborious collection of a sub-committee of the Catholic assemblies, which met in Dublin in the years 1810 and 1811; and that the written composition is the work of sundry reverend and learned persons. It is boldly contrived, and relying with Catholic authority upon a sufficient portion of faith in its readers; it proceeds upon the continuing miracle on which the eternal foundation of their infallible church reposes, and offers a lump of leavened fiction, as the real presence of truth. Cursing and swearing being out of fashion, it does not go so far as my Lord Peter in the Tale of a Tub; and say to the perusing communicant, that if he do not believe the brown loaf to be shoulder of mutton, he and his posterity will be damned to all eternity. But it stoutly threatens the incredulous, and holds out the "military position" of the meek and holy church; its "tenable passes, its rich supplies of forage;" its "ready means of attack and defence," as the terrible instruments which he who opposes himself to the

humble claims of this truly church militant must expect, in this world, to encounter.

"As to those who are in a due state of preparation to swallow, either in terror or in faith, the communication made by the Statement of the Penal Laws, fear being an effect of original temperament, and credulity a product of inveterate habit, they are both disorders of extremely difficult cure.

"A celebrated Irish advocate, the most eloquent man of his own, or perhaps of any time, has observed, 'that it is of the very essence of a *dope*, to be certain that he is not deceived.'

"To preach the coward into heart, to drive out of the head of the *dope* his very essence, the certainty of his conviction, would have been extremely difficult, and very voluminous tasks.

"It was thought, therefore, an easier method to admit (argumentatively) most of the facts as they have been stated in the publication alluded to; and shew by the consequences which must result from the demands of which they are intended to form the foundation, what the real question is, which the public generally, and essentially Parliament, will have to take into consideration."

This mode of proceeding is almost as bold as it is hazardous; for if the commentator had not been completely master of the subject, perfectly acquainted with facts in all their minutiae, and blessed with a talent of discrimination hardly ever surpassed,—he might have fallen a sacrifice to the sophistry, or have been overwhelmed by the bold assertions of the Romanists.

It may be proper to mention, that the *Statement of the Penal Laws* here spoken of, is that to which the Attorney-General of Ireland alluded; in his observations on the mode of conducting Mr. Magee's defence, on Saturday, November 20; and not the *ironical* statement, which, a twelvemonth ago, excited so strong a sensation throughout the country.

Premising thus much, we hasten to gratify our readers with some extracts. The author, (who wrote "*Catholic Emancipation*;" the only means by which it can be effected pointed out," a tract of equal merit with the present) before he enters upon the main substance of his ingenious work, makes this pertinent remark (p. 6), the force of which no power of the Papists can repel, nor any of their wiles elude.—"When *Gil Blas* was travelling between Oviedo and Pennafior, he was besought for charity in all the tones of misery and submission. Turning his eyes towards the mendicant, he beheld a musket levelled at his breast by a soldier. The intention of the solicitor needed no further explanation. The conclusion

of Gil Blas was determined by the action which accompanied the demand, not by the language of the *humble petitioner*.

“ In the wisdom of Gil Blas, we should become acquainted not merely with the language of the *humble petitioner*, but with the actions with which he has connected his solicitations, and with his general occupations and views. Political institutions can never be safely determined upon moral principals in the abstract. The habits of those who are to be governed, must determine the rule by which their government is to be directed.

“ The Catholics cannot object to a mode of pursuing the question they have produced for public consideration, which has been adopted by statesmen most eminent for wisdom, and recognized by governments most eminent for freedom.

“ In pursuing this mode, every enquirer will be aided by the Catholics themselves.

“ The Catholics have in their late publication styled themselves, “**EMPHATICALLY THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**” In the history of Ireland, therefore, is to be found the character, or conduct, and situation of its “**EMPHATICAL PEOPLE.**” This emphatical people has produced of late years, most profusely, its own historians. It may now be tried, and it cannot object to be tried, by its own records.”

After this overture, we shall exhibit a scene which cannot fail to interest all who look upon it—so—“up curtain, and let us see what our painter has done for us.”—“Strength, industry, energy, and all the characteristic virtues which bestow value on a people (*say, the authors of the Statement of the Penal Laws*) are their’s [*the Roman Catholics*] in an eminent degree. In numbers they have prodigiously increased; and they are continually increasing, beyond example in any other country. Already they compose the far greater part of the trading and manufacturing interests. The agricultural class, so powerful and influential throughout Ireland, is almost universally Catholic. They occupy the most valuable positions, whether for commercial or for *military* purposes: the boldest coasts, most navigable rivers; the most fertile districts, the richest *supplies of forage*, the readiest means of *attack and defence*.—In every city, town, and village, their numbers more or less preponderate. The open country is in their almost exclusive occupation.”

“ This picture of the Catholic station, and the Catholic character, is either *true* or *false*. If the latter, it is at least an agreeable romance. If the former, as every Irishman will view it with pleasure, so he will acknowledge it with pride. It would be an invidious task, probably an

ineffectual effort, to attempt to question the truth of the drawing, either in its outline or its shadowing. Let the awful and splendid scene stand untouched by any envious or any ignorant hand. *But is it the picture of human nature under any "teazing or intolerant government?"* Did "aliens" in any land ever increase into such a body of brave, active, enlightened, and virtuous men? Are these "the prostrate victims of any code?" Is this the *increase*, and the *character*, of the race against whom "no penal law is permitted to slumber?" for whom "no merciful connivance is tolerated?" Are these the men who, which ever way they turn their eyes, "meet a monstrous system to dishearten and dismay them; to blast their best and fairest hopes, for themselves and for their offspring?" Are these the men for whom "the law is only a dark and gloomy barrier in life; a law which bids them despond and sink, hopeless of freedom, unrespected, in mute unavailing anguish and chagrin?"*

"Let Europe 'look here upon this picture, and on this.' Will Europe believe that in Ireland, "the invariable laws of nature," the inevitable and universal concatenations of cause and effect, are not only broken, but all their links reversed, to produce such a moral and physical monster as a people of "strength, industry, and energy," and "all the characteristic virtues," and "continually increasing, beyond example, under a gloomy, inexorable, teasing, and intolerant tyranny, which has built up a monstrous system to dishearten and dismay, and to blast the best and fairest hopes for themselves and for their offspring," of a great and rising nation? Will Europe believe that such men have arisen, have increased, have flourished, and have produced the first, the fairest and most vigorous fruits of liberty, under laws "which bid them despond and sink, hopeless of freedom, unrespected, in mute unavailing anguish and chagrin?" If Europe believes this, Europe must believe that in Ireland matter ascends by gravity and descends by levity, that animal life is nourished by hemlock juice, that age is the time of *tee-tum to-tum* and infancy the period of gravity and experience. If the advocates for the Catholics can make Europe believe this, they will have given the most deadly blow to liberty that ever yet was dealt. If they can induce mankind to believe that all "the characteristic virtues" and possessions produced by the best poised system of moral liberty, not only have been planted, and have grown, but are growing, and "continually increasing," under a gloomy, jealous, and ever watchful tyranny, who will contend for freedom?

"According to the Catholic advocates, Napoleon, in erecting himself

* Statement of the Penal Laws *passim*.

into the tyrant of Europe, has only proved himself the benefactor of mankind.

"Such, then, is the representation of the wealth, activity, increase, and virtue of the Catholics of Ireland.—*O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint.*—But having attained to all the blessings which the "almost exclusive occupation" of their native land, which unexampled increase, which industry, and "all the characteristic virtues" can bestow on any people, an inquiry, that the tendency of the human mind will always render interesting, remains to be made.—What degree of political influence or power in the state does this people possess? Power is relative: Its value can be estimated by comparison only. Let that estimate be grounded on the facts stated by the advocates for the Catholics.

"The agricultural class (say the advocates for the Catholics), so powerful and influential throughout Ireland, is almost universally Catholic. They occupy the most valuable positions, whether for commercial or military purposes. The open country is *almost exclusively* in their possession.*

"Taking these facts as granted, it follows, that all the members of Parliament for Irish counties must be returned by *Catholic voters*. Out of the gross number of one hundred Irish members, the county members amount to sixty-four. These sixty-four members must be "*almost exclusively*" chosen as their representatives by those who "*almost exclusively*" occupy the land. If this consequence, so clear in its deduction from the allegation of the "almost exclusive occupation" of the country by the Catholics, wanted any confirmation, it may be found in the peculiar manner of creating votes in Ireland, compared with the tenures of land in England. In England there is a great proportion of land held by copyhold tenure, from which no right of voting arises. Copyhold is unknown in Ireland. In England *custom* has made the tenure of land for short *terms of years* much more prevalent than in Ireland. These tenures ~~for years~~ do not give any right of voting. In Ireland the reverse is the *custom*. Tenures for *life* are the prevalent tenures. Since the Catholics acquired the right of voting, tenures for life have been multiplied. The facility with which landlords in Ireland can obtain occupiers for small divisions of land, led them to increase their political influence by creating *small* freeholds. In Ireland almost every labourer is a landholder. Since the Catholics acquired the right of voting, almost every landholder has become a forty shilling freeholder. In England few of the labouring classes are landholders. A *freehold in England* must be

* Statement of the Penal Laws.

formed upon a larger scale. Hence, compared with the number of the people, in England the paucity of *freeholders*, and in England their multiplicity.

“ The knights representatives of the landed interest in England and Wales, amount to ninety-two.

“ The population of England and Wales, by the last *census*, amounts to above eleven millions; the Catholic numbers in Ireland, according to the Catholic advocates, to about four millions:—a proportion of little more than one-third. The Catholic numbers of Ireland, according to the Catholic advocates, return the representatives of the landed interest of Ireland—that is, about one-third of the numbers contained in England and Wales returns sixty-four representatives of the landed interest, while England and Wales return but ninety-two representatives of their landed interest. But sixty-four to ninety-two is in a much greater proportion than one-third. This estimate is taken upon the ratio of numbers only. If the estimate be considered on the ratio of property, it will be found that the advantage of the landed interest in Ireland (that is the Catholics, the “ exclusive occupiers of the land”) is still greater. The property of Ireland, to that of Great Britain, is only as two to seventeen. But taking Scotland out of the scale, still the property of England and Wales, to the property of Ireland, must remain in a greater ratio than one-third: still greater than ninety-two to sixty four.

“ It is admitted, however, that the representative of the Catholic must be a Protestant. But as a Protestant acre of land is identically the same as a Catholic acre of land, and a Protestant sum of money cannot be distinguished from a Catholic sum of money, and as Catholic bones, blood, and muscles cannot, without miraculous endowments, be distinguished from Protestant bones, blood, and muscles, it follows that Catholic persons and Catholic property may be effectually represented by a Protestant knight of the shire. The Catholic *religion*, however, cannot be represented by a Protestant knight of the shire, But the Catholic church admits that the Protestant church is still a *Christian* church, though in some particulars an erroneous one. Wherever they agree, it is *christianity* admitted by both sides; and their uniformity may be as well represented by a Protestant as by a Catholic, because, in representing their *common* christianity, he represents his own faith as well as that of his constituents. But wherever they disagree, a Protestant member may be said *not* to represent the *Catholic religion*, although he can represent Catholic persons and Catholic property. Here then is a Catholic *grievance* fairly deduced—TRANSUBSTANTIATION is not a member of Parliament.

"Such then is the present state, as to the laity, of Catholic virtue, Catholic industry, Catholic power, and Catholic property in Ireland; and "increasing beyond example in any other country." The station of the Catholic clergy, has not been reserved, without due respect to that venerable body. In the order of a procession, the Magnates close the scene."

Here, much against our will, we are obliged once more to drop the curtain. We have promises to perform, and pledges to redeem, and many imperious duties to fulfil. Such of our readers as shall not be able to wait the return of the first day of the month, may easily step to Mr. Stockdale's (41, Pall-Mall) or send to him, and satisfy the longing which we are confident we have excited;—to the remainder we say, we shall certainly proceed in our exhibition on the earliest day in our power.

27. The Fifth of November; or, Protestant Principles Revived, in Memory of the Glorious Revolution by King William III. including a correct and authentic copy of a Speech on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, delivered May 24, 1813, by the Right Hon. Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons. Printed for W. Kent; and J. J. Stockdale, 41, Pall Mall.

This is a well-timed publication, and presents us with many important documents in a compact form,—all of them bearing directly on the important points agitated in the Roman Catholic Question:

After some introductory observations, the author asks—"why is THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER to be commemorated by Protestants above other days? Our Prayer-book service for that day (he replies) will partly answer this question; and the records of the English history will tell what remains to be said. Reader, you find the following title to a form of prayer at the end of our Liturgy:—A form, &c."—He then gives us three of the prayers used on that day;—the two collects, and the prayer introduced at the end of the Litany.—In the latter collect, and in the prayer, it is particularly said that King William,* "*upon this day*" was

* We cannot help congratulating our country on the happy events which a gracious Providence has brought about on the Continent. We hope that the tyranny under which Europe has so long suffered, is overpast; and that the chastisement which Heaven has inflicted upon us, is come to an end. May the remembrance of the evils we have undergone, and the blood that has been shed, work in us the great end which the Almighty ever has in view, the amendment of our manners, and the reformation of our principles.—We are happy to see liberty restored to the *Hollanders*. William Henry, Prince of Orange, once rescued England from popery and slavery;—England now in its turn convicts William Frederic, Prince of Orange, to substitute, in Holland, the mild sway of legal authority for the oppressive caprice of a blood-stained tyrant, the patron,

at

conducted and brought into England; and, therefore, the perverseness of some people has always struck us very forcibly, as if they wished to falsify the Liturgy;—affecting to commemorate the landing of our deliverer from popery and arbitrary power, on the *fourth* and not on THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER. 'Bishop Burnet, however, is very express on this point. * * * "We came in sight of the Isle of Wight. [This was on the 3d of Nov.] The next day, being the day in which the Prince was both born and married, he fancied if he could land that day, it would look auspicious to the army, and animate the soldiers. But we all, who considered that *the day following* being gunpowder-treason-day, our landing that day might have a good affect on the minds of the English nation, were better pleased to see that we could land no sooner." In fact it was not without difficulty that the disembarkation was effected so early as the *fifth*. Rapin, who accompanied the Prince of Orange into England; tells us, that "the 4th of November, being Sunday, and the Prince's birth day, now thirty-eight years of age, was by him dedicated to devotion, the fleet still continuing their course, in order to land at Dartmouth or Torbay. But *in the night*, whether by the violence of the wind, or the negligence of the pilot, the fleet was carried beyond the desired ports." The wind soon after shifted and the fleet sailed into Torbay. "It was thus (says the historian) the Prince of Orange landed in England, without any opposition, THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER, whilst the English were celebrating the memory of their deliverance from *the powder-plot*, about fourscore years before. [Eighty-three years.] This is one of the most remarkable æra's in the English history, and which probably will never be forgot by that nation."

The author has endeavoured to revive the memory of that great epoch in our history.—He adverts to the horrible gunpowder-treason. The account of the discovery of the plot given by King James I, to be found in the compilation of his works in folio, is well worth reading, and cannot fail to raise that Prince's character in the estimation of those who choose rather to judge for themselves, than to pick up opinions from the vulgar.—We have next the pensionary *Fagel's* famous letter, in which are contained the *Prince and Princess of Orange's* thoughts concerning the repeal of the test and penal laws.—Next follows *Fagel's* second letter, authenticating the first, which had been called in question.—The author then introduces some apposite observations, and quotes several passages from different works, the Bill of Rights, &c.—He gives, from Blackstone, an important

at once, and the gaoler of the Pope. Protestantism formerly bound England and Holland in a golden chain of amity. Its links are restored, and new burnished, never, we trust, never to be broken again.—*Orange Boven!*

part of the coronation-oath, where the king swears to maintain the "PROTESTANT REFORMED RELIGION ESTABLISHED BY LAW;" which, Blackstone adds, is "MOST INDISPUTABLY A FUNDAMENTAL AND ORIGINAL EXPRESS CONTRACT." The true constitutional principles, so nobly avowed before the throne by the SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, on the 22d of July last, are with great felicity placed in juxtaposition with the language of Blackstone.—Next succeed sundry interesting observations, in which proper use is made of a sentiment expressed by *Dr. Kelly*, Vicar-Capitular of the Diocese of Tuam.—Then comes the best report we have ever seen of THE SPEAKER'S most admirable speech in the Committee of the House of Commons on the 24th of May last; when "the *all-important clause*" being lost, on a motion of the Speaker, by a majority of four votes, the bill itself was withdrawn.

After this, (p. 31,) in conclusion, some very alarming facts are stated; and the author finishes with these words—"Let Protestant readers think on these things! and remember, that not only do the orators of Dublin (*viz.* Mr. Scully, Mr. O'Connel, &c.) boast of the rapid progress of Popery in *England*; but that an extensive catalogue of their colleges, schools, and chapels, in or near *London*, is annually exhibited by the Roman Catholics in the "*Laity's Directory*:" so that Protestant Englishmen may well become jealous of their numbers, and begin now to inquire into the causes of their alarming increase! Besides all this, we have a monthly journal, published in *London*, for the exclusive purpose of promoting popery; which Bishop Milner supports with apostolic zeal and perseverance. It is, therefore, high time for Protestants of every denomination to awake from their lethargy, and revert to the principles of our forefathers in King William's reign."

The following advertisement is annexed to the whole;—

"Advertisement.

On the 9th of February 1813, "the General Board of Catholics of England" passed certain resolutions, which were published in the Morning Chronicle of Feb. 11th; and a few days afterwards the society called "The Protestant Union" addressed to that Board a number of *queries* thereon, signed by their chairman, Granville Sharp, Esq. Now, we beg to remind the public, that not one of those queries has yet been answered; though, certainly, the honour and interest of the Roman Catholics seemed to require an immediate and explicit reply to them all! During the last session of parliament, a member of the House of Commons said they had not THEN done so, for want of sufficient time: but, this excuse will not avail at present, after a lapse of so many months! THE ENGLISH

CATHOLIC BOARD ARE, THEREFORE, AGAIN CALLED UPON FOR A PUBLIC ANSWER."

We hope that we shall not offend in mentioning what has come to our ears, that we are obliged to Mr. BLAIR for this seasonable publication. That gentleman has already distinguished himself as an eminent *Protestant Advocate* in the "Correspondence" with the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Clifford, Bishop Poynter, Mr. Gandolphy, Mr. Blake, and Mr. Butler, on the subject of the Roman Catholic Bible Society. See *Prot. Adv.* Vol. I. p. 528, where that pamphlet is recommended to the attention of all Protestants.

EXTRACT FROM BISHOP GIBSON'S FIFTH PASTORAL LETTER.

On turning to page 6, Vol. I. of the *PROTESTANT ADVOCATE*, it will be found that we referred our readers to the history of the periods in which the laws against papists were enacted; whence it would appear, that the restrictions under which they were laid arose out of the conduct of the papists themselves. We entertained a hope that long ere now we might have found an opportunity to exemplify this observation; but a correspondent, for whose opinion we must ever have the highest respect, has desired us to give the following extract from Bishop Gibson's Fifth Pastoral Letter, here subjoined, in which what we proposed is executed in a manner far beyond our ability to equal:—

§ "6. In the infancy of the reformation under *Henry the Eighth*, the great work was, to extirpate the authority of the Pope and establish the supremacy of the Prince. Now both these the point under our present consideration *supposes* to be settled; which is not by what means the papal authority was excluded, but in what way those who adhere to the religion of the Pope, have been treated in a country where his authority was abolished. And it is well known that the disaffection of that Prince to the main doctrines of popery was not so great as to induce him to any remarkable hardships towards those who would at least be *silent* under his own supremacy.

"His son King *Edward the sixth* went further, and established an uniformity of service, and administration of the sacraments throughout the realm. But that law only enjoined the minister to use this and not the mass-book; and the people, not to interrupt the minister or speak against the service. And when it appeared by experience, that the missals which had been formerly used, were a great obstruction to the uniformity intended, they were only called in to give a more free and easy passage to the established service; without disturbing either priest or people in the private exercise of their religion.

“ Notwithstanding the bloody reign of Queen *Mary*, so far was her successor the glorious Queen *Elizabeth* from the least disposition to cruelty, that she contented herself to restore the supremacy, and the public service to their former state; allowing the papists a share in her counsels, and in a subsequent law against the Pope's authority, exempting peers of the realm from the disabling oath, and frequently declaring, that no subject, who would live quietly and peaceably, should be disturbed on the account of religion.

“ It is true, the laws afterwards grew more severe, but it was because the papists grew more seditious. To execute *bulls of absolution*, and *reconciliation* from *Rome*, or to receive absolution, and reconciliation in virtue of such bulls, was made high treason. But let the history of the three preceeding years explain that law, and determine whether it was owing to the severity of Protestants, or the sedition of papists. There we find, that the Pope had granted authority to *Saunders*, and others, to absolve all the *English* who would return to the church of *Rome*, and that they were very zealous in the work; that the same Pope had sent his bull into England by *Morton* the priest, to anathematize the Queen, deprive her of the throne, and abolish her subjects from their oaths of obedience; that in virtue thereof many of the people were withdrawn from their allegiance, a dangerous rebellion raised, circular letters sent to the papists to rise, and assist in the cause, and the bull itself published in the city, in a very open and insolent manner.

“ Ten years after, we find a new enforcement of the law against bulls; but it was because the priests had found new devices to evade the former law, and to carry on the work of *absolving* and *reconciling* by other ways. We also find penalties for saying and hearing of mass; but we find in the history of the same time, that great numbers of priests were sent into England, and Ireland, from the seminaries abroad, under pretence of preaching, and administering the sacraments, but really to withdraw the subjects from their obedience to the Queen. The same law lays a penalty upon absenting from church, and, after a year's absence, enjoins the finding of sureties for their behaviour; which is not to be thought strange, or cruel, when the emissaries of the church of *Rome*, under whose discipline the absenters lived, were the professed teachers of rebellion; and when a design had been detected between the Spanish King and the Pope, to dethrone the Queen, and restore popery in the kingdom.

“ The next law against papists commands all *Jesuits*, *Seminary* priests and others, to depart the realm. But turn to the history of that time, and there you will find great numbers of priests coming daily into *England*, who taught that the Queen was no Queen, and that whatever had been done by her authority since the bull of Pope *Pius*, was null and void.

The same law forbids the sending of children or contributions to the seminaries abroad; and so the same historian tells us of great numbers of children sent over to those seminaries, and received there, on condition that they first made a vow to return, when they were instructed in their learning and discipline, that is in the rankest principles of sedition and rebellion.

" While they were thus diligent in sending over their emissaries to corrupt the people, it is not to be wondered, that the great council of the land should countermine their endeavours, by obliging all who should be found guilty of *corrupting*, to *abjure* the realm. And if in the same year, another law was made to banish papists from court, and confine them to the neighbourhood of their own dwellings; our histories will explain it, by shewing that in the compass of a very few years, several designs had been formed and carried on to *assassinate* the Queen.

" King James I. began his reign with a revival of *Queen Elizabeth's* laws against popery; and well he might, when he reflected upon the many wicked designs against the person, and government of his predecessor, and that, upon a prospect of her death, they had, in the most public manner, disputed his title to succeed.

" Three years after, we find papists confined under higher penalties, to their places of abode, and greater rewards proposed for the discovering of priests, and express declarations required against the Pope's authority to depose princes, and absolve subjects from their obedience, and against dispensing with oaths, and taking them with equivocation and mental reservations. But it is to be remembered, that all this was done upon the discovery of the most hellish and execrable plot that we read of in any age, or nation, the Gunpowder Treason, which we all know had been carried on by the priests, upon those very *principles* to the point of execution.

" To these restraints there were added in the reign of King Charles the second, the *Sacramental test*, and the exclusion of papists out of the great council of the land, For the occasion of which, I need not appeal to history. I may appeal to the memory of persons still living* for the countenance given in that reign to popish measures, and the impatience of the papists to put them in execution, and the attempts to shorten the way for a popish successor to the throne, who when he came to the throne, did abundantly justify the wisdom of our legislators, by making the removal of that test, one of his first endeavours for the establishment of popery.

" § 7. It may be thought presumption in one of our order, and especially before this learned audience, to intermeddle in the laws and statutes of the realm, but it will be favourably considered that they are laws which

* Bishop Gibson was born in 1669; consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, Feb. 12th, 1715; translated to London, May 4th, 1723, and died 1748.

concern *religion*, and are only cited in an historical way, that by comparing the seditious practices of the papists, as recorded in our histories, with the several laws they have occasioned, it may appear at one view, that the papists have been the sole authors of their own misfortunes; that these restraints from time to time were brought upon them by rebellion, and not (as they pretend) by religion; that the *English* legislature have proceeded in their restraints *gradually*, as the repeated attempts of the papists upon the persons and government of our princes, have rendered them necessary; and, that nothing can extort a sanguinary law from the *English* temper, but an indispensable regard to their own religion and government.

“ But what severity soever may be pretended on the *laws*, it is very certain there is none in the *execution*. And he who considers how strict the laws, and how high the penalties are against any priest, who shall attempt to pervert a subject to popery, or shall say mass, or even be found in the realm, and against all others who shall harbour a priest in their houses or send children or money to a seminary abroad; whoever, I say, is apprized of the high penalties upon these practices, (to name no more) and then considers how common and familiar they are among us, will see how little mischief the papists fear from these terrible laws they complain of, and how much they are indebted to the goodness and tenderness of the *English* government.

“ But they must not hope that the *English* goodnature will hold out against all provocations. The laws will rouse themselves, and break loose at the sight of such unprecedented freedom and boldness, as we have beheld of late days. It is a known crime in the eye of the law, to import popish books from abroad; but we have seen them printed and published at home, and dispersed over the nation, with the greatest industry; and not only so, but we have seen advertisements of the place where a variety of popish books were to be publicly sold. They know it is capital to attempt the perverting of a Protestant subject, which should oblige them at least to carry on the work with far greater *caution and secrecy*, than they seem to think needful. They are strictly forbidden to send children to the seminaries abroad; but if a public complaint was well grounded, (as I doubt not but it was) they are now beginning to bring the seminaries home.

“ § 8. These and the like provocations stirred up the government to take a strict survey of the state of popery in the kingdom, in order to apply some effectual remedy to that growing evil, and as long as the priests of the church of *Rome* are so very busy and active in their work, it can never be an unbecoming part in the ministers of the *Protestant* church,

to lay to heart the visible increase of popery, and to warn the people how zealous they are in promoting it; that so, we may raise an equal zeal and concern for the true Protestant religion established among us."

N. B. THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE have given Bishop Gibson's Fifth Pastoral Letter a place amongst their excellent Tracts against Popery.

FIDEI DEFENSOR'S THIRD LETTER TO CHARLES
BUTLER, ESQ.

SIR,—It may now, I think, be confidently said, that *Fidei Defensor* has not written in vain. He is happy in having procured to the Editor so able a correspondent as the *Oxford Protestant*,* to whom he returns his best thanks for his important communication, which may be useful in elucidating the much wanted anti-papal history of Britain. Though Italy, from its situation, most probably would receive the faith somewhat earlier than the western kingdoms, yet this extract here transmitted sufficiently refutes the claim of the church of Rome (even not yet papal) to be the mother of churches. Of all existing churches the Syrian in Malabar, of which I shall speak presently, appears the most ancient. As to what is said of Joseph of Arimathea, &c. it is very possible that other apostolic men besides St. Paul, might have laboured in the British vineyard, as seems to have been the general notion. This may be exemplified in the following extract from an answer of our glorious Elizabeth to some Popish priests, who petitioned her, "to restore the ancient Catholic faith," in imitation of "her virtuous sister Queen Mary of happy memory, &c." "Whereas," said she, "you hit us and our subjects in the teeth, that the Romish church first planted the Catholic faith within our realm, the records and chronicles of our realms testify the contrary; and your own Romish idolatry maketh you liars. Witness the ancient monument of Gildas to which both foreign and domestic have gone in pilgrimage, there to offer. This author (N. B. a Popish Saint) testifieth Joseph of Arimathea to be the first preacher of the word of God within our realms. Long after this, when Austin came from Rome, this our realm had bishops and priests therein, as is well known to the wise and learned of our realm by woeful experience, how your church entered therein *by blood*, they being martyrs for Christ, and put to death because they denied Rome's usurped authority." (Here I hope I shall be pardoned the vanity of referring back to Vol. I. p. 645:) "And whereas," she proceeds, "you would frighten us by telling how emperors, kings, and princes have owned the Bishop of

* See Prod. Adv. Vol. I. p. 613.

Rome's authority, it was contrary in the beginning ; for our Saviour Christ paid his tribute unto Cæsar as the chief superior ; which shews your Romish supremacy is usurped." (Strype's Hist. of the Ref. p. 148.) While we can have such wise and heroic women to govern us, who would ever consent to a salique law ? And should our *anti-reformers* so far forget their manhood, as weakly to go on conceding and conceding, without the smallest regard to that wisdom and caution which have hitherto preserved us, let us hope and trust that Divine Providence will raise us up another queen, in the spirit of the royal Elizabeth, to be the defender of the faith against its most dangerous enemy, the papal usurpation !

Next *Fidei Defensor* is much gratified by the kind attention of the Editor in bringing forward, at his suggestion, the history of those tremendous massacres * of Vinegar-Hill, Scullabogue, and Wexford-bridge. How we are to judge of men and parties, Heaven itself has taught us, " by their fruits ye shall know them." This then is the true test and criterion. It is not by plausible and fine spun arguments that the nature of Popery is to be ascertained (and you, Sir, have produced a far better defence of it than the system deserves,) but by its *actions*.—By the *use* it makes of the little power it may occasionally possess, we may unerringly discover how it would act when armed with greater. Such Protestants as are anxious for enlarging, and perpetuating the papal power, assure us that Popery is *changed*, while Papists themselves loudly insist that they are unchanged and unchangeable ; let then the assertors of the former opinion carefully peruse these bloody details, and then candidly inform us, whether this change has been for the better or for the worse ? and consequently, which is the main question, whether power so exercised could be safely or prudently augmented ?

Though it be impossible as I now perceive, fully to analyse these massacres within the compass of this letter, yet they must not be totally passed over. Here then let me premise the following observation. My assertion (Vol. I. p. 553), that "*Christian and Protestant* were perfectly the same, or that they were synonymous and convertible terms, was always true ; but now, through the favour of Providence, it is become demonstrable, as much as any proposition in Euclid, by a comparison with the Syrian Christians, as described by Dr. Buchanan in his *Asiatic Researches*. Here we have primitive Christianity providentially preserved, and perfectly pure and unadulterated, with which all Christian, *i. e.* Protestant Churches may now compare themselves, so as that, if they vary at all, *here*, if we may confide in Dr. B. they may correct themselves, and be reduced to the original standard. And why ? Because the Syrian Christians came *immediately* from Antioch, where St. Peter really *did* found a church,

* See Prod. Adv. Vol. I. p. 650.

and where he really *did* preside, though he was very far from doing either the one or the other at Rome. I wave saying at present how papal Rome persecuted the Syrian church, just as, under Austin, it did the British; though happily the former has been in part preserved. All I mean is, to say that as I hope our church may bear as fair a comparison with the primitive one, as any other upon the face of the earth, we are, strictly speaking, CHRISTIANS. Away then with all idle or ill-returned complaisance, this is our proper name, and no other.

But to come to my scrutiny—The barely being *Christians*, it seems, was so odious and unpardonable a crime in the eyes of our Irish fellow-subjects in 1798, that they were tortured to death with pikes, avowedly because any easier death was too good for them. The mode at Wexford-bridge in particular was, this. Two pikemen pierced each Christian prisoner with pikes in his breast, and two others in his back, and thus they held him, writhing, till dead, and then threw him into the water. As the ancient martyrs “ were stoned, were sawn asunder, were slain with the sword,” so these modern ones were mangled with pikes, or shot to death, or burnt in their prisons. And all this we find was done with mockery and insult, with savage joy and exultation, and with yells of delight; nay, even with *religious* phrensy; priests with their vestments and crucifixes, exciting them, and the men kneeling, crossing themselves, and praying with uplifted eyes in the very act of murder, and then devoutly thanking God that they had sent so many souls to hell! Thus were Christians sacrificed at this shrine of Moloch in spite of their shrieks and cries for mercy; nay, many even of their papal brethren too, if refusing to betray their benefactors or suspected of favouring in any respect an *heretical* king, (yet popish prelates say, “ We owe it to our God, to be free from disloyalty!!!” P. 631). These murderers were promised, it seems, that they should soon extirpate all Protestants, according to the prophecy of the blaspheming Walmesley, (see my last) and this was justified by the horrible falsehood that we Protestants, who have been kind and generous to an excess, are preparing to extirpate *them*! We may remember how a British senate was shocked at hearing cannibalism proved against the French Revolutionists, and here the same trait appeared; they savagely licked their bloody spears, and dipped a tooth-pick in gore in their eagerness to try the taste of Christian blood! In short whoever most ferociously trampled on the dead and the dying, were entitled “ true-born Romans;” and they firmly believed that the *right* road to Heaven lay over the bodies of bleeding Christians.*

* We beg to call the attention of our Correspondent Φίλος Πατριδός to this recital of facts. We firmly believe every tittle of the extract to which he alludes. History must not be counted defamation.

Here it may be said that this is nothing at all to the more worthy and respectable part of the Romish community. But how then are we to account for the total silence of the Romish nobility and gentry respecting such horrors and atrocities? Is not acquiescence too much like participation? *We* ought however to have a little common sense ourselves, and to recollect that members sent to parliament by this community, whatever their own sentiments may be, are to be chosen by the votes of these "true-born Romans," whom the insane liberality of our government has invested with the elective franchise; and whose consciences also must be absolutely directed by those priests who personally excited, and absolved these relentless butchers.

I come now, Sir, to yourself, and here I at once encounter another crime in your church, I mean *ingratitude*—ingratitude to you, Mr. Butler, who after all your special pleadings and adroit colourings, must have been more startled than I was, at finding yourself branded by the adherents of an infallible church, with being a vain, busy, meddling Englishman. The Roman Catholic Board, it seems, has met, *not* to wipe out the above foul stains which their church has incurred; *not* to censure or excommunicate fathers Roche, Kearns, Clinch, and Murphy, with Bishop Caulfield at their head; but to stigmatize and condemn Charles Butler, Esq. for having dared, "with impudent unauthorized interference, to consult with Lord Castlereagh," about *conciliatory* measures. Dr. Milner, you are reminded was once so wicked as to propose something conciliatory,—his name then sounded grating to every Irish ear; and he was in danger of being burned (not alive as a Protestant, must have been, but) in *effigy*; though he has since made "a splendid atonement." But to you it is said, "cease your efforts, Englishman; you, and your noble associate, shall never decoy (into *conciliation*, I presume) the bark which *Heaven* has given to Ireland!" (P. 622, 623.)

What offence you have committed to bring down upon you such a weight of censure, I own I am unable to discover; unless it be that you are unlike those "true-born Romans," who seem to have met with no censure at all. You have evinced, Sir, a feeling of humanity, ill adapted to Romish principles, and may indeed, like Pope Ganganelli, be suspected of being more than half a Protestant. I often catch myself insensibly addressing you as such, and could I indulge a hope that you had read my addresses thus far, I might surely flatter myself that you are, by this time, one in reality. But your chief crime I presume, Sir, is, your having expressed a satisfaction at the extinction of the Inquisition in Spain. But if the Inquisition be *nominally* abolished, may not its greatest horrors be really preserved? The *Partidas*, it seems, is substituted in its place.

And what is the Partidas? It is, we are told, an old law re-enacted last January by the Spanish Cortes, by which all persons preaching heretical doctrine, (such is all doctrine unsanctioned by Rome,) and all hearers of such doctrine, if they continue obstinate, are (only) *to be burned in the fire till they are dead!!!* Pretty advocates these people will make to a British government!

You now, Sir, I hope, begin to see this diabolical system in its proper light; however, notwithstanding the shameful Spanish compromise with such a priesthood as this is, (though without satisfying the bloodthirsty Nuncio) yet I cannot but perceive certain causes, too long to be here detailed, operating both in the East and in the West, which may accelerate the downfall of the *spiritual* tyrant, who must in time become as duly appreciated by the nations, as the *temporal* one now is. But let us beware lest, by despising history, experience, and the wisdom of our ancestors, we become involved in darkness, proportionally, as other countries improve in light. For then, should our emancipators persevere and prosper, it might not be impossible that a Pope of Rome, expelled from the Continent, might find an Avignon at Wexford or Kilkenny; while the religion of the BEAST might nowhere else be legally established, but in the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland!

FIDEI DEFENSOR.

P. S. There was an unfortunate erratum in my last. After the words "near at hand." P. 646, l. 3, the following should have been inserted—"To this I beg leave to oppose the reported saying of Dr. Douglas, late titular Bishop of London, that "he did not like to speak about his religion, for it stood on a tottering foundation." This, on further enquiry, I am assured was perfectly true.

SCRUTATOR'S LETTERS (No. I.) ON THE PRESENT POSTURE AND POLICY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

MR. EDITOR,

Nov. 1813.

IT has been matter of complaint and animadversion, by Roman Catholics, that our opinion of their principles and conduct has not been formed from their own writings or avowed sentiments; but that *we* have imputed notions to them which they never received, and conduct which they never approved. Nothing can be more fair and proper than to take our statements from their own publications, and to deduce our opinions from what they themselves have openly professed. Now, it unfortunately has happened, that most of the popular Protestant advocates, who have

espoused the cause of Roman Catholics, do not read the books of those individuals for whom they plead; nor are they in general correctly informed as to the sentiments, the principles, and the church-policy of the very people whom they wish to introduce into both houses of parliament!

It is allowed on all hands that if the opinions and rules of conduct which govern the Roman Catholics of this day, be exactly the same as those of their forefathers, that we cannot trust them to legislate for a Protestant church and constitution: and yet, Sir, how few are there among our politicians who take the pains to examine and ascertain whether or not the ancient and modern church of Rome differ from each other; whether or not our moderation, our candour, and our tolerant behaviour to the Papists since Queen Elizabeth's days, have meliorated their principles or softened them into better subjects and more charitable neighbours? This then is the main preliminary question to be determined, before we grant the object of their clamorous petitions, and admit them into our bosoms as tried friends; and unless this question be candidly answered, I much fear that our legislators and the country at large may commit an error of which they will find cause to repent, when it is too late to recover their ground!

I propose, therefore, in your future numbers, Mr. Editor, to exhibit the real and avowed sentiments of the Roman Catholics, collected chiefly (though not exclusively) from their recent publications; and I shall particularly adduce the materials found in "*The Orthodox Journal, or Catholic Monthly Intelligence*," which commenced in June 1813,—a work upheld by the RIGHT REV. DR. JOHN MILNER, VICAR APOSTOLIC OF THE MIDLAND DISTRICT, AND BISHOP OF CASTABALA,—a work replete with genuine "Catholicism," and Irish oratory,—containing an abstract of the late proceedings of Roman Catholic Meetings, and all the precious doctrines which at this day are maintained by the church of Rome!—The five numbers which have already been issued contain numerous articles of importance to the divine, the politician, and the patriot; but, I do not intend to give an analysis of those papers, before I receive from you a distinct intimation that my labours will be acceptable to the Editor and Readers of the "*PROTESTANT ADVOCATE*." In the mean time, I remain, &c. &c.

SCRUTATOR.

The Editor most gladly accepts SCRUTATOR's offer of service, in the full persuasion that the Protestant cause cannot but derive an accession of strength from his powerful assistance.

SIR NEAL O'DONEL'S CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—I send, for insertion in your next number, the continuation of Sir *Neal O'Donel's* curious correspondence with his *Parish Priest*, in an ill-printed, and in some places almost obliterated, article of the *Correspondent* of the 20th October, which I fear you will scarcely be able to read.

The composition is perfectly *Milesian*, and mystical throughout: resembling, in obscurity, though not in brevity, the rude inscriptions in the old Irish, or *Ogham* character, still to be found on *cromliahs*, or written stones, in the wilds of *Connaught*, if we credit our antiquaries of the Royal Irish Academy. It is written very much in a mode practised by some of the ancients, called in Greek, *ὑπερὸν ἵππον*, or in English, *the cart before the horse*; and is not a little deranged in its order, and embarrassed in its construction. To prepare it for a *London* publication, and for the ease and convenience of *English* readers, who are sometimes *indolent* and *fastidious*, and too ready to throw away in disgust whatever is tedious, or whatever they cannot quickly comprehend, I have attempted to elucidate the subject, like the editors of ancient manuscripts, by prefixing and inserting *sigla*, or marks, A. B. C. &c. for the greater facility of reference.

The *chronological order* of the documents is this:—B. the priest's first letter, and C. the inclosure, Oct. 6; D. the baronet's answer, Oct. 10; and A. the baronet's reply, Oct. 12, to F. the priest's second letter, or rejoinder to the answer D. which was probably written Oct. 11, but unfortunately is omitted in the collection; as is also E. a letter written formerly to the priest, on the business of the *minor*, &c. These two last letters are frequently referred to by the baronet, and the want of them throws much adventitious obscurity on the subject.

The drift, as far as I can collect it from such a heterogeneous mass of materials, may be reduced to two general heads: I. respecting the *minor*, &c.; and II. respecting the *chapel contributions*.

I. The articles of impeachment on the former account:

1. The priest's arbitrary interference in *dictating a husband* for the *minor's* sister, *a child of tender years*; and this *without consulting*, and *without the permission of her father, then living*, which preyed on his mind, before his death.

2. The priest's defence, or excuse for so doing; that *he had a power* [by the rules of his church] *to marry* [girls] *at eleven* [years of age]—— [without consent of parents!]

3. The transaction of *Calpin's* will (which seems to have been the name of the father), or (as noticed in the former letter of Sept. 27 ; see Prot. Adv. p. 95 ;) the *forging the names of the witnesses thereto*.

4. The anger of the priest on the father's appointing Sir Neal O'Donel guardian of the minor, and protector of his children [from the priest] ; "*because a Protestant ought not to be entrusted!*"

5. The priest's *taking forcible possession of the minor's property, for the benefit of the husband* he had imposed on the *sister* ; taking also a base advantage of his *guardian's* absence in Dublin, during the last eleven years, to perpetrate his villainy.

II. The articles on the latter :

1. The priest's continued rapacity and extortions from his flock, and Sir Neal's tenantry, during his father's and his own residence in Dublin ; exacting an *extra guinea for every marriage, besides his fees*.

2. His raising a levy of *a guinea a house* for a second chapel at *Newfield*, of which he gave no account.

3. His delaying to settle accounts for the sums he had received for the *Newport* chapel, from 1806 to Oct. 4, 1813, until he was then compelled, by a requisition of his parishioners, supported by their landlord, which requisition he *tore at the altar*, in a rage !

4. His fraudulent statement of his accounts, suppressing his last credits, £70.

5. His *affected humiliation, contrition, and crocodile tears*, intreating *forgiveness*, which the baronet *freely gave him*, Oct. 5, the day after the statement of his accounts ; all this preparatory to his insidious letter of the next day, *thinking the baronet off his guard*, and working on his easiness and simplicity, to sign a *public recantation* of the charges he had brought against the priest, in his letter of Sept. 27 in the *Correspondent* ; thereby to give himself the *lie*, and to blast his own character !

6. His abuse and defamation of the baronet, when this hopeful scheme proved abortive ; charging him with *profaning the chapel*, because, as a *magistrate*, he would not suffer it to be made an asylum for *outlaws and rebels* ?

It is to be hoped that the honest baronet, (the goodness of whose heart we honour,) will stand forth, and faithfully fulfil his trust to his ward, by taking *legal* steps to rescue her property from this *wolf in sheep's clothing*, and also to punish this motley compound of rapacity, villainy, hypocrisy, and ingratitude,—*monstrum nulla virtute redemptum a vitiis*,—as "*a friend to the people*," a friend to justice, and a friend to his own character, which will be disgraced and ruined by any further forbearance.

or delay in bringing the offender, and his accomplices, and *worthless advisers*,—"the *Jesuit*, and the *Spanish ass*,"—to condign punishment.

This sketch, though necessarily imperfect, coming from a stranger, is still sufficient to shew the *tremendous powers* exercised by unprincipled *Romish priests*, to the oppression and persecution of their own flocks; and also to evince their *fatal influence* over the *Protestant gentry* in their vicinity. Sir Neal O'Donel avows "*his respect for the Romish clergy and their religion*;" he describes the mass of the Roman Catholics as "*our laity*;" and he boasts of his intimacy with the chief abettors and "*supporters of the Catholic cause*."

Yours, &c.

CRITO.

(A.)—Sir Neal O'Donel to Mr. Bourke.

"Rev. Sir,—The defence you make, in *your letter* (F.) in answer to mine (D.), in my humble opinion is, that you signed a paper which twenty-four of your parishioners had submitted to me to be their wish to protect the *future* donations for finishing the Newport chapel.—Did you suppose this act of theirs required privacy? or have you, "*to appease me*," acted *unworthily* of a clergyman, by not only signing, but also recommending your parish to annex their names? My crime is "*publicity*," and that I refused my signature to a *lie*. So much for your consistency; for I have the parish book with your signature. As to the allusion of "*freehold property*," time will convince the public; the necessary steps are taken, and a jury will decide between you and the *minor*. I request you will recollect I wrote to you, *but you have not thought proper to give the public my letter* on this subject. (E.) I remind you, Rev. Sir, the *marriage of the minor's sister*, without the permission of her father, then living, was, from the facts of the case, the first cause of my disapproving of your conduct—a *child of tender years*. Your defence was, that *you had a power to marry at eleven*;—and I remind you, Rev. Sir, I was left, by her father, the guardian and protector of his children, though you, that pious man, thought a *Protestant* ought not to be entrusted. I charge you again with *taking a forcible possession*, after I left the country, for the benefit of the *husband you dictated*, in your private room, for *this child*, without consulting the father; and this was on his mind when he went into a better world.

"You avoid remarks on essential duties, as a clergyman; you attach respectability to yourself from the acquaintance with the departed:—I am now to tell you, *my father's necessary absence* in Dublin, for years, gave an opportunity to oppress his *tenantry*, which he would have counteracted, (but more of this in a proper place). Had he lived, the poor-

box and the chapel-door would be *free* for donation and exit—*compulsion* would have ceased. From the year 1806 to 4th October 1813, you credited the parish with £434.—Do you admit you received the last credits, £70, in yours dated the 9th [6th], since the 4th, the day your *humility* condescended to account? (and recollect you *tore the requisition at your altar.*) If so, you have been very unfortunate from 1806 to the 4th October 1813, and very successful to the date when you honoured me with your opinions of me—or you kept back the credits and deceived the parish.—All your parish, believe me, loudly complain of your conduct.

“ You charge me with “*profaning your chapel.*” Do you think, Rev. Sir, a chapel is a sanctuary for *outlaws*? I respect the law and uphold your religion by such acts. As a *magistrate* I did my duty, and I shall continue to do so. I am sorry I did not act more promptly, *by a few more.*

“ You refuse your parish “*second mass,*”—the good old custom.—Why?

“ Why not account for *one guinea a house* you raised on part of the parish for a chapel at *Newfield*? and also an *extra guinea* for every marriage, besides your fees?—Account for this in your next.*

“ Rev. Sir, recollect your humility and affected contrition on *Tuesday the 5th*, when your tears moved me at Mr. Hoban's, for I respect your clergy and your religion, and I put you out of the question now. You *entreated my forgiveness*—I gave it freely, but remark my emphatic words, “ Mr. Bourke, avoid future discord and bad advice; regulate according to conscience; the heir must be replaced in his freehold—*Calpin's will was a bad transaction*—your answer I leave within yourself.”

“ Protestants of rank and liberal feelings are called on to collect for Catholic chapels in Dublin—but in *Newport*, “ the great little man was a heretic,” unworthy of any trust for the parish. Why?—because the funds would complete the chapel in one year, and would be expended faithfully for that purpose. I assure you I did not intend to put it into a stock purse, for the purpose of attacking his Majesty's attorney-general, or any of the law officers of the crown, who I respect very highly—I have sufficient to supply my politics and my briefs.

“ I have lived in *Dublin* eleven years—I have many respectable friends *their*, and Catholic friends, such as *Fingal*, *Trimbleston*, *Efrench*, *Randal M'Donnell*, and that proud ornament of our laity, that honest and dignified Irishman, Counsellor *Bellew*; that mild but firm supporter of the Catholic cause, *Baggott*. My opinions are in unison with them and such men, but none others, at home or abroad;—and in *Mayo*, I hope my

* Will it still be maintained, that the Romish Priesthood exercise a spiritual influence, merely?

life, my conduct, will entitle me to the confidence of my countrymen of all persuasions. And if I have enemies, time will induce them to respect me.

" I have left your letter to me (B.), received in *Erris*, for the press, and your *disinterested complimentary inclosure* (C.) and my reply. (D.)

" Rev. Sir, your humble servant,

" Castlebar, 12th Oct. 1813."

" NEAL O'DONEL."

" Rev. John Bourke, P. P.
Newport-Pratt."

(B.) *Documents referred to in the foregoing Letter.*

" Dear Sir,—I observed in the *Correspondent* of this day the insertion of your letter of the 27th. This further publicity of the sentiments you then possessed will, I hope, be a sufficient apology for my troubling you with the *inclosed paper*; which, as I am convinced, contains the sentiments and feelings you at present have towards me, you will not hesitate to justify my character, by sanctioning it with your signature. Not having heard from you yesterday (as I expected) on this subject, I intended doing myself the honour of waiting on you this day; but finding myself unfortunately disappointed by your sudden departure for *Erris*, the natural wish of retrieving my character will, I trust, be sufficient apology for my giving you this trouble.

" I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

" Your faithful humble servant,

" Newport-Pratt, 6th Oct. 1812."

" JOHN BOURKE."

" Sir Neal O'Donel, Bart. &c. &c."

" P. S.—Should you have sent any other letter for publication, I hope you will not think it an unreasonable request, on my part, to authorise me, by your permission, to suppress such letter, and to substitute the inclosed in its place. I am convinced your own feelings will dictate to you, with what, I await your answer."

(C.)—(*Inclosure.*)

" Sir,—With feelings of heartfelt pleasure I take the earliest opportunity which the late investigation into the chapel accounts of the collection of £134. 18s. 4d., and its expenditure on the chapel of Newport, offers, of withdrawing those charges made in my letter of the 27th ult. as I am convinced, from my personal observation, no man could have more honourably discharged his duties to his parish in the judicious and faithful application of the sums paid to you for the use of the said chapel, and in

no other way; and I am happy to find, that the only collection made by you for the chapel at Newport was 5s 5d.—in the collection of which decency was observed, and essential qualities not denied. Not having an opportunity of making personal enquiries at the time of the publication of my letter of the 27th, I acted on the information of those whose testimony I now find contradicted. Should any person conceive that in my letter of the 27th I conveyed an imputation of *your personally taking a forcible possession, or substituting a witness's name to a will*, I beg leave to give my *most unqualified contradiction* to it, as I am convinced no man would be less capable of such improper conduct."

(D.) *Reply to the foregoing Letter and Inclosure.*

"From the date of my letter of the 27th of September last, the only intimacy I had with you was the *formal manner* I called your parishioners, in which you find my ideas were received without restraint, and agreeable to the opinion of all, even of Mr. *Walter Bourke* and Mr. *Joseph M'Donnell*. To presume to be reasonable *requires forgiveness*. I wish to be singular, and to *act reasonably*—I will make *no apology*. From the few that are wiser than the rest, for being *awake and in my right senses*, I require to make no excuse for my conduct.

"I am sorry to find you have placed yourself under the direction of a *Jesuit* and a *Spanish Ass*. I was conscious you acted *wrong*, but I am forced now to attach *deliberate guilt or vanity* to your conduct. Did your Jesuit or your Ass think those signatures you bring in question to impeach my veracity, my public statement of facts, would be allowed by me to pass unnoticed, *if improperly used*? You have used those names disrespectfully, and I am no longer to excuse you. I governed myself, you know I governed by maxims of reasonable feeling, being aware that promises required fulfilment, and no *haunted imagination*, and that feeling is not severe reproach, to avoid the imputation of deliberate attack, made in my own defence—my reputation.—*Those signatures you have made use of, were for your remaining in the parish, PROVIDED you conducted yourself differently, and like a reasonable creature, awake to the feelings of the parish, now that their eyes are open.* You used them differently. This is a very sensible affliction to me.—Endeavouring to mitigate your crime, your error is in the confidence of my disposition, a trust of confidence you reposed. I shan't say more; but, to a mind such as mine, *my first glory is veracity*, and you must not dare to question *my innate feeling, truth*, by the *ideal* power of your office; and *my generosity*, for you know I have the gratitude of *my tenantry*, the proud feeling of reciprocal friendship.

" I am now prepared to produce evidence of those truths in my letter addressed to you; and impudent disguise, made use of by your ideal friends, is delusion or daring infidelity.—It was a principle truly rational made me *humble myself* by any further acquaintance with you, and delicacy for my ancestors, who have signed with their blood and their estates, made me forget your *fancying authority*.—I did suppose you at rest, and perfectly satisfied at my peaceful retreat—I supposed your heart was satisfied and grateful—your conscience your own property.

" When, in *Erris* (where I have *some property*, and in *one quarter*, the *emporium of vice, unworthiness*, and a long neglected *twenty years*), I received your letter dated the 6th, requiring me to sign my name to a *lie*. I was there assailed with the ingratitude of yourself or council *thinking me off my guard*. I know them well, I know them to be *worthless, uncertain, and devoid of principle*. I am extremely afflicted you have been governed by them. I shan't decline the contest.

" *A Friend to the People,*

" Ballycroy, 10th Oct. 1813."

" NEAL O'DONEL."

" Rev. John Bourke, P. P.

Newport-Pratt."

(To be continued.)

ON THE DOCTRINES OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—In perusing the resolutions of a meeting of the Roman Catholics of England, holden at the house of Lord Shrewsbury, on the 8th of February, I perceive in them a suggestion, not new indeed, but calculated to mislead the unwary, by inducing them to conclude that the charges of pernicious tenets brought against the members of the church of Rome, are founded on mistaking the erroneous opinions of some individual members of it for the received doctrines of the church itself. This attempt to evade the charge of having departed from the pure Christian faith, delivered down to us in the sacred writings, is contained in the sixth of those resolutions; and to obviate the mischievous effect of it, I, who readily acknowledge myself to be one of those who have thought it my duty to warn my fellow-countrymen against relapsing into those abominations from which our ancestors, through so many afflictions, escaped, think it right publicly to state,—that it is not merely to the opinions of foreign *universities* (the doctrines asserted, in which it is very improbable that any Romanists esteem *de fide*, and the parade made about which bears too much the appearance of an attempt to impose on the credulity

of Protestants) that we appeal for the reality of the tenets which we accuse the Papists of holding ; but to the most authentic documents, speaking the sentiments, and recording the judgment of their own church, which documents they allow to be the decrees of general councils. When we bring forward their own declaration, that the faith of their church is *always the same*, we do so to demonstrate that the renunciation of their persecuting principles, which some persons have obligingly supposed to have taken place, cannot be the case, because they deny having conceded the doctrine of the infallibility of their church ; and these principles are avowed by general councils, the decrees of which they deem of infallible authority. Thus by the Council of Constance it was declared lawful to violate the most solemn promises and engagements when made to heretics, a doctrine which the Romanists must still hold, unless they either renounce the tenet that general councils are secure from error, or deny that title to an assembly to which their church has hitherto given it. A writer of the present day, indeed, denies that they hold the general doctrine that faith is not to be kept with heretics, but he acknowledges that it is not to be kept with them *to the prejudice of the Catholic faith*. A tenet sufficient to render nugatory all oaths taken to a Protestant government, and after the acknowledgment of which, a child might see the suicidal absurdity of admitting Papists to power under the guard of such an oath.

Again they are prepared to declare, that they hold that the Pope hath no temporal power in this kingdom. But if they do not hold that the authority he has received from Heaven is superior to that of all earthly potentates, so as to make it a duty to obey *him* rather than the *Sovereign* of any country in which his followers may live, should the commands of the two differ ; they controvert the decrees of the last council of Lateran, which passed that bull of Leo the Tenth, in which he expressly, and with the declared approbation of the council, did renew the constitution of Boniface the Eighth, which runs thus : " We declare, say, define, and pronounce it to be of necessity to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff ;"—and if they do retain this tenet, how illusory are all their declarations about *temporal power* ! Or, let any man of common sense say, how far an oath of allegiance can be expected to bind men who hold the divine authority of a council which, under Innocent the Third, ordained that " If a temporal lord, being required and admonished by the church, shall neglect to purge his territories from heretical filth, he shall, by the metropolitan and other comprovincial bishops, be comprized in the ban of excommunication ; and that if he shall neglect to make satisfaction within a year, it shall be signified

to the Pope, that he may from that time denounce the subjects absolved from their fealty to him, and expose his territory to be seized on by Catholics." The council which passed this decree was by that of Trent declared to be *the Church*, see the acts of this last council, sess. 4, c. 5. Unless, then, that church has altered her doctrines, and consequently confessed herself fallible, how can the Roman Catholics of England swear that they do not think the Pope has authority to absolve subjects from their allegiance? Surely the gross inconsistency of these things furnishes good grounds for suspecting that, in spite of all their declarations to the contrary, there is some evasion by which these ready swearers save the infallibility of their church, while they profess opinions directly opposite to its decrees. Of this I am sure, Sir, that the free profession of the uncorrupted doctrines of christianity, the liberty of our country, and the security of our persons, are matters of too much importance to be hazarded under even the shadow of a doubt whether the declarations made by persons like these, when wanting to participate in legislating for the country, be sincere. We know that there have been of their church, those who have maintained the legality of doing evil, that good may come; if then they be persuaded, that by obtaining power in this country they can bring the generality of its inhabitants back into the bosom of that church out of which they imagine there is no salvation, can we be secure that they will hesitate at taking oaths which, *by the doctrines of their church, are held to be without a sanction*, for the sake of accomplishing an end in their eyes so beneficial? Can we be sure that when they have power, they will not conceive it a duty to make use of it in compelling us to renounce what they deem heresy, and forcing us to the commission of what we know to be a sin menaced with the severest judgments of the Almighty, the bowing down to other objects of worship beside Him? To mere political reasoners this last point may seem of small importance; but the weight with which the Divine wrath has fallen on apostate Christendom, the torrents of blood that have been shed, the unutterable misery that has been undergone, should make men of reflection ponder ere they consent to add to provocations which we are persuaded and convinced have drawn these dreadful visitations on Europe. And, in truth, if our national profession of christianity be not mere hypocrisy, we must be satisfied that the wisest policy that can be followed is to secure the protection of the Supreme Being: and whether this can be done by fostering that idolatrous superstition against which his severest wrath is specifically denounced, it becomes those who look upon the measure of augmenting the influence of the followers of the bishop of Rome as a *political* question only seriously to consider these

things; and especially that benevolent prelate who contends, it should seem, that the restrictions laid on them ought to be taken off. The great advocate of the Papists in the lower house, indeed, has endeavoured to wrest this argument another way, and asks, as it is reported in the newspapers, "whether it is to be supposed that the Deity was driven out of half of Europe?" But if this powerful orator were duly acquainted with the Scriptures, he would know that, according to the best interpreters, it has long been declared that all the earth, saving a select few, should join in apostacy from the truth as it is in Jesus. This word *apostacy* may possibly sound harsh in the delicate ears of the eloquent senator, and if the account of his intended bill was fairly given in the paper I read, it is manifest that the labours of this advocate of liberty operated to restrain Protestants from writing concerning the Papists in those plain terms which alone can adequately expose their antichristian doctrines. But against all attempts to silence the advocates for the truth, and, by restraining the liberty of the press, to commence that tyrannical sway, which will increase in this country as the Papal influence is augmented, a firm resistance will, I trust, yet be made, and the teeth that have been shewn will be ultimately prevented from fastening in our flesh. The followers of the bishop of Rome must not be left at liberty to utter, without danger of contradiction, all the sophistry and misrepresentations by which they deceive the ignorant and mislead the weak.

If you think these cursory remarks worthy a place in your miscellany, I hope they will contribute to put those whose eyes they meet, on their guard against the misstatements which induced me to send them to you.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

March 1st, 1813.

P. C.*

ON THE TITHE SYSTEM OF IRELAND.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—As the tithe system of Ireland has of late years attracted much attention, and has formed one of the annual topics of discussion in the imperial parliament, and as it will probably again make its appearance there under some shape or other; a general statement of the situation of the clergy of Ireland, on a point of so much importance, seems in justice to be due to them; I shall therefore give as concise a view of their real circumstances as I can; from which it will appear how greatly that respect-

* We feel relieved from a weight which has long oppressed us, in having at last found a place for our correspondent's letter. We beg pardon for the unavoidable delay which has taken place.

able body has been misrepresented, as to the magnitude of their emoluments, as well as the mode in which those emoluments have been gathered.

In all statements concerning the tithes of Ireland it ought not only to be generally made known, but always adverted to; that from a vote of the the Irish House of Commons, passed about the middle of the last century, declaring any man an enemy to his country, who sued for *agistment*, or a *modus* on grazing, which vote was established by the act of union; the clergy throughout the *whole* kingdom, have been deprived of that source of emolument, ever since the abovementioned period.—Now a very great proportion of the Southern, the Western, and the midland parts are grazing lands; and in the rest of the kingdom, much ground is also occupied in the same way. Here then the clergy are by one stroke cut off from this source of income, amounting, at a most moderate calculation, to nearly one third of the whole.—But the evil does not end there; for these grazing lands thus exempt from tithe, are mostly in the occupation of the wealthy, and the tillage, on the contrary, is much in the hands of the poor; this being the case, the rich are nearly free from tithe, the poor are liable to it, in its fullest extent, and consequently the burthen falls upon them. In addition to this it must be observed, that the lands are often let to the poorer classes, (many persons intervening between them and the original proprietor, each exacting some profit, less or more,) at such a rate as to make it difficult not only to pay the rent, but so as to make it almost impossible for the holder to meet any further demand; the minister of the parish then coming in for his dues, (as much his, whilst law and justice exist, as the rent is the property of the landlord,) is considered as an extortioner; whilst the lessor, or the sublessor of the lands is the real extortioner, for not leaving the occupier a profit sufficient to pay what he cannot but know must be levied finally on the land. In fact it is not the clergyman, it is the *retailer* of land, if the expression be allowable, who is the cause of the mischief; who taking advantage of the necessities of those who must have settlements, leaving far those who must come after them, hardly any thing behind.—This therefore appears to be the radical evil; most difficult to be removed, nay, I believe, nearly impossible; for could an eligible commutation for tithe be devised, the ingenuity of the retailer of land is such that no benefit would accrue to the unfortunate holder. That the fault does not lie with the clergy, let us advert to the north of Ireland (though the north of Ireland, hitherto, for some reason, has been always overlooked,) *there* few instances, very few indeed, will be found of disputes between the clergy and their flocks; the tithes *there* cannot be, and in fact are not deemed

burthensome; not because the clergy are worse paid, but because the land-owners are more equitable, leaving a sufficient profit not only for their own demands, but for what is to be demanded by others; and because cultivation in that district being in the hands of those whose circumstances are good, the tithes fall in a fuller proportion upon them than upon the poorest classes. If then the South of Ireland, or the West of Ireland, be full of complaints against the evil of tithes, and the North of Ireland be nearly exempt from them, what conclusion is to be drawn? Not that all the good clergymen are in the North of Ireland, and all the bad in the South and West, but rather that there is a deeper root to the evil, which lies in the system of letting land pursued by the country; and not in any supposed, or alleged oppression of the clergy, in the exemption of the opulent agistor, or in the liability of the wretched cottier.*

Another source of émolument from which the clergy of one part of Ireland, at least, are cut off, is the tithe of potatoes and of flax; the non-payment of these tithes is indeed, confined to the province of Ulster; nor are all parts of that province free from them; but still they are paid in very few instances; and when we consider the state of cultivation, and the comparative opulence of that division of the kingdom, the privation of this source of income to the clergy, will form another very great chasm in the reputedly great revenues of the church; for in all well cultivated districts, from a fifth to a fourth of the whole farm is every year appropriated to the culture of potatoes and flax; when these, along with the grazing parts of each holding, are deducted from the whole, it leaves not much more than one half of the lands, in actual cultivation, liable to tithe in the province of Ulster.

The last point that I shall offer to the reader's consideration, is the number of lay impropriations, amounting in many dioceses to more than a third of the tithes paid to the clergy; but computed throughout the kingdom at one third of the whole. Where the tithes belong to the landlord, they are generally let along with the land; or the land being considered as tithe free, so much more is added per acre to the rent; when this is the case little is said on the subject; the landlord makes his terms, and the

* The English cottager, and the Irish cottier of the South, West, and Midland parts of Ireland, are very different personages; the former is in possession only of his house, and sometimes a small garden attached;—the latter has generally, together with his hovel, some land let at an exorbitant rent; besides this he often speculates in taking land from his landlord, (usually also his employer) for the purpose of setting potatoes, and sometimes for the ensuing crop;—and six, eight, and even ten guineas per acre are paid for this.—Then the tithe, county taxes, &c. are all to be provided for—does this system require a comment, in a country where there is no agistment?

tenant *must* submit. But where the lay impropiator, and the proprietor of the land are different persons, the case is much altered; and it is not uncommon in those who hold tithes under them, to regret their not holding them under the mild administration of the clergy.

From this view of the subject it is evident, that the parochial clergy of Ireland, instead of possessing the whole of the tithes, are, first, by the law of agistment nearly deprived of one third of the titheable lands; that the lay impropiators possess another third; that in Ulster they are not paid tithes, except very partially, either for potatoes or for flax; amounting probably to one fifth of that well cultivated province; therefore it follows that being excluded from the tithes of these two thirds of all Ireland, and one fifth of those of Ulster, then one third will remain for them; and of the mutilated third it is certain that they *cannot* exact more than the value; and it is equally certain, that even of that value they do not receive one half throughout the kingdom.—This statement it is thought proper to give, at the present moment, not only for the English public, who may be unacquainted with Irish affairs; but to do away the hardy assertions of those who represent the clergy of Ireland as possessing a much greater source of revenue than they really enjoy, and causing so much discontent, of which a very small portion indeed, can, with any colour of justice be attributed to them.

March 14, 1813.

C. D. *

DECLARATION AND ADDRESS OF THE TYRONE ORANGE LODGE.

WE give the following declaration and address a place in our miscellany with alacrity. It speaks our sentiments concerning the *Roman Catholic Board* most fully.

At a Meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge of the County of Tyrone, held at Dungannon, on the 23d of October, 1813.

“The several malignant aspersions against the Orange Institution having been considered, the following declaration and address to government, and the public, was UNANIMOUSLY agreed to:—

“That precisely one hundred years ago, on the first day of next August, the wisdom and spirit of our gallant ancestors placed upon the Throne of these Realms the Protestant House of Brunswick, whom God preserve as the Guardians of our Religion and inestimable liberty.

“That the same love of our happy constitution animates the hearts, and swells the veins of their undegenerated Posterity; and, as they ventured their lives and fortunes

* This letter, like the last, ought to have been inserted long ago. It gives another feature to the picture of Ireland.

to obtain the blessings we now enjoy, so will we shed the last drop of our blood to maintain them unimpaired and unpolluted by any stain.

"That we have never deviated in thought of action from these principles; and we now observe, with much vexation and concern, these identical principles vilified at Popish Meetings, and even men who call themselves Protestants, unite with them in such unmerited reprobation.

"That we will forbear to utter any reflection on this political suicide; we lament, but disclaim it.—We stand upon the character that produced the glorious revolution, and wrenched from the grasp of an *impotent Bigot* the sceptre he was so palpably unworthy to wield, and which it would have been disgraceful to British dignity to suffer in his hand.

"That we view with a degree of indignation difficult to be suppressed, *an assembly in our metropolis which we cannot but deem illegal, presuming to sit and adopt the usage, forms, and terms of Parliament, and daring to dictate to the Imperial Assemblage of King, Lords, and Commons, not what they wish them graciously to grant, but what they arrogantly will alone deign to accept.*

"That all comment on such extraordinary proceedings is unnecessary, the eyes of our rulers certainly are open, their arm is powerful, and their judgment certainly will direct them. Of this, however, we strenuously beg permission to assure them, that upon every occasion, and under every circumstance where loyalty, spirit, and love of our King and Country, may influence and call forth its defenders, *THE ORANGEMEN OF IRELAND*, will never be deficient, but ever zealously demonstrate themselves their prompt, firm and determined friends.

"That it is our desire to live peaceably and on friendly terms with all mankind, and we disavow any intolerant spirit or hostility (such as we are charged with) against any description of men whatever on account of their religion.

"And to add no more where we wish to avoid words, we will scorn to bring any railing accusation against those who have so maliciously trespassed against us, but leave to the faithful page of history their voluminous demerits, where they stand recorded in indelible characters.

"(Signed by Order) JOHN CROSSLE,

"Sec. to the Grand Lodge of Co. Tyrone."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO CORRESPONDENTS, &c.

It is necessary to send to press such periodical works as are to appear on the 1st of January, early in December; otherwise we should have inserted several additional papers relative to the proceedings of the Irish Papists: Those documents have only recently arrived. They will appear in our next number.—We earnestly intreat our correspondents in Ireland, to send us the Popish motions, resolutions, letters, &c. as fast as they come out.

We have received from a distinguished barrister a very important short constitutional argument on the Catholic question, entitled, "The Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Crown, proved to be the Common Law of England." It will be published in the first week of the new year.

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For FEBRUARY 1814.

"Justice and Mercy, Equity and Charity, are the main parts of Religion; and a failure in these is one of the worst heresies into which we can fall. We know that the Church of Rome hath failed in them greatly; our Ancestors have felt their cruelty; our Protestant Brethren abroad, groan under it at this day, and may God preserve us and our Posterity from the danger of it; for never had they Mercy long, when they had Power."—BISHOP PORTEUS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

THE concluding article, under this head, in our last number, recorded the sentence passed on Mr. Magee, the Proprietor of the Dublin Evening Post, for a libel on the government of the Duke of Richmond; we now have to state that Mr. Magee has since been served with legal notices, from the Stamp-Office of Ireland, that stamps should no longer be issued to him. A statute passed during the Rebellion, and never before acted upon, authorised this proceeding, and Mr. Magee has, in consequence, disposed of his property in the Evening Herald and Dublin Evening Post. Thus, for the present, we have done with this *Protestant Martyr* to the *Popish Cause*!

ROMAN CATHOLIC BOARD.

On the 1st of December, Dr. DROMGOOLE postponed an intended motion till the 8th, on which day he attended, and pressed the adoption of his motion by a speech which has created a great sensation both in Ireland and England. The Board sat in the Shakespear Gallery, Lord FRENCH in the chair. At four o'clock the Doctor rose, and having proposed his resolution, which we print, as it was introduced at the commencement of the speech, Mr. O'Connell,* as might have been expected,

* The Board, with almost parliamentary generosity, has voted Mr. Magee's ad-

voted for it; Mr. O'Gorman argued against it; as did Mr. O'Connor; Mr. Lawlor supported it. Dr. Dromgoole shortly replied. When the question was about to be put, Lord Ffrench, (*quitted the wool-sack*, and,) in the presence of many Protestants, spoke in favour of the resolution, which passed *without a division*.—Our readers will be pleased to recollect that all the members (q. *delegates*,—eight or ten came from Cork,—) who spoke in support of the motion, and the majority who voted for it, did so, after having listened to the *Doctor's* speech.—Not that Dr. Dromgoole stands alone in the bravery with which he avows hostility to the Established Church of the United Kingdom. *The Board* were in possession of Mr. Keogh's sentiments. We beg leave to quote an extract from "A Letter to the Rt. Hon. George Canning, on his proposed Motion," (*London Edition, by Hatchard, page 35.*)

"*Ecce iterum Crispinus.* I must here, once more, introduce Mr. Keogh to you. This high mettled champion of the persecuted Catholics, disdains all concealment or mincing on this most vital part of their claims. He wishes the question between the two churches *to be fairly understood*.* He hesitates not to acknowledge that, *as long as the two kingdoms continue to be united, Ireland will aim at the SUBVERSION of the religious establishment of England.* He maintains that '*she has a right to oppose, and by every legal effort to subvert, any internal religious ascendancy injurious to the great mass of her own population.*' He places '*the resumption of the enormous and misapplied revenues of the INTRUSIVE CHURCH among the first consequences of emancipation, if it is meant that it should SATISFY the Irish people.*' If Lord Grenville, in his letter to Lord Fingall, declares that to the civil and religious establishments of his country he is unalterably attached; that their inviolable maintenance he has ever considered as essential to the dearest interests of his country; Mr. Keogh disdains entering into any reasoning with his lordship on the subject;—his answer is given in all the superciliousness of democratic superiority: '*And really, my Lord Grenville, do you figure to yourself any fellow-feeling of my Lord*

vocate a piece of plate, value £1000. This, if true, does not betoken any *disapprobation* of the speeches which Mr. O'Connell made previously to the pronouncing judgment on poor Magee, whose crime was aggravated by avowing that O'Connell only spoke as he was instructed, and by publishing his offensive harangue.

* Mr. Keogh's Letter to Lord Grenville, here quoted, was *bought up* by the Papists, in one week after it was published. It shewed the cloven foot. From the same motive, they wish, as they cannot suppress it, to put the genuineness of Dr. Dromgoole's speech in question—but in vain. One copy of the letter fell into the hands of a Protestant Prelate, who wrote the letter to Mr. Canning; and 50,000 copies of the Doctor's Speech have been printed. It is too precious a morceau to be lost.

Fingall about the increased SECURITY of your religion? Can England entertain the absurd notion of exciting the sympathy of Ireland in wishes for the inviolable maintenance of your religion? Indeed this is too glaringly absurd."

Dr. Dromgoole's zeal is of the highest order, and alone has gained him all the celebrity which he enjoys. He was employed in the counting-house of a trader in Dublin. Whatever his quondam employer's honour or integrity may be, how well soever he may serve his customers, or however faithfully he may pay the crown its duties, we never heard his manners commended, or his breeding proposed for an example. Polished or coarse as he may be deemed, refined or vulgar, this we know, that the zealous Doctor was treated with no sort of deference by his master, who did not associate with him, much less admit him to his table. Little did the good man wot of the treasure he possessed, or dream of the miracle of cool prudence, profound learning, and impassioned eloquence that toiled at his desk. Mr. Dromgoole was a hard student, all the while, in Latin and Greek, the Councils and Hippocrates, while practising Cocker's Rules. At length he procured a diploma of M. D. from one of the Scottish universities, and became *Doctor* Dromgoole. The Doctor's *merits*, duly appreciated, gained him the distinguished honour of having his health proposed by *Gen. Alexander*, at the grand Protestant gala held at *Londonderry*, on the 7th of December;—"Dr. Dromgoole,—and thank him for his hint," (contained in the resolution.) The toast was well received, and created much laughter; (says the editor of the *Dublin Journal*.) This happened, however, on the day before the Doctor moved the resolution;—but how much more does he deserve thanks for the still broader hint which is furnished by his speech? All constitutional Protestants are obliged to him. The editor of THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE tenders him his humble acknowledgments. He cannot hope for a more useful associate.*

From his bold and open avowal of the ultimate views of the Irish Roman Catholics, and of the principles which they maintain, some persons have doubted whether he really used the language here attributed to him; but the following incidents afford incontrovertible moral evidence,

* On one of the copies of Doctor Dromgoole's Speech, now circulated in Ireland, a Protestant physician of that country wrote *impromptu* the following brief recommendation:

"Dromgoole's *aperient*" the faculty prize;
It affects not the bowels, but opens the EYES.

that the copy of the speech which we give, and which appeared in the Dublin Evening Post of the 11th December, is genuine. It is universally well known, that the Roman Catholic Board uniformly employ short-hand writers to take down their debates, and that they are revised and corrected by a select committee, before they are sent to the editor of the Dublin Evening Post, which is completely at their devotion and under their control. Though the Doctor's speech was delivered on the 8th of December, no part of it appeared in that print till the 11th; and yet the speeches of Dr. Sheridan, who seconded Dr. Dromgoole's motion, and of others who spoke on it, were published in the Evening Post of the 9th of December, in which paper it is praised, and a reason is assigned for postponing the printing of it. "At four o'clock Doctor Dromgoole rose to make *his important motion*, he prefaced it by a *speech of great talent and learning*, which we must defer till our next. It was replete with all the learning and good sense for which the learned Doctor is remarkable—we should injure him and the public by giving it in the abstract." In short, they valued it so highly, that they took three entire days to give it correctly. When it was printed in the Dublin Evening Post of the 11th of December, an advertisement was prefixed to it:—"We lay before our readers a *correct and ample copy of Dr. Dromgoole's excellent and argumentative speech*, on the subject of securities;" concluding with the following observation on the report of that debate,—"*It is by far the most ample, and is by many degrees the most correct and accurate account that has been published of the recent proceedings of the Catholic Board.*"

It is also stated in the Dublin Evening Post of the 24th of December, that they '*do not charge him with want of judgment or lack of liberality.*'

Premising thus much, we publish the speech *without note or comment*; not without a full persuasion that it will be duly noticed hereafter by our correspondents.

The Speech of Doctor Dromgoole, delivered at the Roman Catholic Board, on Wednesday the 8th December, 1813, as reported in their Official Paper, the Dublin Evening Post.

The Lord Ffrench, in the Chair.

Doctor Dromgoole.—"The present resolution differs from the original notice. The notice provided for the communication of the resolution to Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, by the persons appointed to wait upon them from this Board. No obstacles, it was supposed, would lie in

the way of the intended communication. The conclusion, however, was too hastily drawn, that the favour, which Mr. Pitt did not refuse, which Mr. Fox cheerfully conceded, which a lord lieutenant's secretary never denied, and which every corporation or trading company claimed as a sort of right, when their interests were engaged; would not be withheld by Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, from men having the confidence and speaking the voice of millions of Catholics—but *Diis aliter visum*: In consequence of this unexpected circumstance, the form of the resolution has been changed—but, with the exception of the order for its communication to Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, it remains in substance the same.

“*Resolved*,—That we think it necessary at this particular time to re-adopt our resolution of the year 1810, that as Irishmen and Catholics we never can nor will consent to any interference on the part of the crown, or the servants of the crown, in the appointment of our bishops;—and that, with every disposition to meet, as far as it can be done, the wishes of every part of our parliamentary friends and Protestant fellow-subjects, we yet feel ourselves called upon to declare, that no settlement can be final and satisfactory which has for its basis, or at all involves any innovation or alteration to be made by authority of Parliament in the doctrine or discipline of the Catholic church in Ireland—that this declaration is not lightly made, but is grounded upon the concurrence of this Board with the Prelates, and in the sentiments of the Catholic body at large, as publicly and repeatedly expressed at the several meetings held, for the last three years, in every part of the kingdom.”

“This resolution divides itself into two parts. The first goes to the re-adoption of the resolution of 1810, to which there can be no objection. The second is declaratory of the sense of this Board, and of the country at large, on any interference of Parliament in the ecclesiastical discipline of the Catholic church in Ireland. It is expressive of the sentiments of every gentleman who has spoken amongst us on the subject, and conveys the general result of the declarations repeatedly made at the town and county meetings, since the question was first broached. To the latter part of this resolution opposition is, it seems, to be made, upon grounds not connected with the substance of the resolution or its averment, but collateral and irrelevant. It is, it seems, theological, and I am accused of introducing, by the proposal of this resolution, religious controversy into the Board. But do gentlemen understand the meaning of those terms when they apply them to the propositions before you? Why, my lord, if this question be theological, and beyond our competence, then has the

Catholic Committee been usurping the rights of the priesthood for the last thirty or forty years. Doctor Corry, and the venerable Charles O'Connor, were mistaken, and the barons at Runymede, when they stipulated with the tyrant for the freedom of episcopal election, were acting out of their province, and usurping upon the rights of others. But this argument is too absurd to be openly advanced, and the man who resorts to it must have other objects than those he avows. For observe, my lord, that this objection was not made against the conciliatory resolution, as it was called, of the last year, although that resolution, truly, assumed an ecclesiastical power, when it proceeded to submit the discipline of your church to Parliament—it was not started during the whole time that the Committee of the House of Commons was employed in its theological task of new-modelling Catholic discipline. This was not, it seems, beyond their competence—but we are incompetent and intermeddling intruders, if we declare that we can never consent to any interference on the part of a British parliament, a lay and Protestant body, in Catholic ecclesiastical affairs. But, my lord, it would be trifling to go farther—the time of this assembly is too precious to be wasted in refuting an objection so evidently unfounded, and considering that it comes from the *conciliators* of the last year, so contradictory to the whole proceedings of the individuals who urge it. Other objections have been started. The resolution is, it seems, premature, and it has been hastily taken up. Premature! what, at a time when Parliament is sitting? When your petition is prepared, and on the point of being transmitted to England; when your delegates are to be instructed, and when you are speaking of communicating (if allowed) with your leading parliamentary advocates. Premature!—Why, my lord, it would not have been premature three years ago, when the letter of Lord Grenville first made its appearance. I proposed its adoption then; I brought it forward on two or three subsequent occasions, when you were sending delegates to London, that it might serve to govern their conduct in the communication to be held with our friends. Had it been early adopted, it would have saved much of the distrust and serious differences of opinion that have since occurred; and the country would not, in all probability, have had to experience the vexation of disappointed hopes!—It has not, then, been hastily taken up. A fortnight before the ever-memorable synod of our bishops, in the last summer, I thought it my duty again to submit it to the consideration of this Board; it was then got rid of by an adjournment, but the discussion led to so full an expression of the public mind, that, at that period, it would have been superfluous to press it further, it would be out of time, the bishops had de-

sided, the bill was *fortunately* rejected, and the session of Parliament was drawing towards a close. It was accordingly held over till opportunity should serve, or a necessity arise, for again bringing it forward. That necessity has arisen. The question of parliamentary interference, which, we confidently hoped, had slept the sleep of death, has been again resuscitated. A discussion has taken place upon this subject in the Board—great public alarm has been excited, and we are now imperiously called upon to decide. Recollect that upon that occasion no discussion was had—that the motion was merely withdrawn—that the sense of the Board was not taken upon it, and that it is therefore liable to misconstruction. As to the mover, I give him credit for the best intentions, no one has laboured more disinterestedly, and with more self-devotion in the cause of his Catholic countrymen—no one has stronger claims on their confidence, or possesses it more deservedly than he—and, although I have differed with him in opinion, I am proud to bear this public testimony to his uncommon merit. He, my lord, is not prepared to resist the adoption of this resolution. He feels and acknowledges its necessity. He knows that no testimonial remains in the records of our proceedings, bearing unequivocal and unimpeachable testimony of our determination. Look, my lord, to what was called the *conciliatory* resolution of the last summer. That resolution gives up the discipline, and only deprecates any rude interference with the doctrines of our church. Can it be believed that any number of Irish Catholics could be brought to assent to such a resolution? This was the most mischievous and impolitic measure of the Board, and if there be any act of my life to which I look back with pleasure, of which I am proud, it is that I singly *opposed* it. But let me do justice to the Board. The obnoxious part, that which makes this dangerous and disgraceful omission, was added on the day of the discussion—no previous notice had been given, and it was passed, I am convinced, without being perceived, under the intoxication of new-raised expectations. That resolution does not contain the sense of the Board, but it remains on your books as the only evidence of your opinion; for, as it was passed subsequent to the resolution of 1810, does it not amount to a virtual repeal of that resolution? In fact, if an opinion is to be formed at all, by persons unacquainted with the sentiments of the members of the Board, how is it to be collected? Not from the speeches of this or that individual, but from resolutions in which the whole body concur. And here is a resolution that gives up all the points for which we have been so long contending. As to the resolution of thanks to the bishops, considered abstractedly from the debate to which it gave rise, it goes merely to an acknowledgment of their great zeal, and pastoral attention to the spiritual interests of their flocks; it has nothing

at all to do with the question, and the *conciliatory* resolution remains the only interpreter, however false and erroneous, of our sentiments. Will any gentleman, after this, tell me that the resolution I propose is unnecessary?—that it is unnecessary to make a distinct and explicit avowal of our *real* sentiments, when we have every reason to expect that, unless we early protest against it, Parliament will again undertake the task of re-modeling our discipline, and of forming a new constitution for the government of our church. Recollect upon what light grounds and almost impalpable reasons the first proposition of the *Veto* was made to Parliament, and you will at once perceive the necessity of leaving nothing that can be misunderstood or misconstrued in your proceedings. To what mischiefs, and what vexation and disappointment, did not this want of candour, or rather this neglect of coming to an explicit declaration, give rise during the last year? *Were we not reduced to the afflicting spectacle of seeing our advocates joining with ministerialists in drawing up a bill ridiculously called a relief bill, that, under colour of the restoration of some portion of rights, was loaded with pains and penalties, bearing exclusively upon our body?* A bill so full of shameful exaction, so subversive of religion, and so injurious to general liberty, that our ancestors would have rejected it in the darkest night of the penal code; and which I have a right to assert, if offered as articles of capitulation to those brave men who, on the walls of Limerick, made the last stand for Irish independence, would have been replied to in no other way than from the mouth of the cannon. It is fairly, then, imputable to your own act, if you have been insulted and disappointed. Your friends were led to believe, from the tenor of your conciliatory resolution, that, for the obtainment of civil rights, you had broken with religion—that long wished-for divorce from your prelates was effected—and that you had at last determined to hand them over, to be dealt with at the discretion of Parliament. Did Mr. Grattan think so? If he did, how can we justify the severity of animadversion with which, in the frenzy of disappointed hopes and insulted feelings, his great name was treated, for the part he was supposed to have taken in those transactions? Mr. Grattan is a Protestant, and there are many worthy and conscientious men of that persuasion, who naturally think that it would be rendering a most important service to Ireland by making all its inhabitants Protestants, and by putting, because they do not perceive the mischiefs to which it would lead, your church, as to its government and appointments, upon the same footing with the Church of England. There might be no departure in this from that political rectitude from which, I most stedfastly believe, Mr. Grattan never intentionally swerved. To his integrity, then, to the powers of his great and com-

manding talents, you may with safety and advantage entrust the advocacy of your *civil* rights ; but you cannot confide your *religious* rights to his prejudices. No *layman*, no *Protestant*, but above all no *English parliament*, as at present, or in whatever way constituted, ought to be allowed *profanely* to intermeddle in the administration of your church. That right belongs to another authority, where it was placed at the *first birth of Christianity*—where only it can safely rest, or be legitimately exercised.

“ If, then, you are not prepared to encounter the same embarrassments, vexations, and disappointments,—if you are not prepared to see a bill similar to the last introduced into Parliament,—and such an event, if not prevented, is, I have reason to think, most likely,—you must come to some final and conclusive resolution—a resolution that shall, as far as we can do it, shut the door against all *legislative interference*. Nothing of an intermediate kind will be available. The principle once admitted, we have no means of preventing its being carried to any extent to which the spirit of hostility, the wantonness of power, or the designs of a calculating policy may be inclined to go. For be assured that with regard to a certain class of statesmen, who have it most in their power to effect their purpose, nothing less is sought than a complete domination in the government of your church, and that for this purpose the cry of *securities* was first raised, and is still kept up. The demand of *securities* was first made, and is still insisted on. What then are we to think of the political sagacity of those gentlemen who have declared that they are prepared to support the first part of this resolution, which interdicts the appointment of our bishops by the crown, but refuse to go the length of protesting against any interference in the discipline of our church, as if any one can rationally believe, that the appointment being denied, any thing else would satisfy, or be treated as an adequate security? Does he think that any additional oath or oaths would satisfy? If in the simplicity of his heart he thinks so, I am sorry for him ; but I will ask him does he think it wise—does he think it fair or right to admit the necessity of an oath for Catholics, beyond the ordinary oath of allegiance? Are we to have oaths for every profession and occupation?—an oath for the lawyer that he will not betray his client,—an oath for the doctor that he will not poison his patient,—an oath for the merchant that he will not defraud his creditor, if he be a Protestant, not even for the good of the church ! Which of you, gentlemen, that recollects his feelings when taking our present Catholic oath of allegiance, does not think that sufficiently GALLING and INSULTING, or that can, with patience, anticipate any further multiplication of such oaths ? That oath is built upon the ~~FALSEST~~ and

MOST PROFLIGATE imputations, having their birth in periods of fierce religious controversy, civil wars, and blood. What an oath is this, that calls upon me to say that I would not dethrone my king,—that I would not bear false witness against my neighbour,—that I would not murder him from motives of religion?—That calls upon me to renounce those monstrous doctrines, as if I had maintained them up to the moment that I came forward to abjure them, and which, although I reject, every other Catholic, who has not like me taken the oath, still continues to hold as sound doctrine? All this is certainly insinuated, or conveyed by innuendo in this *vile* oath, the demoniac wish of the framer of which certainly was, that the accusation should be against the religion, and against its professors, of which the individual swearing is obliged to come to a doubtful expurgation, before the law will allow him to be lifted up to the higher condition of a slave. You are not called upon to depose that high treason, rebellion, perjury, and murder on the score of conscience, are not amongst the articles of your religion, but that they make no part of your particular belief. An oath containing such abjurations might and would be willingly taken by every one come to the use of reason, but it has not been called for—and why, I may ask? Because it would go from day to day, to remove the rancorous and calumnious slanders that have been forged by unprincipled men, and are still maintained by others equally unprincipled, for purposes which they dare not avow. Were such a test proposed, the Catholic church would be vindicated in the sanctity of her worship, and the purity of her doctrines, by ten thousand witnesses—by her prelacy, her peers, and all her children. When oaths are mentioned, is it not matter of surprise that any Catholic, instead of anticipating new oaths, which, if they do nothing more, go to widen distinctions which are the shame of Ireland, should not rather speak of the repeal of this which is so insulting and so revolting? And indeed, when considered in a political point of view, and that it is known to stand as a stumbling block between the great proportion of Ireland and the expression of their loyalty to the throne, is it not equally surprising that statesmen the most prejudiced, not to say patriots and Catholic advocates, instead of its re-adoption, as in the late bill, have not long since taken measures to have it erased from the statute-book? These are the oaths that were to serve as rampiers of defence for the Protestant church. And is there any one oath amongst them which he would recommend? Is there any one oath amongst them which a conscientious man would not hesitate to take? The oath for Catholic members of Parliament is nearly similar to the ordinary oath of allegiance—it is drawn up in the same cautious and suspicious manner—the clauses and observations are of the same insulting and calumnious

kind. But both go to a solemn pledge to support, not the succession, but the Protestant succession to the crown. The gentlemen of the bar well know, that men of high and proud minds, consulting the honesty of their feelings, have hazarded the possession of their property during their lives, and given up the disposition of it after their death, rather than submit to the degradation and humiliation which it is calculated to inflict.

“ But perhaps gentlemen have some other oath in view—perhaps they look to *Mr. Canning's strange and new-fangled oaths*—the oath of a bishop, a dean, or a simple priest. The Relief Bill is certainly a storehouse of oaths; it seems to contain nothing else; and the gentlemen may easily supply themselves. Let us look amongst those rampiers of defence for the Protestant church, and see is there one oath amongst them which a conscientious clergyman would take?—The oath of a member of Parliament is a mere transcript of the present one. The oath for a priest, after swearing him to be *a guard and a spy upon the loyalty of his bishop*, makes him swear that he will not do any thing that may tend directly or indirectly to disturb or overthrow the Protestant church in these kingdoms. Mind, it does not say by fraud or violence, as in the member's oath, but by doing any thing whatever in conjunction with Rome, or the agents of Rome, that has a tendency to overthrow the Protestant church, &c. Now what is the absurd tendency of these clauses? Does not the conversion of a people to another mode of faith go, not indirectly, but directly and at once to the destruction of the establishment; and is it to be supposed, that a clergyman of any persuasion, who conceives that the truth is with him, could be induced, without an abandonment of all moral principle, to take and subscribe such an oath as this? From the manner in which it is drawn up, the Catholic clergyman is to be bound not to do any thing for the propagation of the Gospel in these kingdoms, by the advice, in conjunction, or under the influence of the Pope of Rome. But it is known that every Catholic acknowledges him as supreme head of the church—that the bishops correspond with him as a father—that they receive his pastoral instructions—that they communicate to him the success of their labours in the mission—that he is the common bond and centre of union to Catholics, wherever dispersed upon the face of the earth. What then of a general nature is or can be done for the propagation of christianity, in any quarter of the globe, that is not done with the knowledge, or by the approbation, or under the direction of the see of Rome? Is not this the known doctrine of Catholicity? And how gross the ignorance that would propose such an oath, unless it was meant to insult? And how absurd and presumptuous to suppose it would be accepted? Are these the securities that are sought for the protection of the Protest-

ant church? If so, SHE CANNOT OBTAIN THEM. She might, according to the penalties of that bill, see, indeed, the Catholic pastors driven from their flocks—she might see them subjected to obloquy, privation, and insult, she might see them transported as felons, and suffering as murderers, but she would never see them so *lost*, and so *abandoned* as to *take the oath which was proposed*—an oath not to seek, *directly or indirectly*, the subversion of the Protestant church! Why this would be to abuse the Divine command, which says, “Go ye and teach all nations!” It would be to proscribe the writings and spiritual labours of a Bossuet, an Arnot, a Lingard, or a Milner, to forego the defence of the Catholic faith, for that vindicated—how can the SEPARATION from it be justified? Do not even the virtues and morality of a priesthood go indirectly to propagate the faith which they profess? Do they not operate more effectually than words? For what is more powerful than example? Was war, then, to be waged with the virtues? Were they too to be abjured? No! if the church of England trembles for its safety, it must seek it elsewhere, *we have no securities to give!* That she stands in great need of securities who can doubt, when he sees division in the camp, and observes the determined war that is carried on against her—*muros pugnatur intra et extra*—that her articles of association are despised by those that pretend to be governed by them—that the Romans, and men of strange faith, are amongst those in command; whilst, from without, she is incessantly assailed by the thousand bands and associations of tribes, who neither give nor take quarter. Why are not means taken to coerce them? Why are they not bound over to keep the peace? Why are they not put upon their securities? Furious tribes, religious warriors, who neither take nor give quarter. Why are they not put upon their securities? Why are not they bound over to keep the peace? To pass over others—Observe the Methodists, a sort of Cossack infantry, religiously irregular, who, possessing themselves of the fields, and fighting from ruined houses and church-yards, are carrying on a desultory but destructive warfare against her. In the mean time, the strong and republican phalanxes of Presbyterianism occupy an imposing position; and the columns of Catholicity are collecting, who challenge the possession of the ark, and, unfurling the *oriflamb*, display its glorious motto, *Ev Terræ Nux*.

“But the established church will stand,—it will survive the storms with which it is assailed, if it be built upon a rock,—but if its foundation be on sand, no human power can support it. In vain shall statesmen put their heads together,—in vain shall Parliaments, in mockery of Omnipotence, declare that it is permanent and inviolate,—in vain shall the lazy churchman cry from the sanctuary to the watchman on the tower

that danger is at hand,—it shall fall, for it is human, and liable to force, to accident, and to decay,—IT SHALL FALL, AND NOTHING BUT THE MEMORY OF THE MISCHIEFS IT HAS CREATED SHALL SURVIVE. *Already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it; it has had its time upon the earth—a date nearly as long as any other NOVELTY; and, when the time arrives, shall Catholics be called, by the sacred bond of an oath, to uphold a system which they believe will be one day REJECTED BY THE WHOLE EARTH? Can they be induced to swear that they would oppose even the present Protestants of England, if, ceasing to be truants, they thought fit to return to their ancient worship, and to have a Catholic King, and a Catholic Parliament?*

“But who is so simple as to think that *Lord Castlereagh* is alarmed for the safety of the church, or that he is *bond fide*, looking for securities?—No, it is *influence*, good *solid influence*, through the degradation of the priesthood, that he seeks, to convert the pastor into the little magisterial tyrant of his flock—to have him a ready instrument to play the part of an informer—to be the whipper-in at an election, or, belted in the accoutrements of a yeoman, the gun, the bayonet, and cartouch-box, to be ready, at every little appearance of popular tumult, to dip his hands in the blood of his parishioners. To such purposes we know the ministers of a Christian worship have been perverted, no doubt, very much to the advantage of the state,—and, it is natural to suppose, that the same demoralizing system would be acted upon, and similar services be expected from ours! The hope of being able to accomplish this, it is, that makes the influence of the Pope latterly appear so dreadful. This, it is, that has produced the necessity for *securities*, at which the late administration, and the present, equally laugh, although they have each, in their turn, excited the cry, and spread the alarm. They call for *securities*, but their object is *influence*—the subserviency and degradation of Ireland—the rendering its great population, through the medium of the priesthood, submissive to all the purposes of the minister of the day; and no oath, nay, not ten thousand oaths, will, without this, give that kind of security they seek. Was there a man in Ireland, when the question of securities was first broached by *Lord Grenville*, that did not see, that was not convinced, it was for other purposes than those pretended. If there be one who does not think so, let him look to the records of parliament; let him read the speech of *Lord Grenville* in the debate of 1805, and he will there find how his Lordship, when the matter was hinted at, vaunted and laughed at the supposition of their necessity. Gentlemen who may hereafter speak upon this subject, will find their advantage in studying this speech. It is a perfect repository of arguments, showing the *folly* of calling for *securities*

from *Catholic subjects*. And surely Lord Grenville was not to be trusted when he afterwards urged their necessity, and spoke of their concession as the *sine quâ non* of his support. The cry of securities, or, in other words, the proposed thralldom of our church, is a legacy left by Mr. Pitt to his unfortunate country. He considered the Union incomplete without it, and he would have carried it at the same time, but that the consent of the Pope required time, and his favoured measure could not be postponed. Recollect that it was in that ill-omened year, when Ireland lost her independence and political existence, that the *Veto* and salaries to our clergy was first proposed; and connect with that recollection, the efforts that have been made, and are now making, to enslave or destroy our Hierarchy. As the intention of effecting the Union transpired in the year 1795, from the published correspondence of the Earl Fitzwilliam, so this intended accompaniment has been disclosed by the *intemperance* of Lord Redesdale, when he declared that Ireland could not have, nor the connection between the two countries be secure, whilst the Hierarchy was suffered to exist. This, then, is a favourite measure, long sought and well considered; and until you shut the door upon it, without the hope of its ever being opened, and until you can shew by your unanimity that it will never be conceded, so long will you be the objects of deluded hopes and baffled expectations. Nothing will be granted that would go to diminish the price of this much-desired possession. It is only when all hope of obtaining it is at an end, that the justice of your claims, your merit, and your sufferings, will be taken into consideration. Those, then, that agree in the first part of this resolution that denies the appointment of bishops to the crown, may agree to the second part, for, as he denies that which alone is sought, he gains nothing by any other concession—it would avail him nothing, not even in the way of conciliation, to surrender every other part of Catholic discipline to the crown.—The word *conciliation* has, however, advocates amongst us; they still talk of the surprising effect which it produced during the last session of parliament—that the resolution considered *conciliatory*, was received with acclamation when read in the House of Commons. But why was it so received? Because, by proposing to surrender the government of your church into the power of the crown, it gave the first opening, since the *invasion*, or the reformation, for the complete subjugation of the country, and the destruction of its religion. But when you saw the mischief you were upon the point of committing, when you recoiled from the destructive concession you made, then was your bill, such as it was, rejected by this same House of Commons with tumult and acclamation; but re-adopt that resolution, renounce your religion, reject your bishops, adopt the

creed of any of the thousand sects that nestle under the name of Protestantism—any of those, whose spurious and dubious generation scarcely retains the shape or colour of Christianity, then will the news be received in St. Stephen's with applause—then will a shout be raised as loud, and as long continued, as that described by Milton,

“ ——— which tore Hell's concave, and beyond

“ Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.”

“ *Conciliate* in this way, and neither the Whigs or the Tories, Lord Grenville or Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Abbot, (and, shall I couple the name of Grattan ?)—will refuse to receive your communications—nay, your instructions,—there will be no supercilious squeamishness then. But as long as you remain the faithful interpreters of the sentiments and feelings of the people, as long as you continue the unbending defenders of their rights and the supporters of their honour, so long will you be disowned, and precluded from any right of interposing in your own affairs.

“ From what took place during the last year, *conciliation* is to me a word of bad omen. It is the flower under which I fear an adder is concealed. To conciliation, without dishonour, without destructive and degrading concession, I am no enemy. If, however, any thing can be done in this way, let it be done by the proper and legitimate authorities. But far from us, and from the Catholic name, be any conciliation that is to be cemented by the abandonment of principle—that would go to the surrender of any of those great points in which are involved the safety of religion, and the honour and independence of the country. Should we ever be so base as to belie the sentiments, by consenting to give the slightest sanction to any thing of this kind, we would deserve, and justly, to encounter the contempt and reprobation of every class of the inhabitants of Ireland.

“ Let us, then, by the unanimous adoption of this resolution, shew the people of Ireland that all we have said or done, since the question of securities was first started, was done and said with singleness of heart—that whilst we were re-echoing the voice of the country, there was no under-plot, no machination on foot, for the effecting of which popularity was necessary. Let us quiet the alarm which has been excited, and which has spread to every quarter of the kingdom. There are this day in the room, members of the Board who have come from the remotest parts of the country. From the city of Cork only you have eight or ten—a city which, by its late struggle, has rendered the most important service to Ireland, and gloriously vindicated its own character from the imputation brought upon it by assuming and incapable men. Let us shew

that the anger we expressed against our fellow-subjects who urged the legislature to the demand of securities—that our anger against the members of our own body, who only *seemed* to favour those securities, was something more than words—that our opposition to the late bill was grounded upon principle, and upon a deep sense of the mischiefs with which it was pregnant.—This resolution does no more than communicate what we have often expressed, and what the country feels. It conveys the sense of the priesthood and the people. Our bishops have given it their sanction. The English bishops though slow in deciding, have stamped it with their approbation. I hold in my hand their pastoral letter—in a style truly apostolic and Christian, it conveys their determination never to be parties or assenting to any interference of parliament in Catholic ecclesiastical discipline. Let us not then stand as a solitary exception to the clergy of England, and to the clergy and people of Ireland. I know that will not be the case—I should be sorry that a single dissenting voice should be found, and, I trust, the good sense of the Board—its regard for Catholic interests—its public spirit, which has so often and so gloriously displayed itself, will be this day signally manifested, and that this resolution, instead of getting a slow, reluctant, and ordinary assent, will pass unanimously, and by acclamation.”

The resolution passed without a division, as we have observed, and we understand that the speech was received with many plaudits. What apology will Mr. Grattan the patron of the Romanists, Mr. Canning the grand conciliator, Lord Castlereagh the conscientious friend of the Papists, or the eloquent pair, Mr. Plunket and Mr. C. Grant, jun. offer for the *Board*, which repeatedly cheered the fiery Doctor?

MR. MAHON, LORD DONOUGHMORE, AND MR. GRATTAN.

The noble Lord and the Rt. Hon. Gentleman, (whose letters in answer to those written to them by Mr. Mahon, in the capacity of Chairman to the Roman Catholic Board, appeared in our last number,) have not closed their correspondence. The Board cannot be repelled by a slight effort;—its members are not easily offended by those whom it hopes to render useful *tools*. Notwithstanding the coyness of Lord Donoughmore, and the Rt. Hon. Commoner; and the unwillingness to admit of *dictation*, expressed both by his Lordship and Mr. Grattan—they have been prevailed upon to buckle-to, and no doubt they will go quietly in harness, and pull cordially together, notwithstanding the lashing of Jehu, and the prancing of the pair of patriots at first setting off. Mr. Mahon's letter of the 4th of December conveys an implied *disclaimer* of any violation of

parliamentary decorum; and, it seems the *dictation* complained of, was only a *suggestion*!—Mr. Hay, (*Mr. Edward Hay*, once a man of some *notoriousness*,—the softer word is *notoriety*.) officiated, in his place, as secretary of the Board, and Mr. Mahon sat as chairman, who seems to have been afraid that some violent member of the Popish parliament might animadvert with ill-timed severity on the senators whom it had become necessary to *conciliate*. We know not whether Dr. Dromgoole was present at the meeting on the 18th of December. Perhaps the dangerous ferocity which he manifested ten days previous, made it necessary that he should wear a muzzle, or that some friends to the cause should be in readiness to choke him off. However this might be managed, we proceed to give our readers the account of the business and the copies of the letters which were sent us.

“ *Roman Catholic Board*, Saturday, Dec. 18.—About three o'clock, Owen O'Connor, Esq. was called to the chair.

“ Mr. Hay read the proceedings of the last meeting, from the books, in the accustomed manner.

“ *Earl Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan.*

“ Mr. Mahon stated, that he had received answers from the Noble Lord and Rt. Hon. Gentleman, to whom he had written in obedience to a resolution of the meeting of Saturday fortnight. He then read the letters, and when he had concluded them, expressed a hope, that any member who should think proper to offer remarks upon those communications, would not forget the deep debt of gratitude which the Catholics owed to Mr. Grattan, and the many services which had been rendered to their cause by the noble Earl of Donoughmore, and his illustrious family.

“ Mr. Hughes moved, that the communication from the Board, to which the letters read by Mr. Mahon were answers, should be read. Agreed to.

“ The following is the whole renewed correspondence :—

“ *Letter from the Roman Catholic Board to the Earl of Donoughmore, in Answer to his Lordship's Communication.*

“ **MR. MAHON'S LETTER.**

“ Dublin, 4th Dec. 1813.

“ My Lord—I am requested by the General Board of the Catholics of Ireland, to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from your Lordship, in which you are pleased to concur with Mr. Grattan, in declining to receive any communication from the Board, upon the form of a bill for our

relief. The Board beg leave respectively to assure your Lordship, that no intention ever existed in the minds of the Board, or of any of them, to dictate to Parliament, or to either House of Parliament; and they deem it a duty which they owe to themselves, as well as to your Lordship, to *disclaim* all responsibility on account of any reports which may be published in the newspapers relative to their proceedings:

“ The object which the Board had in soliciting the communication with your Lordship, was certainly of a respectful nature, and tended, as they conceived, to a highly beneficial effect; it naturally grew out of the present posture of affairs, and they deemed it calculated to produce healing and salutary results:

“ In a discussion, so arduous as that of Catholic petitions, it did seem to the Board that their parliamentary friends, of every class, would have been ready to recognize the utility, and even necessity of deriving assistance and suggestions from the petitioners themselves, who are usually presumed to be the most capable of affording suitable information and instructions.—In suggesting the principles of a bill for Catholic freedom, the Board were also actuated by a natural and laudable desire to meet the wishes of a great portion of their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, and even of their opponents, who have repeatedly complained, and still complain, that they are yet to learn what is the real extent of the relief sought by the Catholics of Ireland. The want of this knowledge has hitherto caused injurious jealousies and groundless alarms—besides, in their recommendations to such communications, the Board conceived that it would have produced the good effects of preventing the recurrence of that perplexity and general disappointment which marked the parliamentary proceedings of the lower house upon this subject, in the last sessions. The Board having thus attempted to discharge the duty which they owe to the Catholic cause, to their Protestant fellow-subjects, and to the legislature, have only to express their regret, that the salutary and substantial objects which they had thus in contemplation, should be for the present frustrated by the rigid operation of the doctrine laid down by your Lordship and Mr. Grattan. Let the Board entertain the hope, that after this frank, candid, and respectful declaration of their views and objects, they shall not have to experience the deep regret which must ensue, if personages, to whom they are so justly and deservedly grateful, as your Lordship and Mr. Grattan, should feel themselves still bound by their notions of parliamentary propriety, to declare that they cannot condescend to receive any instructions from the Catholics of Ireland, for the discharge of that duty which they have undertaken for the restoration of

Catholic freedom. A question too, as they justly observe, of the greatest possible magnitude and importance.

“ I have the honour to be, my Lord,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ NICHOLAS MAHON,

“ *Chairman of the Catholic Board,
held on the 4th of December.*”

“ THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE'S REPLY.

“ Knocklofty, 8th Dec. 1813.

“ Sir,—In the letter, which I had the honour of receiving under your signature, by last night's post, three distinct propositions are advanced on the part of the Catholic Board, under the influence of which they seem to consider themselves still bound, to persevere in those expectations, which were already communicated to my Rt. Hon. colleague and to myself; and to which we thought it our duty to express—with whatever reluctance—our inability to accede.

“ To the first of these propositions I answer, with great respect, that I cannot recognise the utility, much less necessity, of receiving instructions from the petitioners themselves, for the direction of my parliamentary conduct—in this advanced period of the discussion—upon a subject which has so repeatedly engaged the attention of both houses, and in the progress of which I fought the best battles I could, for the last twenty years—again and again—for the complete removal of all existing disabilities.

“ With respect to the second ground of argument which has been relied upon, I answer, that, in the mere circumstance of the preparation of a bill, by one or more distinguished members of the Catholic Board, in exclusion of their parliamentary advocates—to whom has been reserved, according to the accustomed mode of proceeding, in all other similar cases, the province of effectuating, by suitable provisions, the principles and the details of their own measures—I cannot discover that healing quality, that powerful agency, which appeared to have been attributed to it—which are to gratify and to enlighten their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, and to remove, even from the minds of their opponents themselves, all injurious jealousies and groundless alarms.

“ Still less am I enabled to acquiesce in the soundness of that reasoning, which would establish the necessity of an intermediate deliberative body, between the Catholics of Ireland and the two houses of parliament—to avoid, as the Catholic Board is pleased to express itself, in the document to which I am now endeavouring to reply, that perplexity and gene-

ral disappointment, which are therein stated to have marked the proceedings of the lower house, during the late session.

“ An acquiescence in such a doctrine as this would seem to sanction, that—than which nothing can be, in my mind, more unconstitutional—the notion of a representation of the Catholic community separate and distinct from that of the Protestant part of the state—whereas it is in the lower house of parliament, as representing his Majesty’s subjects, of all descriptions and religious persuasions, and to the hereditary counsellors of the Crown, that all deliberative powers are confided, by the constitution of these realms, to whom it accordingly belongs exclusively, to regulate and adjust all those details, which will become necessary, whenever the wisdom and justice of parliament shall incorporate, into one compact mass of loyalty and good citizenship, the subjects of the same sovereign—the inheritors of the same rights, capacities, and privileges.

“ Your *authorized disclaiming* of the authenticity of those reports—which have been, notwithstanding, so widely circulated, as the proceedings of the Catholic Board—necessarily closes that subject from all further observations on my part. May I not, however, be permitted to express my regret that the same great consideration for the feelings of those who were not themselves present to repel aggression, (which then, as at all times, marked the conduct of that distinguished member, the energies of whose talent and mind, entitle him to so great a lead in any popular assembly,) had not repressed some observations in the late debate, or rather the publication of them, as they must necessarily contain gross misconceptions of what is supposed to have fallen from the person into whose mouth they have been put, inasmuch as they are, so far as they affect to allude to me, not less unjustifiable in the insinuations they would seem to convey, than unfounded in fact. I am not a cold composer of libels, or fabricator of injurious suggestions against any man or number of men. My former reply to the Catholic Board was the creation of that day, at the close of which it was dispatched, through my Rt. Hon. Friend. To state it in any other point of view, or to attribute to it any political motive, of any sort or kind, would be a cruel misrepresentation of the conduct and the feelings of as old and as tried a friend of the cause of my Catholic countrymen, as any other now in existence; and such a calumny as this would pass through the lips of any member of that community, with a particularly bad grace. If such is, then, the sort of authority which we are to ascribe from henceforth to the detailed proceedings of the Catholic Board, to what, let me ask, does *the publication* of their proceedings tend, but to lead astray the public mind; to lower and degrade,

as far as in them lies, the motives and the conduct of all those who dare to think for themselves; and to disseminate amongst a warm, a jealous, and an irritable population—error and misrepresentation, in place of sound reasoning, temperance, and truth?

"If, however, it is not true, that any bill was ever prepared, as the specific measure for the removal of religious disabilities, and to be presented as such to your parliamentary advocates; if* the communication to which I have been invited, was not to be considered in the nature of an instruction, according to which I should be expected to regulate my conduct in parliament, there no longer exists any difference of opinion, thus far, between myself and any member of the Catholic Board—their sentiments, or those of any individual or body of men, of whatever religious persuasion, I shall always feel it my duty to receive, with all due attention and respect, upon all questions of a public nature, more especially upon a subject of which I am fully aware of the great magnitude and importance, and which, on that account, demand, in a particular degree, the deliberate, uncontrouled consideration of the high court of parliament, wherein alone, the principles and the details of so grave a measure, can be suitably discussed, and temperately arranged.

"I have the honour to be, with much truth, Sir,

"Your faithful humble servant,

"DONOUGHMORE."

"To Nicholas Mahon, Esq.

"Chairman of the Catholic Board, 4th Dec."

A duplicate of this letter, *mutatis mutandis*, was sent to Mr. Grattan.

"MR. GRATTAN'S REPLY.

"Tinnehinch, Dec. 16, 1813.

"SIR,—I was honoured with your letter written by order of the Catholic Board, and I beg to return you my thanks for the politeness of your communication.

"I beg also to remind the Catholic Board, that the first resolution transmitted to me, was a proposal for a communication from the Board, on the form of a bill to be presented to parliament for their relief—and that I declined that communication, conceiving that the forming a bill was the exclusive province of parliament.

"I have been honoured with a second letter, in which the Board is pleased to mention the benefits by them expected to have arisen from such their communication; and among other benefits they observe, that it

* "Your IF is the only peace-maker; much virtue in IF."—Shakespeare.

would have made known to their enemies, the real extent of the relief sought for by the Catholics. Without doubting, in any degree, the propriety of such an object, may I be permitted to observe, that no bill, or principles of a bill, formed by the Board, could authenticate what is the real extent of the relief sought by the Catholics—I do perfectly agree that the Catholics are entirely competent to set forth their grievances and their relief, but they have done so already by repeated petitions, in which they speak with authenticity to their representatives in the House of Commons. I do acknowledge and applaud the wisdom of the idea which the Board is pleased to express on the subject of healing measures, and I do second most cordially, the wish they express, to remove injurious jealousies and groundless alarms; but I must be permitted to add, that those jealousies and alarms can only be removed by a spirit of accommodation, and by such steps as may unite the Irish and the English Catholics, and may harmonize the Irish Catholics with one another, and I do not hesitate to say, that without a spirit of accommodation and conciliation, the Catholics will never succeed.

“ The Board is pleased to say, that it has attempted to do its duty to the Catholic cause, to their protestant brethren, and to the legislature; permit me to add, that when the Board shall have adopted the spirit of accommodation, *then, and not till then*, can the Board proclaim that it has endeavoured to do its duty.

“ I lament extremely the disappointment which attended the proceedings of the last sessions, but I must observe, that the disappointment did not arise from the want of a bill formed by the Catholic Board.

“ The Board is pleased to say that it has made a candid and respectful avowal of their views; I acknowledge the avowal to be both candid and respectful. They will permit me to make a candid and respectful avowal of mine—they are, the complete emancipation of my Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, without injury to their church, or their religion; the perpetuation of the Protestant succession to the crown, and the preservation of the Protestant church. These are the sentiments in which I support the Catholic petition, and in these I am sure I have the concurrence of the Catholics. Sorry should I be to obstruct, for a moment, any happy result which the Board, or any other body may conceive they can produce, for the promotion of any of these great objects; and I therefore take this opportunity to declare, that I am ready to receive any suggestion on the subject, from the Catholic Board, or any other description of my fellow-citizens; concurring with my noble friend Lord Donoughmore, in ob-

jecting to any communication from the Board, in the form of a bill, or with the authority of instructions.

" I have the honour to be,

" With respect and sincerity,

" Your very faithful servant,

" HENRY GRATTAN."

" To Nicholas Mahon, Esq.

" Chairman of the Catholic Board, 4th Dec."

NORTHERN IRISH PRESBYTERIANS OPPOSE POPEERY.

It is with unfeigned satisfaction that we print the following extract from a letter, dated December 22, 1813, written by an Irish correspondent, who condescends to honour and encourage us by his co-operation, and to whom we cannot let slip this opportunity of expressing a deep sense of obligation.—With what we venture to style *a true Catholic spirit*, from the commencement of our labours, we have never ceased to call upon Protestants, of every class, to unite in defence of the British constitution, against the alarming practices, and ceaseless efforts of its Popish adversaries to compass its ruin. If the *arguments* of THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE should fail of their effect to *persuade*, let the *rude insolence* of Dr. Dromgoole, who raves about *Cossack irregulars*, and *republican phalanxes*, rouse Protestants to activity in the maintenance of that pure religion to which their ancestors courageously adhered, racked by tortures, and consumed at the stake.—*Extract*: " I here beg leave to observe, that very erroneous opinions are too generally entertained of the sentiments of the Presbyterian body in this country, in regard to the Catholics. They are by no means favourable to them. Some of their clergy, and a few of the leading men among them who are disaffected to the government, and wish to bring about a revolution, have espoused their cause ;—but the great mass of Presbyterians, in Down and Antrim, are more zealous in their opposition to them, than even many of the members of the Protestant establishment themselves."

DR. DROMGOOLE'S AVOWAL OF PRINCIPLES.

Necdum finitus—the doughty Doctor disdains all compromise. Disposed as the Board may be to soften down, to explain away, or even to deny that he made the speech recorded in our pages, Dr. Dromgoole spurns at capitulation. He has again broken out, contrary to our expectation, in spite of his keepers. We quote from the Popish gazette,—the

Dublin Evening Post, of the 30th of December, part of what he said on *that day*; and we must add that, violent as the Doctor was, his ardent zeal fired his audience, who interrupted him with *repeated bursts of applause*, during the time he was on his legs; and at length he sat down amidst the *acclamations of the Board*.—As to the *bench of bishops*, the Doctor runs no risk of being carried before them. Our Protestant constitution recognizes no such criminal tribunal. But whether the *privy-council* may not think it right to put an end to the tumultuous proceedings of a set of men who meet together for dangerous purposes, under the *pretence of petitioning Parliament*, is another affair, on which we will give no opinion. We call upon Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, however, to give up the cause of these furious bigots, who fly in the face of the sound advice given them, to adopt a *spirit of accommodation*, to suppress the dissemination of error and misrepresentation amongst a *warm, a jealous, and an irritable people*,—in place of sound reasoning, temperance, and truth. We assert, that by publishing Dr. Dromgoole's speech, and by the subsequent applauses they have bestowed on the fresh avowal, which he has made of his principles, the members of the Board have made those principles, so avowed and asserted, *their own*. If Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan have that regard for the *Protestant succession to the crown, and the preservation of the Protestant church*, which they profess,—in our judgment they cannot promote the views, or present to Parliament the petition of the Roman Catholic Board after what has past. How will Mr. Canning tax his invention to apologise for his clients!

Dr. Dromgoole's adherence to the opinions advanced in his speech.

“ My opinions, as I have given them, I would declare before the *privy council* or the *bench of bishops*. I desire no man to adopt them, and, in their rejection, for myself I shall feel nothing, but I shall feel a great deal for the character of this Board. Recollect, gentlemen, that these are the *opinions of a Catholic*—that they are yours if you be Catholic, and that they are notoriously the opinions of every well-informed Catholic upon the face of the earth. I have ventured, in order to prevent an oath from being enacted, which could not, in its present form, be taken, to state one of the religious objections which we have to the Protestant church; and because a few hired papers have made a noise in the city, and a few ragged Orangemen in Derry or Belfast have come together in consequence; if such be the case, are you to make a solemn disavowal of your principles? And if you do, will you be believed? Is there a Protestant, of any description, in any of these kingdoms, that does not know that you have objections to the religion of the state? And if you say the contrary, how can they believe you? Are you prepared, like

slaves before their offended masters, to get upon your knees, and say, that indeed you meant no offence—that the Protestant church is NOT IN DANGER—that you have no objection to the tenets it holds—that you, for your part, do not think that it is NEWEL, or that it will have AN END? If you do this, you will be disgraced and laughed at, *your fellow Catholics will be ashamed of you*, and Protestants will hold you in contempt.”

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE REFORMED RELIGION, RECOMMENDED BY THE EDITOR OF THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE.

(Continued from page 169.)

A Commentary on the Proceedings of the Catholics of Ireland, during the Reign of his present Majesty George the Third. (No. 26, see p. 160.)

We feel happy in being able so soon to gratify our readers with a renewal of the exhibition which adorned the pages of the PROTESTANT ADVOCATE for January. The *Magnates*, says the very ingenious author of “*the Commentary*,” in the order of a procession, close the scene. After the *laity* come the Roman Catholic clergy.

Having maturely considered the case, we feel ourselves compelled to give an *entire passage* to our readers. Mr. Townsend’s work will hardly admit of abridgment. To attempt selections, were to break the chain of his argument to pieces. None of the *Abbé Gaultier’s* “easy and certain rules” of abridging, apply to the tract before us. We conversed with the learned Abbé some years ago, and we are convinced that he would as soon think of abridging the Elements of Euclid, as the Commentary of Townsend. This insuperable difficulty must apologise for the length of the following quotation;—if, after all, an apology be necessary for the introduction of a passage into our work, which cannot but carry conviction with it to the common sense of all people who know what sound reasoning is, or are able to feel its force.

“In the present state of the Catholic clergy of Ireland, (as given by the advocates of the Catholics) there is so much beauty in the description, there is such a heart-interesting enumeration of virtues and talents, that he must be a cold blooded Irishman who could not find a pleasure merely in copying it. This must plead in favour of a full quotation. “The Catholic clergy of Ireland,” (say the authors of the Statement of the Penal Laws) “have long possessed in an eminent degree, the confidence, the affections, and the reverence of the people. Collectively they are the

representatives of the most ancient Christian clergy of Ireland. Their hierarchy has been preserved entire and unbroken, through every peril and persecution. They have uniformly shared with the unfortunate in their miseries, with the poor in their afflictions, with the suffering in their sadness, and have never once forsaken the fate and destinies of their country. The memory of their former sorrows, of their unshaken constancy and righteousness, under every trial of a community of griefs, of partnership in tribulation, would alone suffice to preserve and eternize the sympathy and attachment of a grateful people, towards their beloved clergy. But besides these established advantages of high character collectively, their eminent merits as individuals, entitle them to the most respectful treatment. Splendid talents, various and extensive learning, rigid integrity, pure benevolence, innocence of morals, and unaffected piety; all that can dignify or decorate a chosen order of men, are to be found among the Irish Catholic clergy, in a degree of perfection, never surpassed in any age or nation.

"They consist of 4 archbishops, 25 bishops, about 1,100 parish priests, 800 curates, and between 200 and 300 regular clergy of various orders; amounting to a total number, exceeding 2000 clergymen,* all incessantly employed in ministering to the spiritual wants of four millions of people."

"Such is the picture, *no doubt as true* as it is honourable, which the great Catholic advocates of this day, have bequeathed to posterity, of the Catholic church in Ireland.

"In the sacred history of the rise and progress of the religion of Christ, which we all contemplate with a wonder, it is to be feared, at least equal to our reverence, there is but one short period, that can in any degree be compared to the sublime station, which, *by the account of their advocates*, the Catholic clergy of Ireland *now* occupy, have *long* occupied, and which it is to be hoped, for the sake of the dignity of human nature in this world, and for the eternal salvation in the next, of which they assume the possession and the distribution they MAY LONG CONTINUE TO OCCUPY.

* This statement of the Irish Roman Catholics themselves may serve to correct that of a Romish barrister, Mr. M'Kenna, quoted by Mr. Gregor, (the new edition of whose pamphlet is noticed in the next article.) Mr. Gregor's sagacity induced him to doubt whether Mr. M'K. had not under-rated the Roman clergy at something above 1000. They are here said to exceed double that number. Mr. M'K. says the hierarchy "consists of 26 prelates, and the Warden of Galway, a dignitary enjoying episcopal jurisdiction;"—but "the Statement of the Penal Laws," asserts that there are 29 prelates.

Edm.

"That short period is *the time of the existence of the primitive apostles, and their immediate successors.* If however we exclude the gift of miracles,* with which the divine favour was pleased to endue its first servants, we must consider the description which the Catholic advocates have given of the Catholic clergy of Ireland, as superior, in some respects, to that, which an history, we may presume at least *equally authentic*, has left us of the apostolic age, and of the apostolic character.

"The reverend and learned authors of "the Statement of the Penal Laws," have given to us, a picture without blot, of the Catholic church of Ireland.

"But the time of the primitive church was not without blot.

"Saint John informs us, "*Loculos habebat Judas, quod dixisset ei Jesus: Ene ea quæ opus sunt nobis ad diem festum; aut egenis, ut aliquid dare.*"†. Upon this text, Father Paul (himself a Catholic priest who for learning and piety might have been an associate even of the Irish hierarchy) has left us the following comment.

"St. Augustine observes, that though Jesus Christ, who had angels for his servants had no occasion for money, he nevertheless thought fit to make use of it, that he might leave to his church the greatest authority upon earth (his own example) of her duty, and how she ought to enjoy, and how to employ what she possesseth.

"And if this holy institution be not observed in our days, we ought to consider, that the holy scripture, both for our instruction and consolation, tells us, that Judas was a *thief*, that he robbed the apostolic college, and converted the money to his own use.

"If, therefore, either history of past times, or observation of the present informs us, that a great part of the ecclesiastical goods is employed in uses *very different from pious*, and that some of the ministers of the church, so far from contenting themselves with ordinary sacrilege, and appropriating to themselves what belongs in common to the church and the poor, are become such invaders of sacred things, that they set to sale even spiritual graces for money: it is not to be ascribed to any particular fate of this, or the foregoing ages, but to the methods of the divine wisdom in exercising the righteous; seeing the church from its infancy, and in all ages, hath been subject to the same imperfections."

"Balancing, therefore, this moral blot, against the miraculous endow-

* Will Dr. Miller concede this?—*Edit.*

† The purity of the Catholic church of Ireland, not permitting the use of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, it has been but a due respect to so holy a body, not to offend their eyes by a profane translation.

ment of the primitive church, we may consider the *spotless* Catholic church of Ireland, although *without* the gift of miracle,* as equal, in pious elevation, to the primitive church.

“ The stages by which the primitive church sunk from her state of holy perfection, cannot and need not be here enumerated. But, in the general history of the church, it will be found, that its reverend ministers fell from their spiritual purity, in an exact proportion as their sacred order became *endowed* with the possessions of this world: and that the source of these temporal possessions, and of course of the spiritual degradation, which uniformly clung to them, is to be found solely in the use or the abuse of *charitable donations*, either of individuals or of states.

“ The primitive church began, like many an industrious trader, without any worldly capital whatsoever.

“ The Catholic church of Ireland had all its acquisitions torn from it, by the rude hand of reformation.

“ It then became, what *it is said* to be now, what it certainly had not been before, and what the primitive church was.

“ Both churches beggars, both churches have appeared holy, abstinent, and diligent.

“ Both churches, rich and powerful, were like unto other churches that have been rich and powerful.

“ Hence the uniform face of history, the “invariable laws of nature,” the necessary connexion of cause and effect, shew us, that a church, from which *all endowment* is abstracted, is a holy church, an abstinent church, and a diligent church.

“ If it be necessary here to illustrate this argument by any instance, it may be found in the state of the church of Scotland.

“ Even the national and honorable bias of a Scotsman, will hardly pretend that his church can claim a right to the *entire* description, which the Catholic advocates have given, of the blessed perfections of the Catholic church of Ireland.

“ But although he will not presume that his church has elevated itself to such a pinnacle of celestial purity, as that upon which the Catholic advocates have displayed their Catholic church, still he will contend, and perhaps with truth contend, that the church of Scotland occupies the se-

* This is said with some degree of trembling and hesitation. The reverse may be the fact. There are many facts advanced in “The Statement of the Penal Laws,” which it is not possible to conceive could be stuck together, without the ecclesiastical cement of miraculous power. To whom could such a power at this day be confided, but to the unstained, pious, and holy hands of the Catholic clergy of Ireland?

cond place in the scale of holiness and zeal, now subsisting in the christian world.

“ What then is the cause, that the church of Scotland has been able to arrive at the second place only ?

“ The church of Scotland has some *little* endowment.

“ The Catholic church of Ireland has been deprived of *all*.

“ In an exact proportion as the church of Scotland is *endowed*, so she is short of the state of holy perfection at which it is *said* the Catholic church of Ireland has arrived.

“ The primitive church lived upon the *oblations of the faithful*.

“ The Catholic church of Ireland does *the same*.

“ What churches have ever equalled their purity, their zeal, their learning, their holiness ?”

“ We need not now be told (it has already been touched on) that civilized man is, every where, in his vices and his virtues, his blessings and his miseries, the creature of the practical effects arising from the institutions under which he lives : and that the clergy, from the Druid to the Jesuit, still more than any other class of mankind, has always and peculiarly borne the characteristics of, its distinct establishment.

“ Under this general disposition of human nature, the account which the reverend and learned authors of “ *The Statement of the Penal Laws*” have given, of the *emphatical* people, in their divisions into clergy and laity, has now been reviewed.

“ In this account, we see a laity exceeding the Dutch in industry, the English in perseverance, the Scotch in steadiness, the Swiss in innocence, and the “ *characteristic virtues* :” excelling all in enthusiastic valour and enterprize ; and in fecundity, out-spawning even the myriads of American population.

“ A clergy, whose spiritual exaltation must put even the holy army of martyrs to the blush.—“ *Splendid talents, various and extensive learning, rigid integrity, pure benevolence, innocence of morals, unaffected piety ; all that dignify or decorate a chosen order of men, are to be found among the Irish Catholic clergy in a degree of perfection never surpassed in any age or nation*”—the peace-makers throughout every district, healing dis-

* “ It may be said, that as this seems a conclusive argument against all endowments whatsoever, so all subsisting endowments should be abolished. But the practical statesman will see an infinite difference between permitting ancient establishments to remain, which have, by their antiquity, connected themselves with the habits, manners, governments, and divisions of property among a people, and erecting new ones. Were the ecclesiastical establishments in Europe, to be erected at this day, it is highly improbable that any one of them would be built by the models which they now exhibit.

sessions, reconciling differences, inculcating pure morality, confirming the good, reclaiming the sinful, soothing the sorrowful, earnestly diffusing all the blessings of fervent charity, and enforcing all the precepts of social affection. Their labours are incessant, their very existence a state of continual self-denial. No sentiment but that of religion, no support but the inward impulse, could sustain their *marvellous* and almost *super-human* exertions, in fulfilling their sacred duties. Generous, bold, and indefatigable, not to be deterred by distance, inclemency of weather, dread of contagion, or any other temporal obstacle, the Catholic priest flies to the bed of sickness at a moment's call, imparts the balm of hope to the dying penitent, alleviates his anguish with the *sweetest** and most benevolent assiduity, and piously assists in the precious office of rendering his last moments acceptable in the eyes of his Creator."†

"Are these descriptions *TRUE*?

"What rash, almost lunatic theorist, will under pretence of reform, raise his hand to alter that system, *whatever it be*, under which those limits, that Divine Providence has hitherto fixed against the aspiring of human nature towards a more perfect state, seem to have been extended?

"Are these descriptions *FALSE*?

"What practical statesman will give any confidence to a sect, which has submitted itself to the guidance of men daring and profligate enough, to put forth such atrocious impositions on the credulity of Europe?

"It is necessary to apologise for the introduction of the word *false*. It is used only as an illustration in argument; as a suggestion of a possibility, not of a probability, in so learned and so reverend a publication as the "*Statement of the Penal Laws*." It cannot be presumed that any Catholic advocate would dare to advance a falsehood in the face and in the cause of so holy and so enlightened a body as the Catholic clergy of Ireland.

"The facts, therefore, are argumentatively admitted as they have been stated.

"* The *sweetness* of the assiduity with which they attend on the last moments of the dying, may be estimated from the, no doubt, pious, but at the same time, to profane eyes, whimsical legacies, which many dying sinners have lately bequeathed to these holy persons, for masses and suffrages of the souls of the testators, and of the large sums bequeathed for such charitable uses as these holy legatees should think fit. Of how such sums have been applied, the history of the holy church has given to the laity very profane information. See a *Refutation of the Statement of the Penal Laws*, printed by Watson, Capel-street, Dublin, 1812.—Many of the surviving relations of these pious testators, have had the sacrilege to dispute by law some of these *celestial* donations.

† "*Statement of the Penal Laws*—

"From the description given by the Catholic advocates, it follows that there is no source of wealth, activity, or virtue in individuals which is not now in full play and profit among the Irish Catholics. All is "energy, industry, and characteristic virtue." They possess, "almost exclusively, the land and agriculture." In "the greater part, the trade and manufacture;"—and they are "increasing beyond example." It has been seen that, as a necessary consequence, the whole of the representation of the landed interest of Ireland is, by Catholic votes, returned to Parliament; and in a greater proportion than the landed interest of England.

"It has been seen that the Catholic clergy, in addition to the exaltation of their holiness, possess "splendid talents, various and extensive learning."

"The *present state* of the country, and its government, *must* therefore have *afforded* them the means of cultivating the one, and of acquiring the other.

"They could not have gone elsewhere.*

"In these descriptions of the fortunate and powerful position of the Irish Catholic, the ardent reformist, the enthusiastic follower of an ideal liberty, will view with eagerness such an active, and numerous, and prolific body, in the heart of the British empire, unbought, unplaced, unpensioned, uncorrupted, uninfluenced by the touch of any of those instruments in the practice of the British constitution, the use of which he so loudly reprobates and so sincerely detests.

"Will he consent to open new roads to facilitate the march, and to extend the operation, of what he proclaims to be the instruments of public contamination?

"But the Catholics are discontented?

"As we cannot find the causes of discontent in their actual state, or in the want of sufficient field for any of those exertions which civilized society legitimates and encourages, we must endeavour to solve the pro-

* "The Royal College of Maynooth, *endowed by the benevolence, if not by the wisdom of a Protestant parliament*, (which endowment is gratefully stated by the reverend and learned authors of the Statement of the Penal Laws to be an *insult* upon their religion) has now subsisted since 1795, a period of 17 years. Upon the ordinary calculation of the life of man, and applied to the general age of a body of clergy, it may be considered that almost all of the Catholic clergy of Ireland, *existing to-day*, owe their education to the college of Maynooth. If we are to judge of moral instruments as we do of machines in mechanics, by the effects of their forces, what an institution must the college of Maynooth be, which has already sent forth such an hierarchy (I should almost say of angels), to enlighten, adorn, purify, and preserve mankind! Yet it has been called an *insult*.

blem that "the Statement of the Penal Laws" has given to us:—*vis.* why the most increasing, the most active, and the most virtuous people that ever existed, should be the most clamorous, the most restless, and the most discontented people on the face of the earth.—We must endeavour to solve this unexampled problem, by the circumstantial evidence which history affords of the "*emphatical people*."

"This will lead to a review:

"1st. Of the progress of the Catholic discontents.

"2d. Of the progress of the Catholic claims and views.

"Throughout Europe, and for centuries before the English revolution of 1688, religious were *united* with political systems. Political predominancy was always religious predominancy. Religious predominancy was always religious persecution. Such was the social effect of *political* christianity: not of religion, but of priesthood. At the revolution of 1688, William and the Protestants overcame James and the Catholics. Political predominancy produced, as usual, religious predominancy, and the latter, as it would then have done any where in Europe, produced religious persecution. It was the general habit of the times, more than the particular inveteracy of the parties.

"The Catholics, as a party, and as an enemy within the state, were disarmed, and deprived of property, because property is power.

"From the revolution to the commencement of the present reign, the Catholics were quiescent.

"By this time, the gradual progress of literature and the particular tendencies of some eminent literary characters, had widely propagated opinions, that systems of religion, and systems of politics, were artificially, and not necessarily connected. Voltaire and the wits had derided Rousseau; D'Alembert and the Encyclopedists had argued religious persecution out of fashion. A few drops from the skirts of these literary showers *

* "These literary showers, besides the subject of religious restraints, were mixed with many other ingredients then floating in the continental atmosphere. Rousseau, Helvetius, and others, had taken up the principles of Locke, and having adorned them with a fascinating and popular eloquence, pushed them to consequences which it is probable their great author did not himself foresee. These, and other French writers, not *daring* to attack the *particular measures* of their own domestic government, had exerted their powers in *general*, and apparently abstract speculations on the foundations of *all* government; by which means they gradually destroyed all respect, and, ruined every power but that of mere force, in every government and establishment. Thus the restraints on the press, in the continental governments of Europe, which were there intended for their preservation, became, by forcing the enemy to make a *détour*, the very instrument of a more general and radical destruction. The young priests who were sent from Ireland into France, there acquired and brought home some *other* knowledge, in addition

fell in Ireland, and produced a congenial vegetation, which first shewed its buds in the productions of Doctor Lucas, and in those of a political paper, called the *Freeman's Journal*. These having flowered in the capital, which had been barren from the time of Swift, the *furina* was scattered over the kingdom.

" But in Ireland the people never meditate.

" In them the commencement of thinking and the commencement of action are of the same moment: or the time is so short between the kindling of the flash and the stroke of the shot, that it escapes calculation. The proverb of a "word and a blow" is the national character. The causes which, through the rest of Europe, took so much more time to operate, had ravaged Ireland, before other nations had felt their devastating power.

" Riots had been immediately excited through the land.

" It has been denied by some, that the riots in Ireland were connected with political causes. But Mr. John Keogh, a gentleman of the profoundest knowledge in operating causes of Irish discontent, an active partizan, and eminent as a Catholic leader, has stated, in his speech of the 24th of January 1807, that "our history, for the last forty years, exhibits a series of cruelty and oppression on one side, and illegal attempts to obtain redress on the other:—hence White Boys, Hearts of Steel, Defenders, Orangemen, and lately the Threshers."* This speech establishes, upon the infallible authority of Catholic confession, the connexion between Catholic discontents and Irish riots.

" At the commencement of the present reign, the Catholic who had money certainly could not vest that money in land for more than a short term of years, nor could he vote at elections. For these reasons, the Catholic who had no money to vest in land, or in any thing else, set fire, as a White Boy, to his neighbour's hay-rick, or surrounding his body with furze, buried him up to the neck in the earth.

" In a later period, the law having given to the Catholic a right to acquire property generally, and having given him the elective franchise,

addition to the theology of the Sorbonne. The Irish medical students, many of whom went to Paris, and others to various continental colleges for cheap degrees, returned, at least as heavily impregnated by political, as by clinical lectures. The young doctors on their return inoculated the lawyers, and the priests piously and gradually spread the infection among their flocks.

* " Mr. John Keogh, though a gentleman of great natural acuteness, has not been accustomed to much philosophical meditation. In this instance he has, like many other philosophers, perceived connection between two facts, but has mistaken the effect for the cause.

but still disqualifying him for the stations of chancellor, or general, or member of Parliament, the Catholic Thresher scored his neighbour's back with a wool-card, or blistered an old woman on a gridiron. But law or no law, the Catholic Thresher had no chance, no desire to become a chancellor, a general, or a member of Parliament. It was pure *sympathy*, because Mr. O'Connell could not be chancellor, nor Major Bryan be a general. An instance of animal sympathy which Dr. Darwin has omitted to enumerate in his *Zoonomia*.

"A writer (I believe about the year 1799), stating the commencement of the Irish *riots*, has the following passage:—'As to punish, instead of to conciliate outrage, is the first and natural thought of brave and prudent men, the 3 Geo. III. ch. 19. was immediately enacted; but, being (like many other laws) defectively executed, the riot and the clamour still continued. At length, Parliament was prevailed on to adopt a system, which has since acquired the names of *concession* and *conciliation*. As a commencement of this system, the 13 and 14 Geo. III. ch. 35. was enacted, to enable a particular class of the King's subjects to testify their allegiance to him.'

" 'What followed?'

" 'The moment they had sworn allegiance to their king, they renounced their allegiance to their God; and in the same year that gave them the enabling statute above mentioned, their atrocities produced the necessity of passing the first of the *chalking* acts.'

" 'Oaths have been fatal to the morals of this country; for every man that took the oath of allegiance by day,—a wretch took his stand at night, armed with a knife, to maim the King's soldiers; and even the unoffending cattle belonging to any subject noted for his loyalty.'

" 'What followed?'

" 'Despising the lesson of experience, uneasy and terrified by unremitting cruelty and outrage, Parliament was tempted to another act of *concession*, in order to produce *conciliation*. The 17 and 18 Geo. III. ch. 49. was accordingly passed, to enable Catholics to take leases for 999 years, or five lives.'

" 'What followed?'

" 'Renewed clamour. The necessity (produced by extended and varied cruelty and outrage) of amending and extending the riot and *chalking* acts—(17 and 18 Geo. III. and 19 and 20 Geo. III.) Then also sprung, from the blood spilled by the *chalking* knife, the modern race of *Patriots*, with their list of grievances and oppressions; and their doctrine of unalienable rights.'

" 'What followed?'

"To disarm the hand of the assassin, and to still the tongue of the *Patriot*, Parliament gave the act of 1782. Upon an express stipulation of *plenary* satisfaction, the Catholics received a full and perfect equality of right to *property*."

"What followed?"

"The attack directly to establish a *right to power*. The subsequent union of the priest-ridden Catholic, with the republican Presbyterian. The open avowal of a maxim long acted under, though never before acknowledged; the assertion, that it is right and *moral* to take advantage of public and imperial war and calamity, in order to enforce civil and local innovation. A short, but pointed history of our progress, and our arrival at the present state (1798), may be read in the preambles to the 3 Geo. III. ch. 19, and to the act commonly called the insurrection act. By the preambles to those acts, it appears, that our *first* step was irregular riot, and our *last*, systematic rebellion. The space between these extremities is filled by statutes of *conciliation*—*conceded* first to the pitchfork and the *chalking* knife, and latterly to the firelock and the pike."

"This passage is not quoted for the language, which is harsh, but for the facts, which are important. The dates, and subjects of the statutes shew, that the steps of *conciliation* and of *outrage*, were *commensurate*.—Such was the *progress* of Catholic *DISCONTENT*. The extinction of rebellion checked, for a time, these ripening fruits of *conciliation*. Discontents, since that period have risen again; in the shape of Threshers, in arms: in the shape of conventions, not in arms. They only boast of the strength of "*their military positions*;" *their* tenable passes; "*their* supplies of forage; *their* means of attack and defence."

"We may now turn from the progress of the *discontents* of the "*emphatical people*," and from the actions, by which, like the affair on the road to Pennsford in *Gil Blas*,† the language of the *humble petitioner* was accompanied, to the progress of the Catholic *views*, and to the development of the Catholic *claims*. They are, necessarily, grouped together. In the progress of the first, the gradual expansion of the still extending boundary of the last, will come within a distinct field of view.

We have only to add that this excellent little work is comprized in seventy closely printed pages; and that it is conceived and conducted throughout with a spirit fully equal to that of which we have now given two ample specimens.

* Statement of the Penal Laws.

† See our last number, p. 161.

Catholics. Remarks on the Proceedings of the Lords and Commons of the late Parliament, &c. by F. Gregor, Esq. (No. 12, See Vol. I. p. 421.)

The third edition of Mr. Gregor's valuable pamphlet has reached us. We took the liberty of recommending it in its original form to our readers. It had our perfect approbation. It has, however, received several, and those very important, additions. For instance, (p. 6), having mentioned that by an eventual interference of the legislature our ecclesiastical establishments may be deprived of their constitutional defence, Mr. Gregor goes on to say—

“ I cannot leave this question even here : I wish that all men should see and feel, as strongly as I do, the danger of recording by a national act, that, “ neither religious opinions, nor forms of church government and discipline, afford a just ground for political distinction.”

“ What may be—nay I may ask, *what must be*, the immediate conclusion of the Public? Certainly, that the Legislature are of opinion that all religious establishments are useless; that the connexion between the church and state, which has existed from the foundation of our constitution, is no longer of any political importance, and does not afford mutual protection to both.—I feel confident that under such circumstances, a sense of religion itself must decline and fall into decay.—Is this a matter of no political importance, (*passing by obvious and superior considerations*)? Certainly it is.—Those who do not feel the moral government of their God, will almost invariably become disloyal, discontented, and seditious subjects, under the government of man.”

In a note, p. 32, we have the following observations on a letter which appeared in a newspaper, finding fault with the sentiments of Mr. Gregor on the subject of the oath taken by Roman Catholic Bishops; and as many vulgar errors are exposed in the castigation provoked by Mr. G.'s liberal opponent, we shall first quote the letter, and then subjoin the animadversions upon it.—“ *West Briton, Feb. 19th, 1813.*

“ I think it a *duty I owe to the public*, to point out the omission of two important facts which ought to have been noticed in this latter pamphlet (Mr. Gregor's on the Catholic question)—Mr. Gregor seems much alarmed at the oath taken by the Catholic bishops, and the words, “ *persequar et impugnabo* ” appear to have filled him with great terror.—He justly states, that the Irish bishops applied to the Pope for some explanation of the oath, particularly of the above mentioned words; when the college of cardinals answered in the Pope's name, “ that these words do not enjoin persecution and assault, but only refer to their solicitude and efforts in convincing heretics of their errors.”—Upon which Mr. Gregor

observes, "I scarcely need say, that this learned explanation, or rather evasion of the truth, is contradicted by all history." * I have the "charity" to believe, that Mr. Gregor thought so, and the omission of the facts which I am about to mention, arose solely from his ignorance of the subject on which he was writing.—These facts are, that the explanation of the words above mentioned (*persequar et impugnabo*) given by the cardinals, has been the received interpretation of them in Catholic countries in general for more than a century;—and, secondly, That in order to take away all cause of offence, this clause, in the oath of the Irish bishops, was omitted by authority of the same sovereign Pontiff, 1792, and has never since been taken by any prelate of that communion in Ireland."

"ROBERT WALKER."

"*St. Winnow, February 16th, 1813.*"

Mr. Gregor's answer.—

"Since the first appearance of this pamphlet, I have seen a letter, in a public newspaper, signed by a beneficed clergyman of the church of England, containing some remarks on the above passages. If I correctly understand this gentleman, he appears to have been in some doubt, whether he should impute to me that species of moral crime, which is called "a suppression of the truth," or an "ignorance" of the subject on which I was writing. At last, he informs us, that he has, from motives of what I must call a "sarcastic charity," decided in favour of my ignorance.

"Raising by, however, these idle personalites, which serve no other purpose than to give a sort of portrait of the character and temper of the writer drawn by himself, I shall examine the following assertions made by him; first, "That the explanation of the words (*Hæreticos persequar et impugnabo*) given by the cardinals, has been the received interpretation of them in Catholic countries in general for more than a century."

"I will here at once acknowledge, that I have omitted to state this fact, from my not having been acquainted with it: or, if the Rev. gentleman chooses, he may impute this omission to my "ignorance."—But I must be permitted to add, that; at this moment, I only derive my knowledge, such as it is, from the *unproved assertion* of the reverend writer; which is entirely at variance with the language of bishop Burnet, who wrote *more than a century ago*, and who gives us, in his History of the Reformation, (vol. I. p. 123) the following translation of the Roman Catholic bishop's oath, in the words in which it had been submitted to Parliament in the year 1582.—" *Heretics, Schismatics, &c. I will resist and perse-*

* "Certainly it is, by the facts recorded in history, from the Gunpowder Plot downwards,

ent to my power." But he must allow me to suggest to him some circumstances which induce me to doubt the accuracy of this assertion.

"The bishop's original oath must have been formed with due attention, and under proper authority. It is published in what is called the "Pontifical, by Clement the Eighth, in 1598. I think I am correct in stating, that any explanation of the import of such a document must have been given either by the Pope and court of Rome, or by some general council. Let the Rev. gentleman produce this bull or explanatory brief of the Pope, or the decree, in which it is contained, dated more than a century ago; and *then*, and not till then, he will have credit for his *fact*—mere assertions of this or that Popish doctor or advocate prove nothing.—Again, he says, the explanation of the cardinals has been received in catholic countries in general. How then has it happened, that the Romish hierarchy in Ireland (the most completely Popish in Europe) should have been so diffident as to the truth of the fact, as to be obliged to send a special message to Rome in 1791, to require an explanation; which, if the gentleman is correct, was generally received more than a century ago!!! I am unwilling to represent the reverend writer as a Popish or Catholic advocate; and yet, what I have witnessed, in common with others, makes his character, as to this point, rather equivocal. But putting the case hypothetically, I will say, *if* he be this advocate, he is a very bad one; for he has placed his clients in a ten-fold worse plight than they were before he interfered for their assistance.

"If it be true, that the Pope and court of Rome have given this explanation of the words more than a century ago, surely, they ought not to have persecuted heretics by measures of force and violence during the whole period: and yet they *have done so*; and, therefore, this assertion of "a friend" loads them with the baseness of hypocritical duplicity, in addition to the crime of persecution. I shall not stop to prove, in detail, that Catholics *have persecuted* Protestants. It is notoriously true.—I shall mention only one fact; and that is, that the inquisition has existed, during the whole period quoted, in Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Nay, we have a record of the Romish doctrines, on this head, down to the 5th of March, 1813. It is well known, that the Cortes of Spain have decided on the abolition of that tribunal; in consequence of which the Pope's Nuncio in that country addressed a letter to the Dean and Chapter of Malaga, of the above date, (5th March 1813) in these words:—"A tribunal is about to be suppressed or abolished *which was established by the holy father*, in the exercise of his primacy and supreme authority, for objects purely spiritual!! as the preservation of the Catholic faith, and the extirpation of heresies, &c." (See House of Commons' Papers 1813). This remon-

strance proved ineffectual. The nuncio was banished, and his goods were confiscated, on account of his interference in the affairs of the kingdom, somewhat about the time when the British Parliament had on their table (as will appear in the supplement) a bill legalizing the qualified circulation of the Pope's bulls or briefs in Great Britain and in Ireland.

"I will only add, that the special commission of the inquisitors is derived from the Pope, and, in terms, enjoins the persecution of heretics. (Rev. Mr. Le Mesurier, reply to Doctor Milner).—If I were inclined to follow the Rev. gentleman, even as a critic, I think I could prove that he must have misunderstood me entirely. I was *not* discussing the doctrines of the church of Rome; I only ridiculed and censured their grammatical interpretation of their *own words*: and this censure or ridicule is equally just, whether this explanation bears date in 1791, or a century before.

"The next assertion in this letter contains two separate facts.—It is said by this gentleman, "that, in order to take away all cause of offence, this clause in the oath of the Irish bishops was omitted by the authority of the sovereign Pontiff in 1792." It is also added, "and has never since been taken by any prelate of that communion in Ireland." The writer of the above sentence has made use of the plea of his "sense of public duty" for pointing out what he has pleased to call my omission of these facts.—I should think, therefore, that the same sense of "public duty" should have induced him to pursue all possible means of being accurate in his own person.—I must, however, venture to affirm, from a perusal of the above sentence, either that he has never read, or that he has very imperfectly examined, the real document in the case; "the letter addressed to the titular Archbishops of Ireland by the Romish cardinals," and their "report of their audience with the Pope, dated 23d June, 1791," (not, as he says, 1792).

"I shall first give the actual words of the original letter of the cardinals, and then Doctor Troy's translation of them, which, I think, exhibits him somewhat in the character of a very zealous translator; very much inferior, however, in this species of zeal, to the Rev. gentleman (Pastoral Letter, page 48).—"Sanctitas sua BENIGNE ANNUIT, ut loco præcedentis juramenti formulæ, ALTERA SUBROGETUR quæ ab Archiepiscopo Mibiloviensi, tota plaudente Petropolitana aulâ, ipsâque imperatrice adstante *palam* perlecta est; *quamque bis literis alligatam ad vos transmittimus*." The translation given by Doctor Troy is, "That his holiness has graciously CONDESCENDED TO SUBSTITUTE in place of the ancient form of oath, that one which was publicly repeated by the Archbishop of Mohilow, to the great satisfaction of all the court of Petersburg, in presence of the empress; and which we transmit to you with this letter."—In the

original, correctly translated, the only act done by the Pope is to *consent that a new oath MAY BE substituted in place of the old one.* In Doctor Troy's translation, he represents the Pope as *actually making, and thereby directing the substitution.*—The Rev. gentleman goes *many steps* further. The letter of audience, above referred to, says, in Doctor Troy's translation, which is here tolerably correct (page 58), that his holiness "was graciously pleased to grant, that the bishops of Ireland, at their consecration and the archbishops, on receiving the pall, MAY (*i. e.* at their option) use the same form of oath which was taken by the Archbishop of Mohilow, &c. &c. in which the words *hæreticos, &c. persequar et impugnabo* are entirely omitted."—The grant of the Pope amounts, therefore, to this; *viz.* that he gives *permission* (which he may revoke at pleasure) that these words MAY BE omitted, leaving, thereby, every bishop to avail himself or not of that permission, precisely as he pleases.—There is no *order or direction* on the part of the Pope.

"It is peculiarly worthy of remark, that Doctor Troy's pastoral letter, dated *nearly two years afterwards*, (though it contains the whole letter of the Cardinals, and though the professed object of the Irish bishops and cardinals was "to take away all cause of offence,") does not also contain the whole of the amended oath, either in the text or in the appendix, but only a few words of it, which are quoted by the *cardinals*, though they expressly say that they have transmitted the oath itself with their letter in 1791.—Nay, I will add, that Doctor Troy does not say what is the "option" which the Irish church *have made*; *i. e.* *whether they have accepted the new oath and rejected the old, or WHETHER A SINGLE IRISH BISHOP HAS TAKEN IT.*

"I shall now examine the remaining member of the paragraph; in which the Rev. gentleman tells us, that the oath with the offensive sentence "has *never* been taken by any prelate of the Romish communion since 1791."—This assertion is indeed peremptory! but where are the proofs on which it is founded? As it, however, rests solely on the authority of the Rev. gentleman, I feel it to be my duty to pause before I publicly express my opinion: I shall, however, mention some circumstances, which excite in my mind no small degree of *doubt and suspicion* as to the fact; and I shall beg leave also to observe, *that, even if it be true*, it is really so insignificant, in point of value, that I am astonished that it should have so forcibly arrested his attention. I indeed feel this so strongly, that I am rather inclined to believe, that the Rev. gentleman, who *thinks it his duty, as a sort of public man*, to point out the errors or the ignorance of his neighbours, could not ever himself have read the oath taken by a bishop or a priest of the Romish persuasion. For it is clear, that, if he

had done this, he would have discovered that these oaths equally enjoin the *persecution of heretics*, whether the words *hereticos pro posse perseguar*, &c. be omitted or retained.—For they contain clauses, in which the taker swears to *obey all decrees apostolic and decrees of general councils*; and no man will presume to say that these do not enjoin the persecution of heretics. (Appendix, 2. 3.) The omission of these words is a mere blind, a futile attempt to delude; it proves nothing, and is a concession of nothing. But to return to my reasons for doubting *even the fact*, that no Irish prelate has taken the old bishops's oath since 1791.—In the first place, every priest swears particular obedience to the decrees of the "Holy Council of Trent." (Appen. No. 3.) I have pretty strong grounds for thinking that the oath itself was framed or *recognized* in that very council; as a declaration very similar to the oath, in many parts, is annexed to what is called "the catechism of Trent." It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose, that as an option is given by the words of the letter of the cardinals, that the Irish bishops would adhere to the old form of oath. In the second place I can say, that although I have made very diligent search, both in England and in Ireland, yet I can no where find the words of this amended or new oath (which though concealed in Ireland, was, it seems, openly read at Moscow); on the contrary, I have, in two instances, found the *old oath*, containing the offensive sentence, in pamphlets published in 1813; and, I will add, have received a manuscript copy from Ireland, in the same form.—I will also say, that I have made enquiries as to the fact asserted by the Rev. writer, through a channel likely to afford me correct information. *But no information can be obtained*, except such as excites the doubts of my correspondent, who thinks it evasive. The act could not, I should think, remain a *secret*, if it were true; especially as, in this case, there exists no one reason for concealment or secrecy; but quite the contrary. I shall say very little more on the subject. The Rev. gentleman represents me as under "alarm;" nay, according to his statement, I am "filled with terror," on the subject of this oath.—If he chooses to publish his gibes and his jeats, he is at liberty to do so; but I beg that they may be innocent in their meaning,—*this is not of that description*. If he is serious in the above sentences, he does himself an injury. I have never expressed any thing like alarm or terror; nor have I endeavoured to kindle animosities, by spreading alarm and terror among Protestants;—here lies the point of these harmless jocularities.—I am truly sorry that I have been compelled, contrary to my declared intention, to notice what falls from this gentleman, who has, for some years past, "made it his study to be unquiet."—I feel this so strongly, that I think it necessary to give the public an explanation of my motives, in the

nature of an apology, for doing it; which are, that I cannot submit to have it insinuated, even in terms the most dexterously guarded, that "I have suppressed the truth" on a most important question;—nor will I be told, that I am so wanting in decent feeling, as to presume to address the public on a question, of which I am "ignorant," when the means of information were within my reach;—and this by a gentleman, who can with a dash of his pen, make such peremptory assertions about "nothing," and which rest, at best, on no authority but his own.—For my own part, I have again wilfully declined to notice the omission of these words:—the fact is not established by sufficient evidence;—and IF true, it really proves nothing, but an attempt on the part of the Romish church to mislead the judgment of the Protestants.—I am sorry the Rev. gentleman has been the first on the list."

In page 40, we observe with no small gratification, mention made of a fact supplied by THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE. We endeavour to collect facts; and happy shall we feel ourselves to supply them for the use of reasoners like Mr. Gregor.

In page 49, Mr. Gregor speaks as becomes an experienced senator, and we venture to express a hope, at least, that his opinion, on a very important point, will have its full weight with the members of both houses, and that the good effect of what he has urged will be evidenced by their conduct, after the termination of the present recess.

"I have not hitherto presumed to give an opinion as to the expediency of granting or of withholding a committee to enquire into the facts connected with the petition of the Catholics; nor will I now do it. It necessarily depends on circumstances, and the individual conclusions and feelings of members of Parliament.

"I can say no more, than that I apprehend that the vote proper to be given in this case must depend on certain general principles, applicable to all cases of parliamentary enquiry; and partly, also, on certain points peculiar to the present question.

"I think, in this last view of the subject, that the Catholics, who are petitioners for the repeal of certain ancient laws, enacted for the protection of the Protestants from the danger of certain tenets and doctrines of the Romish church, are bound in their character, as petitioners, to come forward with a clear and open avowal (as a body, and recognized by the authority which they acknowledge) of the tenets and doctrines they now hold.—I think further, that they should as distinctly state the nature of their connexion with the Pope and his council, and also of the extent and quality of the obedience which they think they owe, or have paid, to him or them.

"Without these facts before it, Parliament, in my view, can form no judgment whether any enquiry could be beneficial or not; it would, at any rate, be entered into with distrust and suspicion, and with all the difficulty which must attend every case where facts are doubted or disputed.

"But I have said, that there are also some principles which are general, which affect all questions when *committees of enquiry* are moved for.—I shall not enter into this point at large, (as it is collateral to my main object) though in itself it is of the utmost importance

"I have met with many persons who can reconcile it to their minds to vote for committees of enquiry, on grounds very trivial, as I should think; viz. merely because there are persons who complain of some alleged grievance, by petition or otherwise, through a member of the house, without distinct proof before Parliament of the existence of the grievance, or, if this be the fact, of the possibility of a remedy.—It seems to be with many almost a vote of course, and is a mode by which some men rid their minds of the burthen of a question,—“Send it to a committee” is a convenient and easy answer.

"I am inclined to treat this point a little more strictly and seriously.—In the first place, I do not contend that it is in all cases necessary that the grievance should be actually proved, that is to say, by examination and evidence; but it is certain, that in all instances a strong *prima facie* case at least should be made out. But this is by no means all; a sober, a considerate, and an intelligent member of Parliament, before he votes for a committee of enquiry, should not only be convinced of the existence of the grievance, but also of the practicability of applying a remedy: *i. e.* of the practicability of giving relief to that part of the community who complain, without doing an injury (in, perhaps, a greater degree) to another part of the community at the same time, and also without, in any way, endangering the safety of the state.

"I think it clear, that these principles of action are the true ones, and I wish them to be tried by this simple question,—what is the effect of the grant of a committee of enquiry by a majority of Parliament on the public mind? What is the implied inference from this fact, both in and out of the House? Why, truly, *that there is a grievance, and that a remedy can be provided.*—It is useless to refine and to argue, that such an implied inference ought not strictly to be made; for such inference is *in fact* actually and universally made: and Parliament stand virtually committed as *admitting* a grievance, and in a great degree pledged to provide a remedy: and let me add, every individual member of Parliament, who has voted for a committee, is individually placed in the same situation of responsi-

bility.—A vote of this sort is no light matter; nothing like a vote of course, &c. : : : : : .

“Let us now suppose a committee actually entered into, and a grievance actually proved; but that either no remedy can be found, or only one more mischievous to other interests, or to those of the state.—What must be the effect of such a proceeding on the public mind, impressed before hand with not an unreasonable belief that a remedy was attainable? The effect must be bad in every view of it. The country will be disappointed, if not angry: the petitioners will depart inflamed with somewhat like a sense of additional grievance. The Parliament, and its individual members, will certainly obtain no great credit for wisdom or caution;—the only gainers are the factious and the discontented, who are on the watch to make their advantage of every failure, and temporary burst of irritation, whether just or unjust: for I will admit, that there may be cases in which a failure of this kind may take place, and where no blame could be fairly incurred. I do not think the case under our consideration is among the number. There are, certainly, some gentlemen, to whom no part of the above reasoning at all applies. I mean those who tell us, that “religious opinions” (connected as they are with other tenets and a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction) make no ground for “political distinctions.” Certainly, these gentlemen may vote for all which Catholics demand, without consideration, argument, or enquiry; and, by doing so, they will act in strict conformity with their *principle*.—I have already said somewhat on the subject of this *principle*; and I could say much more. I shall only add, that the sentiment more nearly approaches to the full extent of the new school of philosophic religion, than any that, in my recollection, has been publicly avowed.”

Mr. Gregor extends his “*Remarks*” to the “Parliamentary proceedings in the Session of 1813,” in a supplement consisting of 37 pages, (the entire pamphlet, sold by our publisher, comprises 96.) Here the reader will find Mr. Grattan’s original bill, Mr. Canning’s clauses, and the bill as amended by Lord Castlereagh, completely anatomized; and the dangers with which the entire measure was fraught to our Protestant constitution, and the futility of the proposed securities clearly pointed out. We refer to Mr. Gregor’s work for the whole of this able discussion;—but we cannot refrain from giving an insulated passage or two. Mr. Gregor mentions a fact recorded in the history of another country, “entirely and absolutely monarchical in its government, which, in my judgment, (says he,) proves beyond contradiction, from the uniform evidence of more than a century, that Catholics and Protestants cannot act together, in terms of perfect equality of political rights, in one government, with that

Utopian harmony and happiness, that absence of all "religious jealousies," and that "oblivion of all animosities," which this speculative preamble so confidently represents.

"The intelligent reader will readily anticipate that I allude to the famous edict of Nantz, which was passed by the influence of Henry the Fourth, of France, who was in the first years of his life a Protestant, and became afterwards a Catholic.—The Protestants, in this case, were the petitioners for "Emancipation;" and it may be seen, from Mr. de Thou, that their arguments were pretty much of the same complexion as those now used by the Catholics.

"It is to be remarked, also, that their principal object then was, "Obtenir une libre entrée dans toutes les charges d'état de guerre, de police, et de finance" (de Thou, liv. v. 237)—in Mr. Grattan's language, "to all-civil and military offices." There is a complete similarity throughout in the two cases.—In the preamble to the famous edict of Nantz (passed in 1598), it is stated to take place "pour la pacification des troubles du royaume;" which Mr. Grattan in a manner translates by the words, "for putting an end to all religious jealousies." Again, the first article of the French edict states its object to be, "que la mémoire de toute chose passe d'une part et d'autre, &c. &c. demeurera éteinte et assoupie." Here is a strict precedent for M. Grattan's "oblivion of all animosities."—The analogy between this experimental bill of Mr. Grattan, and the equally experimental edict of Nantz, may be traced still further. The twenty-seventh article of the edict has the following enactment,... "Déclarons tout ceux qui font ou feront profession de la dite religion, prétendue réformée, capable de tenir et d'exercer tous états, dignitez, offices, et charges quelconques, royales, signorales, ou des villes de notre royaume." Mr. Grattan's enactment again strictly follows the precedent. He recommended, "that it should be lawful for persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to hold, exercise, and enjoy all civil and military offices of trust and profit under his Majesty," except certain offices, on taking the oath prescribed by the bill.

"I have been somewhat particular in pointing out the remarkable similarity between the two cases, in order to state, that I esteem it peculiarly unfortunate that the projectors of this bill should have strictly pursued both the principle and the language of the edict of Nantz, and then have stopped short, without any examination of the political effects which it produced. If they had proceeded to such an examination, they must have discovered that this experiment, *after a trial of a century*, failed entirely; and that at no period of its continuance did it put an end to "religious jealousies," nor did it produce any "oblivion of former animosities."

sities" between Catholic and Protestant.—Nay, further, that these animosities continued with unabated, and rather with increased, violence; and that the benevolent Henry the Fourth was among the early victims of them. For proof, I refer to Sully's Memoirs, and to M. de Thon's History of the Edict of Nantz."

"This edict, after having exhibited a strong proof of the small reliance which we can place on the speculations even of the wise and the good, from 1598 to 1685, was then revoked by Louis the Fourteenth, who states, in the preamble to the edict of revocation, "that he could do nothing better for the purpose of effacing entirely the memory of the troubles, the confusion, and the evils which the progress of the reformed religion had occasioned, &c. &c. than revoke the said edict." I have uniformly thought, since I first considered this question with a view to a public expression of my sentiments, that the experience to be derived from the history of this edict was decisively against the project of a *complete* "emancipation," as it is called, of the Catholics of the United Kingdom.—And I feel myself very strongly confirmed in this opinion by the following passage, transcribed from a speech of the late Doctor Horaley, Bishop of St. Asaph, delivered in the House of Lords May 19, 1805.

"His lordship expresses himself in the following words; "I will say, that the Hugonots were very bad subjects of Roman Catholic France; *they became bad subjects in consequence* of the extravagant indulgences which for a long series of years they were permitted to enjoy: they became at last so bad, that the French government was provoked to revoke those indulgences; and the cruel persecution took place which drove them from their country: the persecution was cruel, but it was the natural effect of impolitic indulgence; and such indulgence may be always expected to terminate in such cruelty."

"It has been always said, that the revocation of the edict of Nantz was a reproach on the memory of Louis the Fourteenth. But this reproach is, in my view of the question, due to the *manner* in which this edict was executed, and not to the measure itself.—I, as a Protestant, think that the practical evidence to be derived from the history of the edict of Nantz is much stronger, because the persons admitted to national indulgences were Protestants. I think the doctrines and character of the Protestant religion are milder, more tolerating, and far less domineering than the doctrines and character of the Catholic. I may be told, that the Catholics of this kingdom and of Ireland have *now* all the character of mildness, moderation, and of toleration, that renders them capable of receiving indulgence, with perfect safety to those who gave it. To what extent his may be true I know not; but generally speaking, I am of a

different opinion—Nay, I must think, with the information I have before me, that the person who utters such a sentiment is either deceived himself, or thinks it a moral act to deceive others for the benefit of his church."

With respect to the introducing Roman Catholics into Parliament or the executive government, Mr. Gregor says,

"I shall proceed to examine another question, before we decide whether it is expedient that we should have (in part, at least) a Catholic Parliament and Catholic Cabinet; namely, whether it is probable that the affairs of a Protestant state will proceed smoothly and prosperously under such novel circumstances.

"I will freely confess, that we cannot, in my judgment, reasonably expect either prosperity or tranquillity, I will add even security, as Protestants, in such a case. Circumstances without end may be imagined, affecting both our domestic and our foreign relations, where a Roman Catholic must pursue the interest of a Protestant state, under a perpetual struggle between his political duties and his religious conscience. On this point, I can produce an authority which will not be disputed by the advocates of the Catholic claims; I mean that of the late Mr. Fox.—The case, which called forth his observations, is precisely the same in principle as in the one under consideration. It was, whether the Duke of York (afterwards James the Second) should be excluded from the legal succession to the Crown, on account of his religious principles; *he being a Papist*. Mr. Fox, in his introductory chapter to his history, (p. 36) makes the following general and very sagacious observations: "*But the inefficacy of mere laws in favour of the subject, in the case of the administration of them falling into the hands of persons hostile to the spirit in which they had been provided, had been so fatally evinced by the general history of England, ever since the grant of the great Charter, and more especially by the events of the preceding reign, that Parliament justly thought their work incomplete unless the Duke of York were excluded from the Crown.*"—Again, he says, "*The dispute was no longer whether the dangers resulting from James's succession were real, and such as ought to be guarded against by parliamentary provision; but whether the exclusion or restrictions furnished the most safe and eligible mode of compassing the object which both sides pretended to have in view.* The argument on this state of the question is clearly, forcibly, and, I think, convincingly, stated by Rapin, who exposes, very ably, the *extreme folly* of trusting to measures, without consideration of the *men* who are to execute them."

"Here, then, we have Mr. Fox expressly avowing, that he would exclude the Duke of York from the Crown, *to which he was strictly*

entitled by law, on account of his principles; and would not even admit him, under any restrictions; i. e. with the security of oaths, &c. for the protection of our Protestant church and our Protestant constitution.—And so, after mature consideration, do I say, in the case before us; viz. the admission of Catholics into Parliament, which, in principle, does not differ in the least from the one described by Mr. Fox.”

Mr. Gregor notices a resolution of “an aggregate meeting of the [Roman] Catholics held at Dublin, 29th June 1813, (whilst the imperial Parliament was sitting in London); to memorialize the Spanish Cortes!” and he says in a note, with which we conclude,—“I very strongly question the legality of the appointment of “private boards,” and “select committees,” by a general board of Catholics.—See stat. 39th Geo. 3, c. 79, sect. 2.”

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO CORRESPONDENTS, &c.

THE length of Dr. Dromgoole's speech has put it out of our power to insert several very valuable communications in the present number: they shall appear in our next. We earnestly intreat, on this occasion, the candour and the kindness of *Melancthon*, *Scrutator*, *Criso*, *Philarchius*, *Mr. Catley*, *Mr. Graham*, &c. &c.

JOHN DE FALKIRK.

WE beg leave to state, for the information of the public; that the first part of THE ANNALS OF IRISH POPERY, including the period between the introduction of Protestantism into Ireland, and the horrible rebellion of 1641; collected from the best authorities; by JOHN DE FALKIRK, is now in the press, and will be published on the 1st of March next. The ANNALS have excited a great sensation in Ireland, and are certainly very interesting. They illustrate the history of Popery, and prove the truth of Mr. Plowden's claim of Popish immutability. The Church of Rome, in JOHN DE FALKIRK's chronicle appears *semper eadem*: ambitious, intriguing, seeking for Proselytes, persecuting impugnars, dabbling in politics external and internal, affecting to be biased solely about spiritual affairs, but constantly interfering with temporalities,—her tawdry cope is embroidered with the gold of her adherents, but it is also stained with the blood of those who, resisting her errors and her crimes, have had the misfortune to fall into her hands, and to experience “the tender mercies of the wicked.”—We have the gratification to number JOHN DE FALKIRK amongst our correspondents, we admire his industry, we know his ability, and we do most earnestly recommend his work to the attention and patronage of our readers and all good Protestants. (See the cover of the Prot. Adv.)

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For MARCH 1814.

"O Lord of Hosts, that givest victory in the day of battle, and deliverance in the time of trouble, we beseech thee to strengthen the hands, and encourage the hearts of thy servants in fighting thy battles and defending thy altars that are among us, and in all the Reformed Churches."—*Form of Prayer, temp. Car. I.*

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

THE events with which the history of the *emphatical** people every day more and more abounds, are so remarkable and important, that we are much puzzled to find either room or ability to do them justice. It is indeed very difficult to raise one's self (according to the French revolutionary phrase) "*à la hauteur des événements*;" in plain English, to keep pace with them. On that account we have been fain to confine ourselves to the humble task of being little more than the mere annalists or reporters of those acts and declarations by which these worthy fellow-subjects of ours, are proceeding charitably to impart to us the blessings of true religion, and to instruct us in the proper nature and measure of that obedience which is due to lawful government.

In the prosecution of this duty which we have taken upon ourselves, we proceed to lay before our readers some observations of Counsellor O'Connell when supporting (as in our last we stated that he did) Dr. Droomgoole's motion, and applauding the sentiments which he had delivered. He thus concluded:—"Finally,† Mr. Shiell" (one of the speakers who went before) "has said that our want of moderation has been, or may be the cause of retarding our success. I would intreat that every one throwing out the insinuation would examine the progress of

* See our Number for January, p. 162.

† See *Correspondent* (an Irish paper) of Dec. 13th, 1813. We believe that this is copied from the *Dublin Evening Post*.

the Catholic cause for the last four years. The administration of Lord Grenville were dismissed from office because they wished to admit the Catholics to promotion in the army. In 1812, even Mr. Abbot, our *greatest opponent*, was willing to allow us every thing but seats in parliament. At the former time our friends were dismissed for endeavouring to procure us but a little; at the latter our enemies were willing to grant all but a little. Yet it was *in this period* that *violence*, if there was at any time violence, existed among the Catholics: it was in this interval that they passed the "*Witchery Resolutions*," and several others. Since that time there has been less of this." (Indeed!) "*I [ego, I,] have somewhat desisted, rather through weariness than otherwise, from exposing your enemies, (a laugh) and we have had, in all respects less of what was called violence. If then we shall have less success this year than the last, will it not be fair to charge it to your own less manful behaviour?*" (A laugh)*

Our readers will not have forgotten who Counsellor O'Connell is: and that very lately for the free delivery of his opinions (rather of an extraordinary nature) he has had plate to the amount of £1000 voted to him by the Catholic Board. This is a speech delivered at a meeting of that Board, the representative, as it is understood to be, of Catholic Ireland; and it appears to have been received with the same favour as Dr. Droomgoole's. Taken together, as they may fairly be, they have done away the possibility of a mistake respecting either the intentions of their party, or the mode in which those intentions are to be carried into execution. "*Violence*," under the gentle and newly adopted synonym of "*manful behaviour*," is deliberately pronounced to afford not only the fit and proper, but the only effectual means of obtaining their ends. This indeed was well known to be the principle adopted *in practice*, but it had not been before so openly *avowed*. Of the way in which this "*manful behaviour*" has displayed itself, under the auspices of this very Mr. O'Connell, we shall now produce one or two specimens: the first indeed comes forth as the act of Mr. Magee; but whoever considers the intimate connexion between the counsellor and the client, and the zeal with which lately in the Court of King's Bench these two worthies contended for the honour of being the author of the atrocious libel then under animadversion, will find it difficult to separate them in this case also.

* For the more perfect elucidation of this, we refer the reader to our last number, p. 226. He will there find a wonderful agreement between the ideas of Mr. O'Connell, and those of the author there cited; the two together thus forming a complete satire upon the modern system of concession.

Our readers may not have heard, what however is notorious enough, that those Protestants who either signed the Protestant petitions to parliament, or refused to sign the Popish, have had to encounter most furious menaces, (and in some instances more than mere menaces,) of serious mischief to their persons and property. But we conceived this to have been done with some degree of mystery, in such a way that the authors and instigators of this diabolical system should remain concealed. It seems however that this has been thought a way of proceeding not sufficiently "*manful*;" and so Mr. Magee in his paper has openly and avowedly held up to view, (with what intent is not even sufficiently disguised,) all those persons who signed the late petition from Tipperary. In what terms this was prefaced we cannot state, as we have before us only the latter part of this denunciation; but that speaks sufficiently plain. It is found in the Dublin Evening Post of Thursday Dec. 3, 1813, in these words:—

"We conclude, at length, the signatures to the Tipperary petition. This is the season of ORANGE BURN: but *the knaves and fools* who have set their signatures to these *infamous* petitions, shall find that no *change of circumstances, extrinsic or personal*, shall divert us from the performance of our duty."

And then follow 622 names.

Were the vengeance here threatened only to be apprehended, when the idol *Catholicity* (as in their jargon they call it) should be assumed the ecclesiastical supremacy in Ireland, this might be laughed at as empty and foolish blustering: but when it is recollected that there are at this moment such people as carders and threshers, housebreakers and incendiaries, infesting the land; and that the houses and persons of Protestants not only are subject to attack from such persons, but have in many instances actually suffered, we cannot read without astonishment, as well as disgust, a sanguinary proscription so authenticated and so countenanced. We should rather have looked for official notice of this horrid warhoop from the Attorney General; but we must at least be thankful to the government for having taken from this poor tool of faction, the power of repeating the offence, by refusing (as we stated in our last) to let him any longer have stamps for his paper.

Thus it is that the Protestants are dealt with. But there are also terrors in store for refractory or lukewarm Papists; and these are dealt out under the more dignified mandate of the man of law, Mr. O'Connell himself. In some late Dublin papers he has published a proclamation (so our Correspondent styles it) signed with his name, for the levying a sort of *Peter's pence*. He calls upon every *Catholic* (to use his own expression)

"householder in Ireland to pay not less than 10d, but as much more as any is willing or able to pay, to support their petition to parliament. And he moreover calls upon the priests of his communion, on whose experienced fidelity and zeal in the cause he confidently relies, to aid the collectors who are to visit each house for this purpose: and he threatens all defaulters not only with having their names publicly read at their respective chapels when mass is celebrated there, but with having them written out and hung up in those chapels, with the opprobrious addition of "refused to pay 10d."*

That from the very fund which Mr. O'Connell is thus labouring to raise or to augment, he is (in all probability) to receive £1000 in plate, is only one feature the more in the impudence as well as illegality of this address. But thus it is that both Protestants and Papists in their several ways, are to be compelled by terror and violence to be aiding and assisting in pushing forward that glorious period of the "Downfall of the Protestant Church," which Dr. Dromgoole has so confidently anticipated. Whether the Attorney General will think this instance also of "manful conduct" in Mr. O'Connell deserving of his notice, we cannot tell, but certainly to our weak apprehensions it does seem to smack a little of treason. However that be, there can be no doubt but that in the chapter of warnings to *liberal* Protestants it must speak most intelligible language.

We now come to what may require a louder strain. The full pomp of Popish hierarchy has opened upon us; the good people of Ireland have been already in part remunerated for that zeal which they have shewn in the cause of the holy father. They have enjoyed the blessings of a *Jubilee*. That for which they were formerly obliged to go as far as Rome, has been graciously brought home to their doors. And, in order to make the blessing more complete, they have had the privilege of enjoying it in a Popish CATHEDRAL. Not indeed a *Cathedral Church*. For that would have been too barefacedly "should'ring God's altar;" but still a CATHEDRAL. Bishop Moylan, in the Pastoral Letter and Instruction which we are about to lay before our readers, announced this great event on the 2d of November last: and it accordingly took place on the 29th of that month, and continued until the 27th of December; with so great and so uninterrupted a concourse of people, (as we are informed,) that it produced disease, terminating in fevers, to which many in Cork fell victims.

* We have inserted this notable instrument below. It was transmitted to our printer, with other articles, for the last number of the Protestant Advocate but there was not room for it.

✠

"The Right Reverend Doctor Francis Moylan to his dearly beloved Flock, the Roman Catholics of the City and Diocese of Cork, greeting :

"Beloved brethren,—Animated with the warmest desire of promoting your eternal welfare, both from a sense of our duty, and out of the tenderest love of your dear souls : We resolved, immediately on completing our *cathedral* chapel, to establish a mission in it of pious exercises and instructions for the space of a month, and in order to induce our brethren to attend thereat, and to profit by those effectual means of sanctification, we applied to the holy see for a solemn plenary indulgence, in form of a jubilee, which the holy father was most graciously pleased to grant by a bull * to the following purport :

"Pius VII. by Divine Providence, Pope, grants unto each and every one of the faithful of Christ, who after assisting *at least eight times* at the holy exercises of the mission, (in the *new cathedral of Cork*,) shall confess his or her sins with true contrition, and approach unto the holy communion—shall devoutly visit the said *cathedral* chapel, and there offer up to God, for some space of time, pious and fervent prayers for the propagation of the holy Catholic faith, and to the intention of our holy father, a plenary indulgence applicable to the souls in purgatory, by way of suffrage, and this in form of a jubilee."

"Such, beloved brethren, is the great, the inestimable grace offered to us by the vicar of Jesus Christ, in his name, and of which he earnestly invites us all to partake. The greater, the more valuable it is, the more should we dread to abuse it, the more careful should we be to render ourselves worthy of it. The gifts of God are only for those who prepare their hearts to receive them.

"In granting this great indulgence the sovereign Pontiff imposes but few obligations, and those very easily discharged, persuaded that if the sorrow for our sins be sincere, as it must be in order to obtain this precious grace, it will undoubtedly produce in us other satisfactory fruits worthy of true penance. For, brethren, let us not deceive ourselves with regard to the nature of the grace that is offered to us. The intention of the church is only to assist our weakness—not to favour our impenitence—to facilitate our satisfactions, not to exempt us altogether from them. The plenary indulgence is only promised to true and sincere penitents.

"No power on earth can dispense with the conditions which God requires of us, in order to be reconciled to him. A contrite and humble heart, a sincere sorrow and detestation of sin, with a firm purpose of

* This bull was granted at an audience on the 14th of May, 1809.

amendment, and of satisfying divine justice, are absolutely essential to obtain the grace of reconciliation, and without this grace no indulgence can be applied to us. If then our repentance be only on the tongue, and consist in the mere declaration of our sins, as it is to be apprehended has been too often the case heretofore; if the heart be not truly and sincerely converted from the ways of iniquity to the source of all justice; if we be not firmly resolved on avoiding all kinds of sin and the occasions of sin; if we be not disposed to mortify the works of the flesh by the spirit, and to arise with Jesus Christ to a newness of life, we can have no pretence whatever to share in the graces and indulgences of the church. This time of mercy would be for us a time of the most rigorous justice, and this great indulgence would, by the abuse we should make of it, become matter of our greater condemnation.

“ Prepare then, beloved brethren, we most earnestly exhort you, prepare your hearts to receive the fulness of the divine mercy; it is offered to all, let no one refuse to accept of it, let sinners by its means become just, and let the just by it become more justified. To neglect profiting of this grace, would be most highly injurious to the sacred source from whence it flows, and would justly render us unworthy of ever receiving the least mercy or favour at the hands of God.

“ To you, obdurate and inveterate sinners, we in particular address ourselves. Too long, alas! too long have you strayed from the paths of justice, and wandered in the ways of iniquity.—Oh; profit of this favourable moment.—God now pressing calls upon you to return to him—no longer harden your hearts, but on this day of his mercy listen to his sweet voice. The thunders of the divine vengeance are kept over your guilty heads, ready, if you persist in your rebellion, to burst upon you. You stand upon the brink of eternity; and death, with the most dreadful horrors of hell, surround you. This invitation of the divine mercy may be the last you shall ever receive. It is written, that God will hear us in the acceptable time! Surely this holy time of indulgence must be that most acceptable time. Those days of grace and mercy must be the days of your salvation. Ah! profit of them. Be reconciled to your offended God. If you neglect this grace; if you suffer this holy time of indulgence to pass without profiting of it, there is every reason to fear that the time of God's mercy shall pass from you, never more to return. Once again, then, let me intreat you to have recourse to the throne of mercy, that you may find grace in seasonable aid. And you, to whom the Almighty has given of the dew of heaven, and of the fat of the land, redeem your sins with alms, and your iniquities with works of mercy to the poor, and perhaps God would forgive your offences.

" You who profoundly sleep in sin, awake—~~rouse~~ yourselves from that fatal lethargy into which you have been so plunged. Behold! the treasures of God's graces are now opened to you—the arms of his divine mercy are stretched out to receive you—he reaches forth his hands with peace and reconciliation towards you. Hasten, then, with confidence to the throne of mercy, with heartfelt sentiments of true sorrow and compunction, approach the fountain of grace, and wash your soiled baptismal robe in the blood of the Lamb. The ministers of Jesus Christ, invested with his authority, animated with his spirit, expect you with a holy impatience, *ready to ease you of that heavy burthen of sin* under which you have so long laboured. Were your sins as red as scarlet, *by the grace of the absolution, and the application of this plenary indulgence*, your souls shall become white as snow.

" Reconciled to God, purified by his grace, cleansed in his blood, discharged by the merciful Jesus Christ from all the debts contracted with the divine justice, you will find in the observance of the laws of your heavenly father the true peace of your souls; that peace which surpasseth all understanding: that peace which you have hitherto sought for in vain, but which you could never find under the empire of your passions, which is enjoyed only by those who mildly bear the sweet yoke of Jesus Christ.

" Wherefore, dearly beloved, that you may all know that which, according to the bull of his holiness, is necessary to gain the benefit of this plenary indulgence, granted in form of jubilee, you will observe:

" First.—That it will commence in our new *cathedral* chapel, on the first Sunday of Advent, being the 26th day of this present month of November, and will continue until the festival of St. John the Evangelist, being Monday the 27th day of December, both inclusive.

" Secondly,—In order to gain this plenary indulgence, it is necessary to be truly penitent, to make a good confession; to receive worthily the holy communion; to assist at *least eight times* at the instructions and pious exercises of the mission, and to offer up for some time to God, in a visit to ~~the~~ *cathedral*, pious and fervent prayers, for the propagation of the holy Catholic faith, and to the *intention* of our holy father the Pope. Five *paters* and five *aves* and a *creed*, to the above *intention*, will fulfil the obligation.

" Thirdly,—All priests approved of by us to hear confessions, can during the above time absolve all such persons as present themselves with due dispositions at confession, in order to obtain this plenary indulgence, from all sins and censures reserved to the holy see, or to us—they enjoin upon such persons as are thus absolved a salutary penance.

" We order this pastoral letter and instruction to be read in every cha-

pel of our diocess, in town and country at every mass, on Sunday the 14th, Sunday the 21st, and Sunday the 28th day of November inst., and on Sunday the 5th day of December next.

“ Given at Cork, November 2, 1813.

“ ✠ FRANCIS MOYLAN,”

[*Roman Catholic, or titular Bishop of Cork.*]

We shall make a few, and those brief, observations upon this very interesting document : leaving our readers to “ chew upon it.”

We shall, in the first place, make use of it as corroborating all that we have said respecting “ plenary indulgences,” as still subsisting, and still granted in the Romish church, and even in this realm, where its members are necessarily under a more sober and strict discipline than in any other place ; and for a very plain reason, because they are more watched.

Now the reader will observe that, although much is said about the necessity of (not *repentance* indeed, but) *penance*, and though the plenary indulgence is only *promised to sincere penitents*, yet the great consideration which is to procure the forgiveness is the act of the church, and the condescension of the supreme Pontiff. “ To neglect *profiting* of this *grace*, would be most highly *injurious* to the *sacred source* from whence it flows, and *would render us unworthy* of EVER receiving the LEAST *mercy or favour at the hands of God.*” This is for the ordinary race of believers. But obdurate sinners are also warned that, “ it is written that God will *hepr us in the acceptable time.* Surely, this HOLY time of INDULGENCE *must be THAT acceptable time.*” If they neglect this grace, they also are told, “ *if they suffer this holy time of INDULGENCE to pass*, without profiting of it, *there is EVERY REASON to fear that the time of God's mercy shall pass from them, NEVER more to return.*” Then they are told that “ the ministers of Jesus Christ stand ready to *ease them of that heavy burthen of SIN under which they have so long laboured.* *Were your sins as red as scarlet*, by the GRACE of the ABSOLUTION, and the APPLICATION of THIS PLENARY INDULGENCE,” it is added, “ *your souls shall be as white as snow.*”

Now with all that is said of sorrow for sin, and of being penitent, and purposing amendment, in the beginning or introduction, (which, by the bye, is very soon dropped and done with) *here*, in the *main* part of this instruction, the whole stress is laid upon the *indulgence* ; it is *that*, and *that only*, which saves the man. The penitent here is treated like a sick person : the patient must be convinced of his disorder, and be disposed to take medicine ; but it is the medicine that cures him.

Again, we are told most confidently by Mr. Lingard and others of his stamp, that plenary indulgences *only absolve from the censures* of the church. But here, from the first authority, it is declared that the ministers of Jesus Christ, that is the priests, *are ready to ease the sinner of his burthen of SIN.* And in another place every priest is, on this occasion, empowered to absolve "*from all sins and censures reserved to the holy see or to us,*" that is, Dr. Moylan.

Moreover, when we come to what is *necessary* to gain the benefit of this plenary indulgence, what do we find? It is said, indeed, and could less be said, "*to be truly penitent:*"—but then, if we go on, what? "*to make a good confession.*" Now what is that? "*To receive worthily the holy communion, to assist at least eight times at the instructions and pious exercises of the holy mission, and to offer up for some time to God, in a visit to the CATHEDRAL, pious and fervent prayers for the propagation of the holy Catholic faith, and to the INTENTION of our HOLY FATHER, the POPE. Five Paters, and five Ave Marias*" (indulgent enough!) "*and a creed to the above intention, will fulfill the obligation.*" All these, or almost all, we will add, are works merely superstitious, in themselves, or in the manner of performing them, *if not worse.*

Thus far, as explaining the nature of indulgences in a religious view: but now let us turn to consider the whole of this transaction as it bears upon the times, as it affects, or is meant to affect our ecclesiastical establishment. Here is a new CATHEDRAL, distinct from, and, in fact, in opposition to the true and proper cathedral, set up and consecrated, and proclaimed to the world with all the boastful ostentation and parade which even the ostentatious superstition of the church of Rome can supply: attended even with that solemnity which has been by the Popes reserved for the most singularly important occasions! For what purpose is all this? It may well be asked. What need of a formal cathedral for these sectarian bishops? Why should it be ushered in with this very marked pomp, and extraordinary celebrity? Is it in order to make us understand by these acts, what Dr. Dromgoole has been telling us *in terms*, that any degree of depression and humiliation will no longer be endured by this self-styled Catholic church? That she is now entering into her *triumphant* state; that her prelates will henceforth assert their rights; that they will have it known that only they, and not our bishops, have the keys of heaven? That, by the display of their extraordinary and transcendent graces, they will shew how much they go beyond our poor-spirited and humble church? Hitherto, indeed, the clergy of their communion, whether bishops or priests, have discharged their office with some sort of reserve and privacy. Knowing, as they very well do, that the Catholic church allows only of

one bishop to one city, and that to advance an open and public claim to that title was, in fact, to proclaim to all, what in secret they hold, that our bishops are really no bishops; they have veiled their pretensions, they have even, till within a very few years, been hardly known to any but their own flocks. But this is no longer to be the case. Brighter prospects open to view. The downfall of the Protestant church, in the opinion of Dr. Moylan, as well as Dr. Dromgoole, is at hand, and the Catholic church must not be backward or slow to manifest her superiority:

“ *Incipient magni procedere menses.*”

The period, indeed, is a little anticipated: but anticipation is the fashion of the day. We cannot wait for the regular course of events. All must be forced. And indeed, when we look back to the date of the Pope's bull by which this jubilee is granted, and find it dated almost five years back, we must allow that Dr. Moylan has had some patience. When applied for, probably it was hoped that “the consummation so devoutly wished for” was nearer at hand. But Anti-catholic prejudices have still, by some strange fatality, kept their ground. Emancipation, with dominion on its pinions, has only hovered over, not yet pounced upon this land. And so the zeal of the *emphatical* people, it may be, required some stimulant; and the treasures of his holiness have been displayed, perhaps, if sound policy had been consulted, somewhat prematurely.

For it is impossible, we think, for Protestants to have forgotten for what purpose these jubilees were first instituted, and these indulgences granted: and a more natural conclusion cannot be drawn than that, in this instance, and agreeably to former precedents, they were designed to be instrumental in hastening that downfall of the Protestant church, for which Dr. Dromgoole has been pleased, if not specially commissioned, so obligingly and so charitably to prepare us. Nay, when we consider that on the 8th of December the plenary indulgence was in full activity, we could almost persuade ourselves that the learned doctor had taken “a trip to the jubilee,” and received “instructions from the holy mission.” He might be thus particularly informed what the clergy might, and what they might not, swear. The very word *mission* might remind him of what we all know, that every Romish priest is sent hither as to infidels, under a solemn obligation to use every effort to make proselytes, and to reestablish the Papal dominion in these realms. Nor can we pass by that remarkable expression which we have noted, that, in order to gain this indulgence, certain prayers are to be put up to the INTENTION of the POPE. Now we will not say that we perfectly understand this expression. It is, we believe, one of the secrets of the craft. But we know what

must be the *intention*, and what must be the *wish*, the anxious wish, of this holy father. We know also, and our readers must be aware, that there are a thousand ways, and more especially during the process of that sacrament of their's, to which confession and penance belong, by which may be explained and inculcated every wish and every intention of Pope, bishop, or priest.

These are points so obvious, and they are matters so notorious, that we may confidently hope that the warning will not have been in vain.

POPISH FINANCES.

We have received several letters on the subject of the notable scheme suggested by Mr. O'Connell. That junto of Papists, calling itself *the Catholic Board*, voted a piece of plate (value 1,000 guineas) to Mr. O'C.—but, under existing circumstances, this liberal *vote* must have been of small account, were it not for the ingenuity of that learned gentleman. He himself declares, in his letter, subjoined, that “*the funds of the Board are quite exhausted.*” This *tenpenny levy* will fill its coffers; and the expenses of applying to Parliament, and the vote of 1,000 guineas, will be provided for at one effort. LEVYING WAR we know to be illegal. We beg the favour of our correspondents to give us an opinion on the legality of LEVYING TAXES, under a threat of being *denounced in the Popish chapels*!—the consequences of which may be dreadful.

“*Scheme of Finance.*”

“The following is circulated as the plan by which the Dublin Catholic Board intend to establish a fund. The letter attached to it is circular, and is appended to the copies of the plan:

“*Plan suggested for Parochial Subscriptions.*”

“To appoint a person in each parish to make individual application to every householder.

“This person shall take with him to each village or farm a list of the householders—and should apply to each of them, whether he was willing to contribute *tenpence*, or any higher sum, towards defraying the expenses of the *Catholic petitions*.

“Each person paying should be marked down as paid—and the sum inserted in the margin.

“Each person refusing, should have the words “*refused to contribute tenpence*” added to his name.

“And a second application should be made to those who refuse—

"with an intimation that the list would be read in the chapel on the ensuing Sunday."

"The list should be read at the chapel as soon as it was ascertained that no more could be collected.

"The more wealthy persons will, of course, contribute more than tenpence; but no sum should be received from any person, save what he can afford to give with the most perfect convenience."

"Sir,—I am directed by the Committee of Accounts to send you the above plan, and to request your attention to it. It will not be easy to carry this plan into effect without the countenance of the Catholic clergy, but it is presumed, from their constant attention to the interests of their countrymen, that they will give this plan the support of their advice. It is also expected that you should transmit to the Board an account of the parishes in the county in which you reside, in which this plan shall be carried into effect.

"You cannot do a greater service to the Catholic cause than by exerting yourself on this occasion, as the funds of the Board are quite exhausted, and it will be impossible to transmit our petitions to Parliament unless subscriptions are collected.

"The mode of carrying this plan into effect is, of course, left with you; but it is hoped that you will not refuse to give your zealous and active assistance.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your very obedient humble servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

[From the Correspondent, an Irish newspaper, of Dec. 30, 1813.]

REFLECTIONS ON THE TIMES.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—The following admirable reflections on the aspect of public affairs at the opening of the present year, which I owe to a highly respectable and enlightened English correspondent, for enlarged observation, sober piety, and sound policy, seem justly entitled to wider circulation, through the medium of your constitutional work, than the confined limits of a private letter admit.

Ireland,

Jan. 29, 1814.

Yours, &c.

Crito.

“ Wonderful have been the events of the two last years ; and the present appears to open with a prospect perhaps of greater wonders. For more than twenty years has Europe laboured under the influence of that *wisdom of man*, from which many expected a *perfection* of the human mind ; but the *wisdom of this world* has proved *very foolishness*, and the misery of millions has, at length, scarcely taught the remaining generation that it is *foolishness*. What may be the result, the mind of *man* can only blindly guess at—yet may we hope, that good will come out of evil. *Princes* may be taught the importance to themselves of consulting the good of their people, and that the opinion of the people, though often wrong in particulars, is frequently right in generals ; and hence they may be taught to hearken to the voice of the people. On the other hand, *the people* may have learnt the folly as well as the impiety of the assertion, that *the voice of the people is the voice of God*. They may have learned to believe, that as every human operation must be imperfect, so the work of government must be imperfect ; and at the same time that they observe faults in their government, they may reflect on the difficulties which every government has to struggle with, and impute to those difficulties many of the imperfections which they have been disposed to ascribe to the misconduct of their governors.—Hence, *governments may become more attentive, and their subjects more obedient*.

“ Perhaps too, in another point of view, the evils of the past years may operate to good. A sense of *religion*, and of its necessity to man, is frequently the result of the pressure of great calamities. When men find no help in *man*, their eyes are naturally turned to God. This may lead to *superstition*, but we may hope it may lead to a *better end*. What has happened in the *Roman Catholic* countries of Europe, has given freer scope to the thoughts of men, on religious as well as on other subjects. In *France* religion was at one time cut off ; it has returned in some degree by its own force, and it has applied itself to the reason and to the feelings of men. Many indeed are perhaps thoughtless on the subject, but those who have thought, have evidently thrown from them the superstition of their ancestors ; and such as profess the Christian faith, and have suffered their minds to act upon it, have rejected the very objectionable doctrines of the church of *Rome*, unable to reconcile them either with reason or revelation. Though these may not be many, they will powerfully give a tone to opinion in France ; and with a nominal communion, perhaps, with the church of *Rome*, the *Gallican church* may probably become, in effect, *Protestant*. In *Italy* superstition never had the influence on the general mind which it had in remote countries : they saw too nearly the court of *Rome*, to reverence it highly. Perhaps, even the church itself may

be compelled, in some degree, to reform itself, and to approach nearer to that which ought to be its model. The worldly grandeur of the papacy is probably gone for ever; even if restored to Rome, and to some of its temporal powers, it is not likely to be again what it has been. Whether this will operate in *Ireland*, is a serious question. If worldly interest do not interfere, it is improbable that it should operate. I differ much from Lord Grenville and his adherents: they think, that—grant Catholic Emancipation, and there will be soon an end of Catholic superstition. I think, —grant Catholic emancipation, and you will create a *worldly motive* for the preservation of Catholic superstition, which will give it tenfold force and a tenfold duration; as far as man can form a judgment on such a subject, a *worldly motive which would create a vast party in the state, eager to overturn the existing establishment, and appropriate that establishment to its own use.* If it should succeed, it must cling for its support to the means by which it succeeded: If it should fail, it must still cling to the means, in the hope of ultimate success; for, *till that HOPE shall be utterly DEAD, THE SPIRIT OF SUPERSTITION, AS A SPIRIT OF PARTY, WILL ALWAYS BE KEPT ALIVE.*"

POPIISH PIETY AND LIBERALITY.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—A stranger to the principles and conduct of the Popish party, who reads the language of some of the Roman Catholic Board, might be led to suppose that they are now become so *loyal, liberal, and peaceable*, that they might, with safety to a Protestant government, be intrusted with the administration of our land; but the truth is, that every day produces new facts, proving that *Popery is always the same*, and that the hatred cherished against Protestants always did, and always will exist. The horrid transaction you copied from the *Clonmel* paper, in your last, of the notice posted to assassinate eight *Protestants*, is another proof, and reminds me of a circumstance that took place in the same county [of Tipperary] some time past, which I knew to be true:—

A Protestant gentleman took into his service a poor distressed Protestant orphan young girl, which gave so much offence, that he received a letter requiring him to discharge the *little heretic*, or he must abide the consequence. This notice not being attended to, one night his out-house and stable were set on fire and burnt; but, in the morning, when his men came to their employments, they all endeavoured to make him believe it was an accident; and, as he knew it would answer no purpose to proceed further, unless he meant to leave the country, he passed it by as

such and built them up again ; but no sooner were they completed, than another letter was slipped under the door, and he not immediately complying, they were burnt the second time. This must be known to every dweller in *Thurles*.

AN INHABITANT OF THURLES.

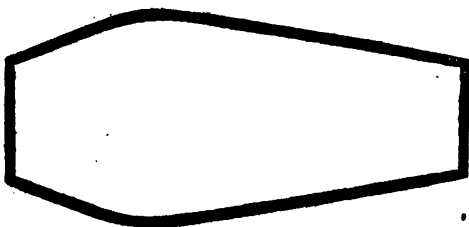
Extract of a Letter from Longford, dated 30th January, 1814.

" In the county of *Longford* the *Threshers* have been very busy, within these few days they have forcibly taken 14 muskets in the *Callow*, and some at the *Tan-yard*, also at *Ballymulvey*, and *Widow Dowdall's*, both places near *Ballymahon*.

" In the *Callow*, which is a tract of country bordering the *Shannon*, the *Threshers* attacked some of *Captain Davis's Corps of Yeomanry*, and two of the *Killashee Corps of Yeomanry* of the name of *Fallon*. The latter resisted till one of their firelocks, and his right arm were broken : they then broke all the furniture. The savages took up a pet lamb, that was in the house, and dashed out its brains against the wall, thereby representing, by a symbol, how all their opponents should be served.—So you see what peace we are likely to enjoy under a *Popish parliament*."

In addition to these outrages, we are authorized to state the following, from the county of *Cavan*, which joins the county of *Longford* :—

A Protestant gentleman of respectability, in the vicinity of *Killesandra*, having lately discharged from his service, his steward and his coachman, both Roman Catholics, and taken Protestants in their room, received an anonymous letter, ordering him, to discharge his *Protestant steward*, and *coachman* ; under pain of suffering for it, and finding his cattle dead in the fields ; and at his peril, to take no more *Protestant servants*. The steward at the same time received another, ordering him to settle his accounts, and clear off immediately ; otherwise, that he might prepare his coffin,



and suffer the severest death ; that no other *Protestant rascal* should ever enter ——— as steward or coachman, &c.

This systematic mode of intimidation is prevalent throughout Ireland, and too generally successful.

MELANCTHON'S ELEVENTH LETTER.

On the present State of Ireland, and the Necessity of Re-enacting the Insurrection-Law.

It is not less melancholy than true, that the Popish priests in Ireland begin to infuse unconstitutional principles into their flocks, as soon as they have a dawn of reason; a procedure to which they are bound by their canonical oath. In my third Letter, (p. 304, Vol. I.) I gave some specimens of those principles, extracted from the general councils and canon-law of their church, the only authentic repositories of them,—ordinances which they are bound to reverence as much as the holy Scriptures themselves, (for they maintain that without the interpretation, which I may call the *fat* of the church, the Scriptures are a dead letter); and in the same, I gave the leading paragraphs of that canonical oath. In my fifth letter, p. 434, I showed the practical effects of such principles in Ireland for three hundred years past.—At the spring assizes of 1811, held at Omagh, for the county of Tyrone, Patrick Mc. Kew and Judy Kelly, were convicted of having administered the following oath to five hundred of the lower class of Papists, in that county, and in the towns of Armagh, Dundall, Castle Blaney, and Newtown Hamilton:—

"I do swear in the presence of the blessed Lady Mary, that I will maintain our holy religion, *by destroying heretics*, as far as my power and property will go (not one excepted) and also that I will assist my brethren in every undertaking *against heretics*,* as commanded by our holy fathers.† I do farther swear, that I am now become a true defender; ‡ and I do further swear, that I will be ready in twelve hours

* In the 27th chapter of the 3d Lateran council, held under Pope Alexander III, in the year 1179, great indulgences are granted to those who shall *exterminate heretics*. Council Bin. Tom. VII, p. 662. By the 3d canon of the 4th Lateran, held under Innocent III, in the year 1215, it is decreed, ~~that those~~ who do so, shall enjoy a full remission of sins, and eternal salvation hereafter.—Idem. Tom. XI. p. 152.

If a bishop be negligent, in purging his diocese of heretical pravity, by the same canon of the 4th Lateran council, he must be deprived of his episcopal dignity; and the same punishment is denounced against him by the council of Constance.—Sess. 45, Tom. VII. p. 1122.

† This means their *priests*, who are bound by their canonical oath, to inculcate the canons of the church.

‡ In my tenth letter, p. 126, of this volume, I described the designs and practices of the defenders, which were so notorious, from 1792 to 1798, that they have given up that title, and have assumed those of Caravat and Shanavists, in the province of Munster; of Thresher and Carver in Leinster and Connaught; and ribbon-men in Ulster, who are now committing barbarous outrages, on the king's loyal and peaceable

warning to put our glorious designs in execution against heretics of every sort, so help me God in this oath." "Sicut. ✠ R. P. Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped:—S. F. C. Isai. xxxv—5."

Copies of the same oath were found in different parts of the counties of Armagh, Down,* Tyrone and Derry, in the years 1811 and 1812. In p. 496 of vol. I. you gave the copy of a similar oath, found on the person of a deserter, at Strabane, in the county of Donegal on the 26th of September 1812.

At the last summer assizes, held at Mullingar, for the county of Westmeath, a man named Maguire, and a man named Molloy were convicted of having administered, and William Mooney of having taken an oath which contains the following paragraphs,—“to be true and loyal to Buonaparte and his forces, to aid and assist in planting the tree of liberty in the centre of Ireland, and in destroying the magazine at Athlone,† that he never would prosecute any of the officers appointed over him or his loyal brothers, that he would be ready on getting ten days’ notice, and that he would put to the cruellest death, any person who gave information, or discovered this.” James Connell, the prosecutor in this case, swore that William Mooney and Hugh Molloy made him swear the following oath, and at the same time delivered to him the ticket a copy of which is hereto annexed, a number of similar tickets examined saw with said Mooney and Molloy.

L. D. L.

“I do swear that I never will prosecute any of our officers, committees or delegates, belonging to our combined union of loyal brothers, but that I will aid and assist Buonaparte and his power of France and his allies, against the English government, and that I will overturn the English government, or die.”

subjects.—A carver shall meet a Protestant, he shall ask him if he be employed? if he wants work? and on receiving an answer, that he shall be glad of something to do, the carver cuts a gash in him, and bids him go home and *darn* it.

• The magistrates and loyal subjects of the county of Down, held a numerous meeting, in order to avert the evil effects which that oath had produced in the adjacent countries:

† It is generally believed, by the vulgar (however incredible it may seem) that the French in their next descent in Ireland, will land at Galway, as it is but one hundred and eight miles from the metropolis, and the road is very good and level. Athlone which lies on the Shannon, and it is in a straight line between Galway and Dublin, being 49 miles distant from the former and 59 from the latter, contains a large magazine; and the Irish Papists, wishing to promote the designs of the French, have often formed conspiracies for its destruction.

Said Mooney and Molloy explained to him the meaning of the letters L. D. L. as signifying loyalty, death or liberty; and that they swore examinant to be true to No. 2 and No. 4, and explained them thus, that No. 2, signified the corps of Westmeath and Longford, and No. 4, the King's county, Queen's county, the counties of Meath and Wicklow.*

James Connell, a man of good character, and actuated by the laudable motive of putting an end to a treasonable conspiracy, by which Westmeath and the adjoining counties had been sometime very much agitated, gave information against Maguire and Molloy for having administered, and Mooney for having sworn the said oath, and the two former were sentenced to transportation for life, the latter for seven years. He also gave information for the same crimes against others, who are now confined in Mullingar gaol. As his life was threatened, he kept out of the way for sometime; but having imprudently ventured to sleep in his house, in the night of the 21st of November last, he was barbarously murdered; and on the following morning, his naked corpse, mangled with wounds, appeared extended on a dunghill, near his door, and a pitch-fork with which it was perforated was standing upright. After the perpetration of this atrocity, they dragged his afflicted wife from her bed, shot her through the head, and left her nearly lifeless;—she still however survives, a melancholy object, with the loss of both her eyes.

Various and unequivocal proofs can be given that at *this time*, the mass of the Irish Papists are united in treasonable combinations cemented by oath, and that they entertain sanguinary designs against Protestants of every description. Before day-break, preceeding the night that the city of Kilkenny was illuminated, on the glorious success of the allies at Leipsic, the following placard was affixed to the post office, to deter any person of the Roman Catholic persuasion from lighting up.

“ This is to give notice, that any Catholic or Catholics, that shall have their houses or windows illuminated to-night, shall have the trouble to go up to visit Hennesy† to mend their windows, and will come off damn well, if his or their windows and houses are not burnt by the united heroes of this nation.

“ I say long life, bad health, an empty stomach, and nothing to eat; a perpetual itching, without the benefit of scratching, to George the Third, not forgetting his offspring ! ”

“ Long life to the Emperor of the Gauls ! ”

* It thus appears that they are formed in companies, and have officers, as the United Irishman and Defenders had.

† Hennesy is a glazier at Kilkenny.

It is truly mortifying, if not alarming, to think, that the mayor of the loyal city of Londonderry, prevented any illumination there, on the above joyful occasion, for the following reason. Its Popish inhabitants, *who are but few, compared with the Protestants*, are imbued with a greater degree of fanatical hatred towards heretics, (as they call them) and more disaffection towards the state, than the Papists of any other part of Ireland; and, therefore, the mayor was afraid that the manifestation of joy on an event which they lamented and deprecated, would stimulate them to break windows and commit outrages; the quelling of which might produce bloodshed.

In p. 495, 496, and 497 of Vol. I. you mentioned some instances of the persecution which Protestants suffered from Papists, for having signed a petition against granting the latter an unqualified concession of all their claims, without previously demanding proper securities for the constitution. To these I request you will add the following placard, which was posted up on the Popish chapel, and some other conspicuous places, a few weeks since in the town of Thurles, in the county of Tipperary, on a Sunday morning:—

“ Catholics of Thurles, read and remember!!!! ”

“ The following Protestant inhabitants of this town have thought proper to stigmatize themselves, by putting their names to the petition against your just claims.”

Here comes a long list of Protestants in trade, with opprobrious additions to their names. “ Catholics, you have by your generosity brought these miserable reptiles out of their dens, you now see the return they have made; if you feel for your situation, or the safety of yourselves and families, you will, by refusing to have any dealing with them, bring them back to that poverty, from which they all sprung. Let bread, candles, saddles and hardware remain in their shops; and they will soon see, that the Catholics of Thurles are not to be trampled on with impunity. Let the grass grow at their doors, and they will soon see the old proverb verified,—harm watch, harm catch.”

On most of the chapel doors in the county of Tipperary, the names of such Protestants, in the respective vicinities thereof, as signed the Protestant petition, have been posted up, in order to mark them for obvious purposes; and the Dublin Evening Post, noted for venomous libels against the king's government, and the constitution in church and state, has done the same towards great numbers of the Protestant petitioners.

There cannot be a doubt, but that most parts of Ireland are now, and have been for a considerable time in a most alarming state of ferment; for all the concomitant circumstances of the conspiracy which prevailed

from 1792 to 1798, exist at this time, viz. treasonable combinations, cemented by oath, and plundering Protestants of their arms and ammunition, of which the disaffected have been, for six years past, accumulating large depots. The Popish multitude are divided into bands, or companies, governed by officers, who roam the country during the night, in quest of arms and ammunition, inflicting vengeance on such persons as refuse to obey their mandates, secretly posted on their chapel doors. The laws afford but little protection against such nocturnal marauders, because it is very difficult to discover them; and those who prosecute them seldom escape assassination. The fermentation of Popish principles under a Protestant state, has uniformly produced the same effect in Ireland for 300 years.

Spenser, secretary to Lord Grey, viceroy of Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth, describes precisely such a Popish banditti as now exists, and records their robberies and their outrages inflicted on the English.* Lord Orrery, when lord president of Munster, in the year 1663, tells us that bands of a like description of persons, in disguise, robbed the Protestants in the night; and he says, "I believe if, wherever such robberies were committed, the priest of the parish (for every parish has a Romish priest, and never were they so numerous or more insolent) were secured till, by his influence on his flock, the robbers were discovered, it would prevent many of those mischiefs. I know this is not legal; but if something equivalent be not done, the Protestants of Ireland will be speedily destroyed without a rebellion." State letters of that year, Vol. I. p. 172, 226.—Human wisdom cannot divine a better system for preventing such scenes of anarchy as I have described, than the insurrection-law, which was framed by Mr. Wolfe† (then attorney-general) in the year 1796, when in most parts of Ireland the Defenders; a ferocious banditti, which I described in my last letter, compelled all loyal subjects to abandon the country, and to fly for protection to the metropolis, or to a garrison town; and wherever it was enforced it immediately restored peace and social order. This wise law is inoperative, and remains a dead letter in the statute-book, till the magistrates of a county, the peace of which is violated, assemble, and notify it to the privy council, who thereupon proclaim such parts thereof as are in a state of disturbance; but they may refuse to do so; and they may limit its operation to a barony, a half barony, or a parish. In any district where this law is enforced, it is penal in any person to appear abroad in the night, after a certain hour; but those whose busi-

* View of the State of Ireland. Irish edition of 1809, p. 83.

† Afterwards Lord Kilwarden, whom they murdered in the year 1803, in Dublin.

ness requires that they should travel in the night can do so, except from any penalty, on obtaining a certificate, or safe conduct, from a magistrate. I can appeal to the loyal inhabitants of Ireland, whether this salutary law, wherever it was enforced, did not afford complete security for their lives and property, and enabled them to remain in the country without any apprehension of danger. None but the disaffected, the rebel, or the plunderer can object to it. Its great excellence consists in its being founded in, and productive of, preventive justice. As it expired in the year 1805, the *talent* administration intended to have revived it, and, therefore, when it was re-enacted by their successors in 1807, Mr. Grattan supported it, and acknowledged the urgent necessity of doing so; for which he was censured in opprobrious language by the Catholic committee,* and he was even burnt in effigy by the Popish multitude in Dublin. This afforded no mean proof of the excellence of that law. As it did not allude to any set of religionists, and was framed for no other purpose but to put an end to nocturnal robbery and assassination, why should the Catholic Committee condemn it? Afterwards Mr. Pele, when chief secretary of Ireland, in an evil hour, moved for and carried the repeal of this excellent law. I cannot think, however, as some have surmised, that he was induced to do this for the purpose of gaining popularity among the Popish freeholders of the Queen's county, which he represents in Parliament. Be this as it may, — his imprudence was universally condemned by all the loyal and peaceably disposed subjects of Ireland. Why deprive them of the *palladium* of their safety, at a time when many parts of Ireland were dreadfully disturbed? It is to be hoped that this very salutary law will be re-enacted in the present session of Parliament. There can be small doubt, however, but that some of the Irish members will oppose its re-enactment, in order to ingratiate themselves with their Popish constituents. I nevertheless maintain that every man of common candour, who reads *the Irish statute-book for the last thirty years*, must be convinced

* "They vainly endeavoured to involve in their guilt that worthy gentleman, in the year 1798, though he had been uniformly their advocate, as stated in my last letter, p. 130; but his well known public and private virtues secured his character from their malevolent attack."

† In my last letter I proved that the Catholic Committee of 1793 encouraged and protected the Defenders, whom they employed to create anarchy and confusion, and to injure the persons and property of the Protestants. The insurgents of the present time seem to identify themselves with the claimants of what they call emancipation. Knowing that the insurrection-law would put down the anarchists, *the Board* ought to use its utmost efforts to put it in force. *The Board* will surely spurn at the very suspicion of screening the Caravats, Shanavists, Threshers, and Carvers from justice.

that Ireland, however desirable it may be, cannot be governed by the mild regimen of the British constitution; and I assert that they know little of the true state of society in Ireland, or judge of it through the distorting medium of most deplorable prejudice, who fancy that it may.

At the last summer assizes, held at Mullingar, for the county of Westmeath, John Cunningham and others were capitally convicted of the following crime. James Geoghegan, a farmer, after having attended divine service at the chapel of Tubberclare, in the said county, on the 11th of April, 1813, was surrounded by a great crowd at a short distance from the chapel door, and a pistol was fired at him by a person in the said crowd, the contents of which lodged in his body, a little above his hip; on which the multitude huzzaed, expressing their approbation of the assassination. It appeared that some time before, a placard had been posted up on the chapel door of Tubberclare, stating the rent for which land was to be let by the acre, and the price at which provisions of every kind were to be sold. As James Geoghegan had not conformed thereto, a party of men, well appointed with fire-arms, of whom Cunningham the assassin was one, surrounded his house on the night of the 3d of February 1813, fired into it, and having attempted to break open the door, he fired a shot at them; and as he seemed determined to defend himself, they departed. As Geoghegan refused to submit and conform to the mandates of the parochial committee of Tubberclare, they resolved to murder him in his own house; but as they failed in that, they hired an assassin to do so at the chapel door, soon after divine service. The constable who arrested Cunningham found a quantity of powder and ball in his house.

At the same assizes, held at Maryborough, for the Queen's county, Patrick Neale and others were capitally convicted of the following crime. The Rev. Edward Sterling, rector of the parish of Rathaspey, in the said county, employed Peter West, as his proctor, to collect his dues and to settle about his tithes in the said parish. West appointed a day for meeting some of the farmers in that parish, at the house of Peter O'Neill, at Doonam, in the said county, to settle with them about their tithes. When West had sat down in a room, in the said house, about twelve persons rushed into it, and while he was conversing with some of them, one Patrick Neale, of Turtane, in the said county, fired a pistol at him, the contents of which, two bullets, lodged in his shoulder. Peter West swore, that when he arrived at Doonam aforesaid, he saw the persons who so rushed into the room, whispering and confederating together, outside the house of the said Neill, and that after he was wounded they precipitately left the room, without offering him any assistance; from which

he was convinced that they had deliberately formed a conspiracy to murder him.

The Rev. Arthur Mahon, a beneficed clergyman of Cape Town, near Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, is at present in the following perilous situation, from the fanaticism and disaffection of the Popish multitude in his vicinity. During last August, notices were posted on the Popish chapels, denouncing such persons as should deal with Orangemen, by which name Protestants of every description are now designated in Ireland. Mr. Mahon's steward having bought a pair of shoes from a Protestant in Boyle, and having neglected to return them according to the mandate posted up, was waylaid in the night in his master's avenue, near his house, was stripped naked, and was carded most unmercifully, the flesh having been torn from his back by a tow card. Since that, some of Mr. Mahon's sheep have been killed, and an attempt has been made to destroy his horses. It is not less singular than true, that though Mr. Mahon is distinguished for his humane and charitable disposition, he is at this time under a necessity of keeping a guard of soldiers in his house, for the preservation of his life and property. The only reason which Mr. Mahon can assign for this cruel persecution is this:—last summer it was generally believed that the houses of all the Protestants in Strokestown would be attacked; and as there was no resident magistrate there, he remained in that town all night, by which he frustrated the malevolent designs of the bigoted conspirators.

A man was lately committed to Mullingar Gaol for administering an oath containing the following paragraphs, "you will suffer to be hanged, quartered, and beheaded, before you give evidence against any leader or brother defender, and on being commanded in writing or by word of mouth by your captain or by the committee, you shall not refuse to go any where, except into a garrison town; and on the landing of the French in this island, you shall be ready and attend to assist and help them, obeying the order of your committee or conductor, and if you perceive any person who is, or was an informer, you shall kill, hang, or drown him."

You may rest assured of the following fact; a friend of mine called lately at the house of Archdeacon Beatty, in the county of Longford, and found him busily employed in making plaisters for some poor men who had been carded* the night before, and my friend, though he is a steady loyalist, and displayed great valour and intrepidity in the rebellion of

* The carders punish those who refuse to obey their mandates, by tearing the flesh off their backs with wool or tow cards; and they are also eagerly collecting arms and ammunition.

1798, recommended to the Archdeacon not to administer any relief or comfort to these poor men, lest he might, by so doing, be injured in his person or property, by drawing on him the vengeance of the Popish multitude who at this time are plundering the Protestants of their arms, and committing nightly the most barbarous outrages.

It is universally well known that not only Protestants but Roman Catholics have been injured, and even some of them have been ruined by combinations not to deal with them, for having voted at the last general election for candidates who were known, or even suspected of being attached to the Protestant establishment.

At Cork, a wholesale importing grocer, having voted for Sir Nicholas Colthurst, incurred the united hatred of all Papists there. Having received a large cargo of groceries, he sent handbills to all his customers to notify it. Those of the Papish persuasion informed him, that in consequence of the vote which he had given, they never would have any dealing with him. In order to indemnify himself, and to punish them, for their bigotry and intolerance, he opened a shop, and sold his groceries under the usual market price, by sacrificing the profit which retailers get. By these means he sold all his cargo, for ready money, in a short time, and, by depriving his enemies, the retail grocers, of their customers, by which they were exposed to ruin, he compelled them to ask pardon, and to solicit him to renew his dealing with them. This spirit of combination against Protestants has extended itself to most parts of Ireland.

A seditious priest of Derry, who has libelled our worthy Protestant Bishop (Doctor Knox), lately stated in the *Evening Post* that the population of that city was 12,000, of which 2000 only were Protestants, and that the remainder were Papists; but by an accurate census it appears, that the entire population amounts to 24,089

Of which the Protestants are..... 14,844

The Papists but 9,245

You may rest assured that the mass of the Irish Papists are as completely organized as they were previously to the rebellion of 1798. The main object of the disturbances at present is to make a diversion of our forces, (a fruitless effort I trust,) in favour of Bonaparte, by creating a necessity of keeping a great number of troops in this island.

In p. 451 of your first volume, you gave an account of the outrage near Kiloorglin, county Kerry, where great damage was done to the works and the materials of a church building there. I am sorry to inform you, that though rewards exceeding £550 were offered by the most respectable

ablemen and gentlemen of the county, to those who should discover the perpetrators of so scandalous and impious an outrage, they were insufficient to deter them from repeating it; for on the night of Wednesday the 23d of June last, a number of Popish ruffians assembled there, levelled to the ground the wall of the church, built to the height of six feet, destroyed the wrought stone prepared for door and window cases, and did every damage in their power to the materials prepared for expediting the work. This outrage is rendered still more discreditable, by its having been committed on St. John's eve, when large crowds of the country people assembled together at the bonfires then customarily lighted up; and the spot where it took place being in the heart of a populous country, and near a much frequented and public road, it must have been witnessed by numbers of persons. I understand that it is not intended to resume the work, until such time as efficacious measures shall be adopted by government, to prevent the recurrence of an outrage as discreditable to our country as it was savage in its conception, and diabolical in its perpetration.

A similar outrage was committed about two years ago, in the parish of Temple Michael's, near Bandon, in the county of Cork, where the Popish multitude threatened with destruction the mechanics employed in building a Protestant church; which never could have been built, had not government stationed hard by, in huts, a company of foot soldiers for its protection. Such are the people who accuse the Protestants of persecution, and grievously complain that they are not allowed religious liberty,* but know not wherein true liberty consists; Milton's lines, with which I conclude, are exactly applicable;—

" They bawl for freedom, in their senseless mood,

" Yet still revolt when truth would set them free;

" Licence they mean, when they cry liberty,

" For who loves that, must first be wise and good."

MELANCTHON.

SCRUTATOR'S LETTERS (No. II.) ON THE PRESENT POSTURE AND POLICY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

MR. EDITOR,—As you express yourself willing to admit my observations, conformably to the proposal inserted in your number for Jan. p. 177, I shall commence by offering to your notice a brief analytical account of

* See feast of religious liberty at Kilkenny, p. 235, and at Waterford, p. 369.

"*The Orthodox Journal for June 1813*," published in the month following. This periodical [work (issued in shilling numbers)] is ostensibly conducted by a printer, named WILLIAM EUSEBIUS ANDREWS, now residing at No. 5, Fenwick Court, Holborn; who says he was a superintendant in one of the printing-offices at Norwich, for twenty-three years; a man of extremely coarse and vulgar manners, but not defective in arrogance and self-importance, when he assumes the pen of the critic, or attempts to uphold the pillars of the Roman Catholic church, to which he belongs. The editor is commended for his orthodoxy, &c. in very glowing language by Dr. JOHN MILNER, the Vicar Apostolic, so well known both in England and in Ireland; to whom, in his turn, Mr. Andrews not seldom repays the compliments received from the learned Romish prelate! From this circumstance, as well as from the numerous important communications of Dr. Milner, we may fairly conclude that each supports the other in his respective plans of policy or aggrandizement; and that, as the zealous bishop is the prime "agent" of Popery, "the vigilant, incorruptible, powerful, and unwearied champion" of the "prelates of Ireland,"—He does not forget to use his utmost possible influence in the sister-island to disseminate this very seasonable manifesto, the "*Orthodox Journal*." In short, Sir, I regard it as the literary vehicle generally accredited and encouraged by all truly STAUNCH Roman Catholics throughout the British empire. When I tell you that the long established Roman Catholic booksellers in Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, are *not* named among the vendors of this work, and that the English Catholic Board is handsomely lashed by the said Journal, I need not say that this affords an additional proof of its *Milnerian* quality; and I conceive no person of discernment can read any single number, without observing its entire devotedness to the rankest species of popery now in existence,—a compound of uncharitable superstition, overbearing insolence, and insidious tyranny!!!

The prominent articles in No. I. are as follow: remarks by the editor on the late "Catholic Relief Bill;" Dr. Milner's memorial on same subject; resolutions of the Board of English Catholics: pastoral address of the Irish Prelates; thanks of the Irish clergy and laity to Bishop Milner; his answer to the laity; the address of the Irish Catholics to the Princess of Wales; their new petition to the House of Commons; remarks on Orange-societies; and the proceedings of the Irish Catholic Board, the aggregate meetings in Dublin, and other similar associations, &c. in Ireland.—I shall proceed to give you some account of each of these documents, comprized in the first number of this "*Orthodox Journal*."

The introductory paper, by the editor, contains observations on what

Dr. Milner and others denominate an *oppressive* and *cruel* bill; though, "by those who call themselves the friends of civil and religious liberty," it is styled "the Catholic *relief* bill." Mr. W. E. Andrews gives eleven closely printed pages of remarks on "this cruel and most *insulting* bill;" which, he says, "instead of relieving, would have inflicted pains and penalties on a numerous and most meritorious class of our fellow-subjects, the "Catholic clergy." He informs us, truly, "that the great body of the Irish nation, and the *whole* of the Irish prelacy," (*i. e.* the Roman Catholic Bishops, as he does not consider the Protestant prelates to have any canonical existence), had rejected the said "relief bill;" which "was incompatible with the discipline of their holy religion," and was "an insult to the feelings of the laity."

The first clause in the bill is said to be too prolix, and he thinks, "not at all calculated for a sincere and tender conscience;" for it does not clearly shew who are meant, nor what is intended, as "overthrowing or disturbing the present church establishments of the United Kingdom." He conceives, that this language may affect those who, in the exercise of *their proper function*, shall by mere force of reason and conviction make *proselytes** to the church of Rome; and he pretends that such an oath might preclude him giving his vote to a candidate in a parliamentary election, "as he would not vote for any man who did not promise to support a reform in parliament, and a total repeal of ALL civil disabilities on the grounds of difference in religion."—To the next four clauses he says little, but objects strenuously to the sixth; which he considers "a most despotic attempt to controul the minds of a learned and studious body of men," by abridging their correspondence with the See of Rome, &c. He then inveighs bitterly against the clause, which supposes it possible for some of their clergy not to be able to write their own names, in subscribing an oath: this he calls, "a most shameful and most unblushing attack on the character of the Catholic clergy." The ninth clause is deemed unnecessary; as "the Catholic clergy are ardently attached to their country, and have solemnly declared that they will not elect any person to fill the episcopal station, whose conduct shall not be unimpeachable."

But, Mr. Editor, although "*the Catholic clergy are ARDENTLY attached to their country*," as this Popish Journalist tells us, I presume there is a difference between them, and that some are more "*ardently at-*

* It is the spirit of *proselytism*, nourished by the vain opinion that there is no salvation out of the church of Rome, which renders the Papists peculiarly dangerous. The making of proselytes is here avowed to be *the proper function* of these restless intriguers. They are ever busied in acquiring an accession of POWER.—*Edit.*

tached" to the discipline of the Italian bishops than others! Did the said Journalist never hear of one Bishop Douglass, and of the movements he made when a former bill was pending in parliament? Did not a Doctor of Divinity, of the Roman Catholic church, then publicly charge him with getting an ambiguous, shuffling, evasive oath, substituted for a clear, open, and explicit one; so that a schism had almost taken place among the English Catholics? Was not the said bishop notorious for his transalpine maxims and papal usurpations, like the present Vicar Apostolic who countenances the Orthodox Journal? And, was not Bishop Douglass obtruded upon his flock in the London district, by an arbitrary foreign power, quite in opposition to Dr. Berington, the shepherd of their choice, whom the Roman Catholics of this district anxiously preferred? Now, what says Dr. Geddes himself of such Papal men and measures? "Every one who knows what Popish principles are, must consider them as radically incompatible with civil government; and only ceasing to be harmful by contingency and circumstances. I have no hesitation (says he) in asserting that a genuine consistent Papist *cannot be a good subject under any government*. There is hardly a nation in Europe, which has not, at times, experienced this." P. 43, App. No. II. of a letter to Bishop Douglass, 1794.

There are fifteen or sixteen vacancies, at present, for Irish titular bishops; which cannot be filled up, till a communication shall be opened with the Pope of Rome. What political evils might be experienced by the sudden-introduction of so many prelates, not less *ardently* attached to the quintessence of Popery than certain of the living bishops of that church are known to be! We have seen what can be done to irritate and influence the minds of Roman Catholics, in the United Kingdom, by only one man's exertions!

Mr. Andrews next intimates his dislike, that the tenth clause of the late intended act provides for the residence of all bishops and deans in this country, five years immediately preceding the exercise of such functions; and he thinks this a tyrannical requirement. Consequently, the clause which appointed commissioners, to ensure the loyalty and peaceable conduct of Roman Catholics in holy orders, &c. must be equally offensive to him. "In vain," says he, "might we look (under the proposed system) for the appointment of a *Milner*, the venerable and incorruptible champion of truth,—a *Troy* or a *Copping*—a *Lingard*, the acute and learned opponent of the Bishop of Durham,—or the elegant and classical controversialist *Fletcher*. In vain might we look for the elevation of such men; who, by their writings and their labours, display an independency of mind, and a bold and fervent devotion to their sacred profession."

Various other clauses are pronounced to be "utterly incompatible with the discipline of the Roman Catholic church, and with the free exercise of their religion:" in short, "this cruel and most insulting bill" is said to be the fruit of a hateful policy, and a distempered brain." "Oh! most profound legislators! (the editor exclaims) I have often wondered what necessity there was for building the new *lunatic asylum*, upon so large a scale; but, since the production of this disgusting species of legislation, I have ceased wondering: it can only be considered as the incubations of distempered brains. However, before their senses are completely gone, I will take the liberty to give them the advice,"* &c. &c. &c.

I intended, Sir, to have continued the analysis of this first number of the "*Orthodox Journal*" in my present letter; but, probably, you will think I have already gone far enough, and will allow me to defer the remainder till a future opportunity.

I am, &c.

SCRUTATOR.

EDUCATION OF THE POOR.

We profess ourselves decided friends to the educating poor children, and making them early acquainted with *the holy scriptures*. Whether Protestant or Roman Catholics, our wish is that they should draw their religious principles from the fountain head of divine knowledge—from the wells of salvation.—We feel a singular pleasure in printing the following paper handed to us by a *Protestant* of truly Catholic principles; his views are *liberal*, in the best sense of the word, and happy shall we be to promote them.

[*Roman*] *Catholic School, designed chiefly for the Instruction of Poor Irish Children, in Bloomsbury.*

"A large room has been fitted up at No. 11, Baynbrigg Street, St. Giles's; which was opened as a Sunday School on the 27th of June 1813, for the gratuitous instruction of poor children of both sexes, under the superintendence of Thomas Augustine Finigan, a Roman Catholic, and a Native of Ireland. The conditions on which the committee and subscribers have agreed to support this school, are, that on books whatever shall be used for reading beside the holy scriptures and spelling-book; the children being also at full liberty to attend what place of divine worship their parents prefer.

* We beg to call, to this quotation, the attention of the Protestant patrons of the Popish claims, in parliament,—Messrs. Canning, Grattan, Plunket, C. Grant, jun. &c. &c.—*Edit.*

" The committee at first contemplated a Sunday School only ; with, perhaps, an Evening School on the week-days : but the children, sent by their parents, are now so eager to receive instruction, that the room is completely filled every day, from nine o'clock in the morning till nine at night ! Above one hundred and seventy scholars have already been admitted ; and their numbers would be increased immediately, if the resources of this establishment were adequate to the expense. .

" Mr. Finigan and his wife report, that a very observable amendment has taken place in the morals of these neglected and ignorant children ; and that they not only make a considerable progress in reading, writing, &c. but likewise commit to memory several portions, or even whole chapters, of the scriptures.

" The good effects of these religious instructions are also witnessed among the parents ; some of whom, the master says, take a pleasure in hearing the sacred volume perused by their children at home : so that there are many families now in St. Giles's, where the New Testament is read to them by the children with serious attention, who, six months ago, would not have admitted it within their doors.

" Such beneficial consequences encourage the committee to believe that means will not be wanting to support this school, and defray the increasing expenses ; which, however moderate, are too great to be continued without further aid. The weekly allowance to the teacher for each child is *two-pence* : but only about thirty of them are paid for by their parents, the rest being supplied by the committee ; who have, likewise, the rent, price of furniture, stationary, and other pecuniary expenses to discharge ; and they are at present quite destitute of any permanent funds."

" *London, December, 1813.*"

" N. B. Donations and annual subscriptions will be received by any member of the committee ; also by J. S. Brooks, Esq. No. 10, John Street, Bedford Row ; Mr. Gosnell, No. 8, Little Queen Street, Holborn ; or Thomas Clark, Esq. *the Treasurer*, No. 1, Bury Place, Bloomsbury ; where the names of the present subscribers, and other particulars, may be obtained."

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—I am one of those old fashioned fellows who think that our ancestors were not very far behind us in wisdom : nay, that in some things they judged even better than we do. For example, when I hear

the Romanists affirm, with the utmost coolness and perseverance, that their religious tenets are in no degree persecuting, and that the Protestants have persecuted them, and not they the Protestants; and when I see some good natured Protestants shew their politeness and liberality by assenting to these bold assertions, I am apt to say, this would not have gone down in my father's time. I stumbled the other day upon a notable proof of this, which, as it applies particularly to this present time, I thought I might as well send you. It is to be found in the form of thanksgiving ordered by his Majesty's special command to be used on the 30th of November, in the year 1759: that epoch which till very lately was considered as the most glorious in our annals; and which, by those who do not justly value (as there are some who do not) our late exertions, will still be considered as such. In this state of (till then unexampled) glory and prosperity, our ancestors did not confine their views to themselves; but having to give thanks to God for his exceeding great bounty, looked abroad to see what was the state of that religion for which they never ceased to care, and they found some of their fellow Protestants in such a state of jeopardy and persecution, that they felt it necessary to put up a special prayer to God for them. It is the prayer which was to follow the prayer for the whole state of Christ's church militant here on earth; and it is conceived in the following terms:

" A Prayer for the Reformed Churches.

" O God, the father of mercies, we present our supplications unto thee, more especially on behalf of our reformed brethren, whom, blessed be thy name, thou hast hitherto wonderfully supported. Make them perfect, strengthen, stablish them; that they may stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, and adorn the doctrine of Christ our Saviour in all things. Preserve the tranquillity of those who at present enjoy it: *look down with compassion upon such as are persecuted for righteousness' sake; and plead thy cause with the oppressors of thy people.* Enlighten those who are in darkness and error, and give them repentance, to the acknowledgment of the truth: that all the ends of the world may remember themselves, and be turned unto the Lord; and we may all become one flock, under the great shepherd and bishop of our souls, Jesus Christ, our only mediator and advocate. Amen."

Now, Sir, I do not adduce this as meaning to institute any invidious comparison between the form of prayer which we are about to use and that, but simply as unquestionable evidence of the national feeling at that time, and of the persuasion entertained by the whole people of England (for I am persuaded you will not find that any one individual expressed a

dissent from this public declaration so set forth by authority), that the Protestants abroad were many of them under persecution; and it is plain that this persecution could come only from the Papists. It is decisive evidence (to an Englishman, at least) that such was the case up to the very commencement of his present Majesty's reign; and that it was so notoriously and grievously the case, that it was fit to be specially remembered in the national prayers at a time of public thanksgiving. It will be for those Protestants who are for giving the lie to their forefathers in this respect, to shew upon what grounds they do it.

I cannot help adding one other passage from this form, which might supply a useful hint to our Allies at least, if not to us. In the first collect it is prayed that God would "*complete the deliverance which he had begun.*" A consummation which our Allies at this moment seem not to have borne very strongly in mind. They are a little like that king of Israel, who, in token of his being to smite his enemies, was bidden by Elisha to take the arrows [the sheaf of arrows], and he took them, "and he said to the King of Israel, smite upon the ground; and he smote thrice *and stayed.*" And we are told that "the man of God was wroth with him, and said, thou shouldst have smitten five or six times; then hadst thou smitten till thou hadst consumed."* I fear, indeed, that unless a reinforcement of vigour be obtained, and a different policy pursued from that which is disclosed in the Declaration of the Allies, they will find to their cost that they have only "*scotched the snake, not killed it.*" I begin to fear for myself that I have wandered a little beyond the proper bounds;† but you

* See, 2 Kings, xiii. 14—19.

† There is a closer connexion between the successes of the allied army and the security of the Protestant religion, than is generally supposed. The administering illegal oaths, and the recent convictions that have taken place in Ireland of persons guilty of that offence, prove that the lower (which is the seditious and traitorous) class of Papists in that country, still cling to the hopes which they once cherished, respecting the fancied genius of Buonaparte; his supposed invincibility; his eventual conquest of their island, and its consequent separation from England; and, above all, his liberation of "the god of their idolatry,"—the Pope, and the augmentation of his power. We conjecture that if any thing can check the violence of the Popish multitude, it will be the complete humiliation of the Corsican upstart.—We participate in all the feelings of our correspondent, and congratulate him, and our beloved country, and the emancipated millions of the continent, that the Allies have passed the Rhine in force; they now pursue a straight forward and well defined line of conduct. We hope that they will lose no time in sieges. They are too numerous, too well appointed, and too brave to heed the feeble garrisons in their rear,—let them press on to Paris, and there dictate a peace to the disturber of the civilized world.—(The above was written in January last. The Allies have acted up to our most sanguine wishes. May peace be the result!)

will excuse the garrulity of an old man on account of his zeal for the good cause, and believe me,

Ever yours,

Jan. 5, 1814.

PHILARCHAIUS.

STEPHEN CATTLEY, ESQ. TO MR. STOCKDALE.

WE seize the first opportunity in our power to print the following letter of Mr. Cattley to our publisher, together with a paper enclosed in it. We feel peculiar pleasure in paying attention to a gentleman to whom the Protestant interest is so much obliged as it certainly is to Mr. Cattley. Dr. Moylan's address we have printed above.

Camberwell, 5th Jan. 1814.

SIR,—The inclosed address from Dr. Moylan to the Roman Catholics on the opening of his new *cathedral chapel* at Cork, was sent to me under cover of a few lines (of which you have herewith a copy) without a signature.

The printed address I keep by me, lest the validity of it should be disputed by the favourers of the Roman Catholic claims.

There is nothing in the address which is not quite consistent with the principles of the church of Rome, as it was in the time of Pope Leo X, when Tetzel* was hawking about Germany his plenary indulgences,

* We extract the following note from Robertson's History of Charles V, as it appears in the "*Rise of the Reformation*," &c. printed for our publisher, 41, Pall-Mall, taken from Robertson's work, and sold in the form of a pamphlet, very interesting at this present time.—"As the *form of these indulgences*, and the *benefits* which they were supposed to convey, are unknown in Protestant countries, and little understood, at present, in several places where the Roman Catholic religion is established, I have, for the information of my readers, translated the *form of absolution* used by Tetzel: "May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first from all ecclesiastical censures in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see; and as far as the keys of the holy church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account; and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism: so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened; and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."—Seckend. Comment. lib. i. p. 14.—

which excited the resentment of Luther, and gave birth to the Reformation.

As this is another proof that the practice as well as the principles of Popery are the same at this time as they were six hundred years ago, perhaps the editors of the "*Protestant Advocate*" may insert it in their publication, as the editors of the *Anti-Jacobin* have already done at my request in their publication for this month.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

STEPHEN CATTLEY.

[See also the *Decreed impositions of the Chancery Court of Rome*, (proved beyond all exception to be authentic), in the *PROTESTANT ADVOCATE*, Vol. I. This abominable list of rates was published in England by *Anthony Egane*, a Franciscan friar, in 1673; and republished by *Baron Maseres*, in his last volume of *Occasional Essays*, 1809, from which some curious extracts are given in *Dr. Hales's New Analysis of Chronology*, Vol. II. p. 1019—1025.—*Edit.*]

"The terms in which Tetzel and his associates described the benefits of indulgences, and the necessity of purchasing them, are so extravagant, that they appear to be almost incredible. If any man (said they) purchase letters of indulgence, his soul may rest secure with respect to its salvation. The souls confined in purgatory, for whose redemption indulgences are purchased, as soon as the money tinkles in the chest, instantly escape from that place of torment, and ascend into heaven. That the efficacy of indulgences was so great, that the most heinous sins, even if one should violate (which was impossible) the Mother of God, [horrible supposition!] would be remitted and expiated by them, and the person be freed both from punishment and guilt. That this was the unspeakable gift of God, in order to reconcile men to himself. That the cross erected by the preachers of indulgences, was as efficacious as the cross of Christ itself. Lo! the heavens are open: if you enter not now, when will you enter? For twelve pence you may redeem the soul of your father out of purgatory; and are you so ungrateful, that you will not rescue your parent from torment? If you had but one coat, you ought to strip yourself instantly, and sell it, in order to purchase such benefits, &c. These, and many such extravagant expressions, are selected out of Luther's works by Chemnitius, in his *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, apud Herm. Vonder Hardt. Hist. Liter. Reform. pars iv. p. 6. The same author has published several of Tetzel's discourses, which prove that these expressions were neither singular nor exaggerated.—*Ibid.* p. 14.—When Tetzel had collected a great sum of money by the sale of indulgences at *Leipsic*, in 1518, a gentleman of that city applied to him for an indulgence to commit a certain crime, without specifying what it was. Tetzel consented, received his fee, and granted the absolution in due form. Soon after the gentleman waylaid Tetzel, on his departure from the city; cudgelled him soundly, and robbed him of all his money, telling him at parting, that this was the crime for which he had purchased absolution. George, duke of Saxony, a zealous friend of the See of Rome, when he heard of the robbery, was very angry at first, but when he learned all the circumstances, he laughed heartily and pardoned the offender."—*Hales's Chronology*, Vol. II. p. 1022.—*Edit.*

Post Mark, Bge. Westm: 6th Dec. 1815.

Copy, addressed to Stephen Cattley, Esq.

"The enclosed was given by a Popish servant to his fellow Protestant servant who gave it to his master, who has the honour to enclose it.

"A new and very large chapel has lately been built at Cork under the direction of the Rev. Francis Moylan the Popish bishop.

"The within speaks for itself. It was circulated on the 28th November, among the middle classes particularly—perhaps earlier amongst the others. Probably after perusing it you would be so good as to request the Bishop of Oxford, of Gloucester, or of Lincoln, to shew it to that good but deceived man the Bishop of Norwich.

"Can it be possible that the man who could compose the enclosed should be worthy of a seat in the British legislature?

"God forbid—forbid it the constitution—what would Stephen Cattley say to it? Your excuse is requested for sending the printed paper in its filthy state; but it is just as it was received."

SIR NEAL O'DONEL'S CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—I send you a *third part* of Sir Neal O'Donel's curious correspondence, which appeared in the CORRESPONDENT of 28th October. It throws considerable light on the obscurity of the preceding parts, and contains important additional information on the subject; which deserves to be speedily and widely circulated, at the present crisis during the present session of the *Imperial Parliament*; when the national concerns, unfortunately, are again likely to be impeded, and government harassed, by the *crambe répétit* of the CATHOLIC CLAIMS. I send it therefore, without delay, that you may have an opportunity of including it, if you choose, in the same number with the *second part*.*

Though this is more intelligible than the preceding, still the dates of several documents (marked with the letters A, H, I, &c. in continuation) are strangely dislocated and corrupted; either through the carelessness of the manuscripts, or the carelessness of the printer. I shall therefore endeavour to restore the true dates, and shall add some explanatory notes and remarks, for the further ease and information of your *English* readers.

(A.) The *Vicar Capitular's* Letter, &c. should be dated Oct. 18; as more correctly printed in (H.) It was occasioned, by his receiving from

* This proved to be impracticable.—*Edit.*

Mr. Burke, the secretary. "Mr. Fallon's card," (M. omitted in the collection) inviting Mr. B. to attend a meeting of the parish of *Burris-hole*, [or *Barrishoole*] appointed for Oct. 16, [not 26th] to conclude the business of the former meeting, Oct. 4. But Mr. B. not chusing to attend to the requisition, nor to appear there, for reasons of state, sent it, we presume, with a wish that the *Vicar Capitular* would interpose his weighty authority and intimidations, to prevent the meeting from proceeding in their resolutions, &c. And accordingly, an attested copy of the Vicar's letter was presented to the meeting, for that purpose, but without effect: for the resolutions (H.) were proposed, and unanimously agreed to; and ended in censuring both the *Vicar*, and his "dear friend, Mr. Burke."

(I.) The approbation of Sir O'Neal's conduct was given at a subsequent meeting, held Oct. 19; and this invitation to dine with the Roman Catholic parishioners, on Monday 25th instant, from the secretary, should be dated Oct. 21; as well as Sir Neal's answer (K.).

(L.) Sir Neal's letter to the *Vicar Capitular*, dated Oct. 22, is really a valuable document in an improved style. It succinctly, and with tolerable clearness, specifies the several charges against his parish priest; which were imperfectly attempted to be collected in my last letter; including some new, and extraordinary acts of violence, such as *beating hundreds of his tenantry, beating a married woman, so as to break four of her ribs, &c. &c.*

The title, "*Vicar Capitular* of the diocese of *Tuam*," given to "the Rev. Doctor Kelly," in this correspondence, though familiar in *Ireland*, requires explanation in *England*. On the demise of a Romish prelate, it is customary for the chapter of the diocese to meet and elect a "*Vicar*," or temporary substitute, *sede vacante*, thence called "*Capitular*," until his election shall be confirmed by the Pope. And at present, there is not less than five or six vicars capitular, among the Romish hierarchy in *Ireland*; all waiting for their full appointment by the Pope; which *Buonaparte*, (wishing to retain in his own hands the power of the Pope) has hitherto prevented, by refusing access to his holiness, on the part of the *Irish* delegates. These vicars, from their precarious tenure, in order to merit their appointment, by their services, are the most strenuous partisans of Popery in *Ireland*; and it was owing principally to their intrigues, at the late synods* in *Dublin*, that the regular Romish hierarchy rejected

* By the Romish canons, vicars capitular, though entitled to sit in a general council, where the laity are admitted, are excluded from sitting in a provincial synod, because they are not properly prelates. Hence the interference of such at the *Dublin synods*, is illegal, according to the state of the church of Rome.

the *Veto*, Mr. Grattan's bill, &c. This is a fact, not so generally known as it deserves to be.

By endeavouring to screen a delinquent priest from detection and punishment, this vicar capitular, makes himself an aider and abettor, even worse than the principal. Both, surely, deserve to be removed from those sacred functions which they profane and disgrace; and both ought to be publicly reprobated by the whole synod. However that may be, for it is rather unlikely to take place, the honest baronet merits the thanks of the public at large, and of "*the Catholic body*" in particular, of whom he styles himself "*the sincere friend*;" for unveiling this *mystery of iniquity*, working in his neighbourhood; which may ultimately lead to a salutary reform in the *regimen and discipline* of the *Romish church* in GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, by the interference of the LEGISLATURE, *abolishing the papacy*, or the Pope's Antichristian, and unconstitutional assumption of *ecclesiastical supremacy* in foreign states; and *reclaiming to the crown the appointment to the hierarchy*, according to ancient usage.

Such disclosures will also tend to facilitate this legal and most desirable reform, by opening the eyes of the Romish laity in general, to the usurpations and misdemeanors of their *hierarchy and clergy*: and by *emancipating the priest-ridden* part of them from their servile dependence and blind submission to the sinister views of such unprincipled *prelates, vicars, or pastors* of their persuasion. This dangerous party, we are well assured, is decreasing fast* in Ireland; while that of the *protesting Catholics* is hourly gaining ground, and, under the auspices of such respectable leaders as Counsellor *Bellew*,† &c. though in the minority hitherto, cannot fail soon to become the majority, zealous to prove their loyalty, and to promote the reformation of their church.

Your's, &c.

Nov. 2, 1813.

CRITO.

PART III.

(G.) *Letter from the Rev. Dr. Kelly, Vicar Capitular of the Diocese of Tuam, to the Rev. John Bourke, Parish Priest of Newport.*

"October 18th [13th], 1813.

"My dear Mr. Bourke,—I received your card, and am astonished at

* The violence of Dr. Dromgoole must tend powerfully to thin the ranks of the majority.

† See Counsellor *Bellew's* excellent speech, exposing the futility of the objections of the *Romish hierarchy* to the *veto*, &c. and objecting to a vote of thanks by the Roman Catholic body, for their services, which was carried, however, by a majority in the meeting, headed by Counsellor *O'Connell*, and other demagogues.

the purport of Mr. Fallon's card (M.), which you inclose, and which I now send back. I request you will make known to him the following, my sentiments:

"I must express my astonishment that Mr. Fallon would not *first* have recourse to me, when a difference existed with respect to chapel affairs, or any other ecclesiastical matters. This would be the regular and religious way, and not to have recourse to *lay interference*. But I fear that Mr. Fallon, and some other Catholic individuals of Newport, wish to introduce *innovations* into our church discipline, and merit for themselves the names of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*. Please to inform them that these innovations will not be allowed, and that their *Protestant associate* will not be suffered to become our ecclesiastical legislator.

"For the members of our church can never be fit legislators for a church to which they do not belong. The intentions of Sir Neal are no longer disguised. He accuses our clergy of receiving money for the purpose or *pretence* of chapel buildings. This may be his opinion, but he will be convicted in his charge of an *infamous falsehood*, and if your Catholic parishioners, or any of them, *associate* themselves with our *avowed enemy*, we must only deplore their error, and make them out as false brethren.

"If they only seek to satisfy themselves as to chapel money received, or to be received, they have only to withhold their contribution until such time as the system they seek for is established; and if they have given any in the time past, such of them as are uneasy of mis-appropriation, it should be returned to them; and if they have not given any, at best I can only say of them, that they are mighty busy in what their purse is not concerned.

"As for the *requisitions* and *meetings* that are now become so fashionable in your part of the world, they may rely on it, if they persevere; that they will only make themselves *ridiculous* in the eyes of the world, and chiefly in the sight of the church.

"I am sure you have, according to my advice to you, given your advice, and my sentiments on this head, to those of your parishioners who are *widely going astray*. Do so now again, and if after *this admonition* they should persist, they will have only to blame themselves for the future *bad consequences* which will most certainly accrue to them.

"I am in a hurry—Your's truly,

"To the Rev. John Bourke,
P. B. Newport."

"OLIVER KELLY."

(H.) "At a general meeting of the parish of Burthorpe, held in

Newport, this 26th [16th] day of October, 1818, the following resolutions were proposed, and unanimously agreed to :—

“ Resolved,—That the resolution entered into on the 4th inst. is hereby confirmed; namely, that we appointed Sir Neal O'Donel and Joseph M'Donnell, Esq. our joint treasurers for our chapel funds—and should either decline the appointment, that the other continue sole treasurer.

“ Resolved,—That *five trustees* be this day appointed to manage the funds and donations that are now and hereafter subscribed, for the purpose of erecting galleries and an altar, and otherwise completing our chapel, and that the trustees appoint one of their number to act as *secretary*.

William Ivers,

John Nixon, Jun.

Denis Hoban,

David Hoban,

Gen. Fallon,

} Trustees.

[elected secretary.]

“ Resolved,—That the trustees meet once in the month to determine the work to be done, to have it executed in the most expeditious, prudent, and permanent manner, and that the trustees, or a majority of them, inspect the work, each a week, and discharge tradesmen's bills, by orders on the treasurer.

“ Resolved,—That the chief object of this meeting is to have the funds of our chapel vested in the hands of our parishioners; to have the raising, management, and expenditure at their own disposal—and that we deem it no incroachment or infringement on the privileges and immunities of our clergy—and that we have, in our requisition (M.) for this meeting, requested of our clergy to attend us for that purpose, and by their not complying with that reasonable demand, they have manifested a wish on their part to be in opposition and hostility with their parish.

“ Resolved,—That our conduct towards our pastor has been regulated by that becoming respect and requisite duty, in soliciting him to attend our meeting this day—and that, as he has not thought proper to comply with so reasonable a request, we feel ourselves called on to declare our disapprobation of his conduct.

“ Resolved,—That we lament most sincerely that our pastor has acted, in our opinion, most imprudently and unadvisedly, in refusing the parish access to their chapel, for the purpose of transacting chapel concerns,—and we are reluctantly compelled to declare our marked disapprobation of his conduct, in refusing us what we conceive to be our right.

“ Resolved,—That our chapel and our chapel ground be made no use of but for the purposes for which they were designed—respectful to religion, and creditable to the parishioners.

" Resolved,—That any *collections* made at the chapel, rendered necessary by the necessities of the poor of the parish, shall be obtained in the manner most decent to the cause of religion, and in unison with the feelings and convenience of the parishioners.

" Resolved,—That the parishioners are much inconvenienced by the want of *second mass* at our chapel of Newport, for which the parish are disposed to pay their clergy liberally.

" Resolved,—That we have heard read by Surgeon M'Greal, an attested copy of a letter, dated the 13th of October instant, from Doctor Kelly, *Vicar Capitular of the Diocese of Tuam*, to the Rev. John Bourke, parish priest of Newport, in our decided opinion *most foully and unjustly* imputing to Sir Neal O'Donel, Bart. of being guilty of "*an infamous falsehood*;" which we utterly deny;—and also a charge against one of our parishioners, Mr. Con. Fallon, namely, of his being guilty of "*innovation*," when only exerting the right of a parishioner, concerning the completing our chapel, which is equally untrue, and we express our *strongest feelings of disapprobation and disgust of the said letter*.

" Resolved,—That from the *incontestable proofs* produced to our parish meeting this day by Sir Neal O'Donel, Bart. one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, of the *many and culpable derelictions of his spiritual duties* of our pastor, and *crudely to his poor parishioners*, that we deem the Rev. John Bourke *unworthy to be our pastor*, and that we shall pursue the steps that the *laws of the Catholic church* prescribe for his removal, to be succeeded by a pastor more worthy of our esteem and confidence, appointed to our parish by the legitimate powers of our church.

" Con. Fallon,	William Joyce,	Henry Cain,
Denis Hoban,	Bryan O'Donnel,	Pat. Glynn,
John Nixon,	Dents Boylan,	John Gannon,
John Nixon,	William Hamil,	John Lun,
Thos. M'Manon,	Patt. Kilcoyne,	Pat. M'Greal,
Patt. M'Greal,	M'Neal Conlan,	David Hoban,
Hugh M'Donough,	Darby M'Manmoh,	John Hoban, Jun.
Patrick M'Greal,	John Henry,	Michael Kilcoyne,
Laurence Bourke,	Michael Hamil,	Daniel Swiny."
Peter Goraughty,		

(I.) *To Sir Neal O'Donel, Bart. Newport House.*

" SIR,—The pleasing task devolves on me, as *secretary* to the trustees for the management of the funds of the chapel of Newport, and in compliance of a resolution, passed *una voce*, at a meeting of the Roman Catholic parishioners of Burrisboole, on the 19th instant, in testimony of

their high esteem and regard for you, and approbation of your conduct in the concerns of their chapel, to request your acceptance of an invitation to dine with them on Monday, the 25th inst. Embracing this occasion of assuring you of my personal esteem and affection,

" I have the honour to be,

" Your faithful humble servant,

" *Newport, Oct. 31 [21], 1813.*"

" CON. FALLON, Sec."

(K.) *Answer.*

" *Newport House, Oct. 21, 1813:*

" SIR,—I accept the honour intended me by the Catholic body of Burrischoole. *False statements can't divide you and me. I will hold the writer responsible.*

" I am your friend,

" NEAL O'DONEL."

(L.) *To the Rev. Dr. Kelly, Vicar Capitular of the Diocese of Tuam.*

" REV. SIR,—For your letter, dated 18th [13th] October, addressed to Mr. Bourke, I hold you accountable to me, and a decision by jury will decide between us. My character, I assure you, is my first object. You have, without disguise, *charged me falsely.*

" My charges are in number as follows, against the Rev. John Bourke, of Newport, viz.

" The raising, at different times since his induction into this parish, money to a large amount under false pretences, contrary to law and custom.

" Cruelties in so doing, by force and repeated maltreatments: refusing the essential duties of his office to my tenantry, until his levies are complied with.

" Refusing them second mass on Sundays, to enable all ranks of his Majesty's Catholic subjects to hear the word of God in their chapel.

" Refusing to church several married women until his exactions were complied with;—one dead, the man married again, and the same conduct pursued.

" Beating hundreds of my tenantry—beating a married female, and breaking four of her ribs; an honest Northern saved her life and the Rev. Mr. Bourke's, for the law is no respecter of persons.

" Taking a forcible possession, and substituting a witness's name to a will, by his advice, and sworn and admitted by the signatures.

" Calling on his Majesty's troops to assist him to turn a clergyman out of his chapel.

" Abusing a Protestant clergyman, and calling his Majesty's subjects his subjects—his exclusive right.

" Omitting to publish a reward of £50 to find out the person who put up *illegal notices*, which *my purse* was to pay, gratuitously.

" *Imperiously* conducting himself at his altar, where the sacred trust reposed in him *by man* was insulted, his *duty* to HIS GOD neglected, and *audaciously insulting* his *laity* and his *Protestant brethren*.

" REV. VICAR, those are *my charges* to you and your *bishops*—[If] one link [be] *incorrect and basely false*, I am then a liar, and *punish my purse*.

" I am your very respectful humble servant,

" *A sincere Friend to the Catholic Body,*

" *Newport House, Oct. 22, 1813.*"

" NEAL O'DONEL."

THE CAT LET OUT OF THE BAG.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—As you have given us the *excellent* and *argumentative* speech of Dr. Dromgoole in your last No. p. 196. without note or comment, and as you expect it will be duly noticed by your correspondents, I shall make no apology for troubling you with a few observations.

You, Mr. Editor, above all other men, have abundant reason to tender your most grateful acknowledgments to the worthy Doctor. Your obligations to him are infinite. What you have been labouring through the whole of your editorial life to establish to the conviction of your Protestant brethren, the Doctor has accomplished in a single speech. He has indeed been your most useful associate; and if he can be prevailed on to continue his oratorical addresses in the same strain, and to communicate them monthly to the public, you will have little more to do: you may resign the pen, and retire to that "*Quam cum dignitate*," to which your meritorious exertions in the Protestant cause have eminently intitled you. You, in the course of your labours, have furnished us with many strong arguments and just opinions. Those arguments and opinions, considered merely as such, may possibly, in certain instances, have failed to convince the understanding. They will now no longer be found deficient; they are corroborated by the incontrovertible testimony of facts, by the express avowal of the doughty champion of Popery, Dr. Dromgoole. He has spoken out with undisguised honesty and frankness, and has given us the whole truth too explicitly to be misconceived or misunderstood. We are abundantly indebted to him for his plain-dealing, and for having so powerfully confirmed your opinions in regard to the views and objects of the Papists. Have you ever given us to understand, that the Papists would never consent to any interference on the part of a British parlia-

ment in their ecclesiastical affairs, or suffer them to intermeddle in the administration of their church? This the Doctor has confirmed in the most decisive and unequivocal manner, and in the strongest terms, by declaring that such interference would deserve "to be replied to in no other way than from the mouth of the cannon." Did you ever intimate, that the Papists would never submit to take an oath to secure the perpetuation of the Protestant succession to the crown, and the preservation of the Protestant church? The Doctor tells you, they are "men of too high and proud minds to submit to such degradation and humiliation." He moreover hints at the probable conversion of the people of this country to another mode of faith, possibly the Romish; whence he concludes it would be "an abandonment of all moral principle to take such an oath." He shews too that such an oath strikes at the root of the grand and known doctrine of Catholicism, the supremacy of the Pope; a doctrine, which no staunch Papist will ever relinquish, though it has been proved to make no part of the Christian religion, to have no foundation in Scripture or primitive antiquity, and to be contrary to reason and the law of the land." Are these (he adds) the securities sought for the protection of the Protestant church? If so, she cannot obtain them. An oath, not to seek *directly* or *indirectly* the subversion of the Protestant church! Why this would be to ~~abuse~~ the Divine command, which says, "go ye, and teach all nations!" After so open an avowal of a wish and intention to subvert the Protestant church, he proceeds most obligingly to foretel its downfall; that, being founded on the sand, no human power can support it. "In vain shall statesmen put their heads together; in vain shall parliaments, in mockery of omnipotence, declare it to be permanent and inviolate; *it shall fall, for it is human, and liable to force, to accident and decay; it shall fall, and nothing but the memory of the mischiefs it has created shall survive.* Already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it; it has *had its time upon the earth*, a date nearly as long as any other *novelty*. And when the time arrives, shall Catholics be called, by the sacred bond of an oath, to uphold a system which they believe will be one day rejected by the whole earth? Can they be induced to swear that they would oppose even the present Protestants of England, if, *ceasing to be truants*, they thought fit to return to their ancient worship, and to have a Catholic king and a Catholic parliament?"—Really, Mr. Editor, the honest Doctor here provokes a smile, but it is a smile of pity for his ignorance, and contempt for his bigotry. Is it possible he can be so ignorant as not to know, what every smatterer in English history can tell him, that our church claims, *and can prove*, an origin coeval at least with his own, if *not* prior to it? That it subsisted in this island, under the

government of its own bishops, for centuries before the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome were established, or the supremacy of the Pope had any existence? That so far from limiting the date of our church to the time of the reformation, we consider that glorious event as more truly the *restoration* of the church to its primitive state of purity, than its *reformation* from the corrupt church of Rome? If he really be so unaccountably ignorant on these subjects, I would advise him attentively to read and seriously to consider the two letters lately addressed by the learned BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S to his clergy, in which he will find some arguments that I defy him and all his host to confute. Or is the candid Doctor so bigotted, as to suppose that his church is the only true church Christ on the earth? As he professedly puts our heretical church out of the question, declaring, *ex cathedrâ*, that it is *human*, and an establishment of yesterday, what will he say to the episcopal church of the Syrian Christians, which has subsisted from the 5th century to the present day on the coast of Malabar? That church was transplanted thither from Antioch, a city in which a regular episcopal church was established by *St. Peter*, from whom it received its form of government and its doctrines, which, Dr. Buchanan tells us, are very similar to those of the church of England. Certain it is, that it has never owned, perhaps has never heard of, the supremacy of the Pope. Will this infallible Doctor, in the plenitude of his wisdom, decide that church to be no true church, on the same principle that he decides against ours, because it submits not to the authority, of the church of Rome? If so, I hope he is possessed of a sufficient stock of philosophic moderation to bear to be told, that his wisdom is not only fallible but false, and that his opinion will be received by the judicious and discerning, as the mere *ipse dixit* of dogmatical bigotry.—But to proceed. Have you ever told us, Mr. Editor, that the Papists are as unable as they are unwilling to give any securities? With the most happy confirmation of your opinion, the Doctor tells us precisely the same thing. “If the church of England trembles for its safety, it must seek it elsewhere, we have no securities to give.” It was indeed but a vain imagination to expect that they would ever consent to grant other securities in lieu of those which we are required to resign. Their object was not merely the attainment of official power, honour, or emolument. All such things were but as the dust of the balance, when weighed against any securities required for the heresy of Protestantism. Were it not so, why should securities be refused? But the attainment of *political power* was the preliminary step necessary to promote the ulterior object, which, according to the decided opinion of the late Lord Clare, was the overthrow of the Protestant church, and the re-establishment of

Popery. Of this truth you, Sir, have repeatedly forewarned us; and it is now amply confirmed by your new associate, the worthy Dr. Dromgoole. "We have no securities to give;" which may be thus paraphrased; "if we can prevail upon you to relinquish your present securities, we should be the veriest fools alive to give you any other." But does this mistaken man suppose that we tremble for the ultimate safety of our church? No. It is indeed built on a rock, and we rely with confidence on the promise made to the church by its Divine founder. It has subsisted from the days of the apostles. It repelled from time to time the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome. It rejected and *protested* against the Pope's supremacy, and maintained its own independency longer than almost any other church. For a time however it was subjected to the overbearing dominion of the Papacy, and partook of its corruptions, till the reformation happily effected its deliverance from the yoke, and *restored* it to its pristine state. From Popery then, considered as a theological system, we have *nothing* to fear. Reason unseduced by sophistry, history ungarbled by fiction, and Holy Scripture undistorted by perversion, are weapons of sufficient strength to defeat all its assaults. But from Popery armed with political power we have *every thing* to fear. Woeful and dear-bought experience must have convinced this nation of the danger of putting arms into the hands of such an adversary. And the refusal of securities, the menace of subversion, and the prediction of approaching downfall and ruin, are by no means calculated to diminish that conviction. We know that the arm of omnipotence is competent to save and defend our church in all dangers, and of the final result we are under no apprehension; but it is our duty, by keeping possession of the advantage-ground, to protect it from partial and temporary subjugation, and from the countless evils and horrors which experience warrants us in asserting would inevitably ensue. Only let us be true to ourselves, and put our trust in the Divine founder of the church, and we may defy the collecting columns of Catholicity to get possession of the holy ark, even with the aid of the cossack infantry of Methodism and the republican phalanxes of Presbyterianism, which the precipitate Doctor has the confidence to claim as his auxiliaries. But in vain will he unfurl his vaunted Oriflam, and summon Dissenters at the beat of his drum; no Protestant, however widely at variance with the church of England, would ever join his standard for the purpose of overthrowing that church, and establishing the church of Rome in its place. They are too well acquainted with the nature even of its "tender mercies," and they know that there are scarcely any points of doctrine or of discipline in common between them.

We have thus at length, Mr. Editor, the whole truth happily unveiled,

and placed before our eyes, by the kindness of the communicative Dr. Dromgoole, whose speech should be read by every Protestant in the kingdom, and preserved as the accredited manifesto of Popish principles. It is now evident beyond a doubt, that the grand object of the Papists is to overthrow our tried and approved constitution in church and state; to establish a Popish parliament and a Popish monarchy, and to make Great Britain a Popish country. It is to be hoped therefore, that we shall hear no more of bills of relief, or, as they may more truly be denominated, grants of political power and influence, since we know, and are infallibly assured to what purposes such power and influence, those necessary weapons of Popish warfare will be applied. And I trust we are not yet quite so infatuated, as to have recourse to political suicide.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

Feb, 15, 1814.

CLERICUS ANGLICANUS.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—The sale of indulgences has proved a source of great wealth to the heads of the church of Rome—but as it may be impossible even to conceive language so audacious as that in which the forms of absolution and indulgence have been worded, I here subjoin a copy; thinking nothing more likely to deter the unwary from giving so blind a support to the Papists, as to expose their errors—and to shew that whatever enormities they are guilty of, it is an article of their faith to believe, that the Pope can absolve them from all their sins, and secure to them admission into Paradise.

Form of Absolution.

"I absolve thee from all ecclesiastical censures, and from all thy sins how enormous soever, and, by this plenary indulgence, I remit thee all manner of punishment, which thou oughtest to suffer in purgatory. And I restore thee to the sacraments of the church, and to that innocence and purity, which thou hadst at thy baptism; so as, at thy death, the gates of Hell shall be shut against thee, and the gates of Paradise shall be laid open to receive thee. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

This notable formulery is recorded in that very curious book, entitled "*Popish Cruelty displayed*," by Matthias Taylor, D. D. printed (under a patent) for J. Cook, 1769.

Should, therefore, parliament be so infatuated, as to grant the claims of the Papists,—and should the Papists be admitted to power,—should they hold the reins of government, prove traitors to their country, and betray Britain into the hands of her enemies; should they be guilty of every

enormity, which can disgrace human nature,—we here see, that an indulgence issued from the Papal chair, will, in their eyes, render them as innocent as they were at baptism.—And as long as this shall continue to be the case, I would ask the ENLIGHTENED advocates of the Papists, what SECURITIES can be given to satisfy the Protestants, and ensure safety to the constitution.—They will doubtless answer, *oaths*.—But what reliance can be placed upon the oaths of men, who may *perjure* themselves seven times a day, and seven times a day *receive absolution*!—Men, who, in fact, esteem it criminal to keep their faith with heretics, *contra utilitatem ecclesie*. Let the representatives of the people *pause* and *reflect*—before they rashly place an engine in the hands of Popery, with which she may deprive Britons of those inestimable blessings to secure which, our ancestors so bravely struggled and so nobly died.—Let them look into British history, and shudder at the cruelties with which its pages are stained; and *then* let them recollect, that *one single act* of their's MAY subject posterity to similar persecutions.

The account of the opposition made by the Romish priests to the distribution of the Bible amongst their deluded flocks, contained in the 14th number of your excellent publication, reminds me of another passage in Dr. Taylor's work, where he records a most audacious artifice practised by the same priesthood in 1551—when the book of Common Prayer was, by royal authority, introduced into Ireland. You will find the following anecdote in Taylor's "Popish Cruelty displayed."—"When the common prayer was first received in Christ Church, Dublin, the following wicked scheme was projected by the Papists. There stood in this cathedral a marble image of Christ, holding a reed in his hand, with a crown of thorns on his head. Whilst the English service (the Common Prayer) was reading before the Lord Lieutenant, the Archbishop of Dublin, the privy council, the Lord Mayor, and a great congregation, blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, and to trickle down the face of the image. Thereupon some of the contrivers of the imposture cried aloud, "See how our Saviour's image sweats blood!—But it must necessarily do this, since heresy (the Common Prayer) is come into the church." Immediately many of the common people prostrated themselves, with beads in their hands before the image, and prayed to it. Vast numbers flocked to see this sight; whence such confusion arose, that the congregation broke up; and the Lord Lieutenant and council hastened out of the choir, for fear of danger. But now the Archbishop suspecting the cheat, caused the image to be searched and washed, to see whether it would bleed afresh. This was no sooner done, but a sponge was found within the hollow of the image's head, which one Leigh (some-

times a Monk of that Cathedral) had soaked in blood; and watching his opportunity, early on Sunday morning, had fixed the sponge so swollen with blood within the crown of the image's head, that the blood fell drop by drop upon the image's face. Immediately the sponge was brought down and shewed to those worshippers; who now greatly ashamed, cursed Father Leigh and the contrivers of the cheat. These afterwards did public penance in the church, and stood on a table before the pulpit, with their crimes written on their breasts; the Archbishop preaching that day before the Lord Lieutenant and council, on the seasonable text following: "God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie." 2 Thess. ii. 11.

Permit me to subjoin the following extract from Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2, p. 40. It forms part of a Letter from Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, (1594—1606,) to Lord Cranbourne.

"The Puritans, whose fantastical zeal I dislike, though they differ in ceremonies and accidents, yet they agree with us in substance of religion; and I think all, or the most part of them love his Majesty and the present estate, and I hope will yield to conformity. But the Papists are opposite and contrary in very substantial points of religion, and cannot but wish the Pope's authority and Popish religion to be established. I assure your lordship 'tis high time to look unto them: very many are gone from all places to London, and some are come down to this country in great jollity and almost triumphantly. But his Majesty, as he hath been brought up in the Gospel, and understands religion exceedingly well, so he will PROTECT, MAINTAIN, and ADVANCE it, EVER unto the end. So that if the gospel shall quail and Popery prevail, it will be imputed principally unto your great counsellors, who either procure or yield to grant toleration to some. Good my Lord Cranbourne, let me put you in mind that you are born and brought up in true religion.—Your worthy father was a worthy instrument to banish superstition and to advance the gospel.—Imitate him in this service especially."—*Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, to Lord Cranbourne, Winwood's Memorials, Vol. 2, page 40.*

How many are there amongst the friends and supporters of the Papists who want reminding that they were "born and brought up in true religion" that their ancestors were "worthy instruments to banish superstition and to advance the gospel—and that they OUGHT to "imitate them in THIS SERVICE ESPECIALLY!!!"

I hope, Sir, that you will deem my quotations and my remarks not inapplicable to the great question which is now discussed, and I hope they will further your views, and assist your labours.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

J. W. B.

Soham.

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For APRIL 1814.

"The Roman Catholic Bishops are the slaves of the Pope, as the Roman Catholic Clergy are slaves to them, and, in Roman Catholic countries, the lower classes are slaves to the clergy, while the Pope himself is the slave of Buonaparte."—*The Rt. Hon. Dr. Duigenan.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Intended Petition to Parliament.

We were inclined to believe, that, while the Irish Roman Catholics were proceeding in their attempts to procure their ends by open violence and intimidation, the Roman Catholics of England would have remained entirely passive; that feeling, as they must do, that the mode which they should in ordinary prudence pursue, must be essentially different from that which had been adopted by their brethren in Ireland,—they would have avoided doing that which must unavoidably set one part of their body in opposition to the other; and in so doing, by natural consequence, weaken their common cause, and make the assertions of one at least of the parties liable to suspicion. This however, as it appears, has not been the reasoning of the Roman Catholics of England; or rather of those individuals who compose what is called "*The Catholic Board*;"* for (God help us!) we have in this country also, it should seem, a *Catholic Board*! They have decided to come forward with a petition to parliament: and it has been announced to the public in some of the newspapers, evidently from authority, in the following terms.

"At a meeting of the English Roman Catholics held on Friday" [we believe the 18th of February] "at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, in Stanhope Street, May-fair, Lord Clifford in the chair, the following petition to parliament was agreed to. It will be presented to the House of Lords by

* This is the name by which these meetings at Lord Shrewsbury's are, or were, called.
—See Correspondence on the Formation of the R. C. Bible Society.

Earl Grey, and to the Commons by the right hon. William Elliott. It was resolved that, together with the petition to parliament, an address should be made to *the British public* on the subject of the petition:—

“ To the Hon. the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled :

“ The humble petition of those whose names are undersigned, Roman Catholics of Great Britain, sheweth,

“ That the laws remaining in force against persons professing the Roman Catholic religion in Great Britain, subject them to many severe penalties and disabilities. They deprive them of many civil rights and privileges, of many means of providing for themselves and families, and of every legitimate object of the ambition of British subjects, depress them in society, and (what at this important moment is particularly felt by your petitioners) shut against them every avenue to the stations in which they might otherwise hope to exert themselves honourably and usefully in the service of their king and country.

“ That their declining to take the oaths, the refusal of which subjects them to the penalties and disabilities of which they complain, proceeds from their conscientious adherence to tenets purely of a religious nature, which do not in any manner affect their political, civil or moral integrity : that every principle inconsistent with integrity, which has been imputed to your petitioners, hath been explicitly disclaimed by the Roman Catholics, in the oaths and declarations prescribed to them by the legislature, and that their allegiance to their king, and their attachment to the constitution are pure, unreserved and unqualified.

“ That in the years 1810, 1811, 1812, and 1813, petitions were presented to your honourable house by the English Roman Catholics, stating their grievances, and praying relief, and that in the last session of the last parliament, your honourable house came to a resolution “ of taking into its most serious consideration, early in the then next session of parliament, the laws affecting his Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to a final and conciliatory adjustment.

“ And that in the last session of parliament, your honourable house, in pursuance of that resolution, resolved itself into a committee, for the purpose of taking the said laws into consideration, and did then, by a resolution of your honourable house, fully recognize the expediency of*

* The use that is here made of the measure adopted by the House of Commons—resolving itself into a committee—proves the wisdom of Mr. Gregor’s observations, laid before our readers, p. 234, in the Protestant Advocate, for February; to which we earnestly beg to call the attention of the members of both houses of parliament.

relieving your petitioners from all the civil and military disabilities, under which they labour. That, confiding in that resolution, and in the wisdom and integrity of your honourable house, your petitioners humbly pray that it will take into its consideration the many penalties and disabilities to which the Roman Catholics of Great Britain are subject, and adopt such measures for their repeal, as your honourable house shall, in its great wisdom and benignity, deem expedient."

Now, we shall first admit, and indeed observe, that this petition is conceived and expressed with apparent moderation and respectfulness towards the legislature. Indeed we expected no less: it was the line most natural and most useful for the petitioners to take. Not but that the table of the House of Commons would have supplied them with models of another sort, which have not wanted advocates and supporters: and whatever comes from Ireland will, we doubt not, breathe a very different, and, what Counsellor O'Connel calls, a more "*manful*" spirit. But undoubtedly the present petitioners have taken the wisest, as well as the most decent course. And indeed it is from such appearances of moderation, rather than from undisguised violence that we apprehend the real danger will arise. Popery, with all its proper consequences, is, as has been said of vice,

———" *a monster of such frightful mien,
As to be hated, needs but to be seen.*"

Like vice, however, it never shews itself without disguise, but to the thoroughly initiated, to the hardened practitioners. To those who are willing to be deceived, to the timid or the indolent, of which there is a very great proportion indeed among us, it knows how to shew a fair outside; nay, even to assume the semblance of virtue. And one of the principal tasks of its adversaries, indeed quite the principal in later times, has been to detect the fallacy, and to shew it in its true colours. To this the principal labours of Archbishop Wake were directed; and in this we are bound, however irksome and incessant the toil, to follow him.

It must be observed also, that neither in the petition itself, nor in the paragraph announcing it, are the petitioners styled "the Catholic Board." Indeed no petition in that name would be received. But they represent themselves as acting for the whole body. It is a meeting of "*the English Roman Catholics,*" not of *certain* Roman Catholics. The petition indeed does make the distinction: but it goes on also to answer for the whole body of the Roman Catholics, as to their principles and their acts. And if they are not authorized, or conceive themselves so to be, to repre-

sent the whole body, they come with false pretences. For in point of grammar, as well as fair construction, the words "they" and "their's" throughout the petition, except where expressly restricted, as they are in one or two places, must mean the aggregate of "persons professing the Roman Catholic religion," which the petitioners bring forward in their first paragraph. Let us see then, what are the assertions which are made on behalf of the body at large, and whether a simple statement will not suffice to refute them.

Now, first, that their "declining to take the oaths" [of allegiance and supremacy] "proceeds from their conscientious adherence to tenets purely of a religious nature," is only repeating assertions which have been refuted over and over again. It is only saying what Mahomet might have said and did say when he was in his full tide of conquest; what the old anabaptists pointedly held forth as a warrant for their excesses; what however no inquisitor, or Pope, from Alexander the IIIrd downwards, has ever held to be a reason why a person rejecting their peculiar tenets should ever breathe upon any land over which they had power or influence. It is however their stock or staple fallacy: and therefore we must expect to find it in every petition. So we might let that pass for the present.

Further, when the petitioners go on to say that these tenets "do not in any manner affect their political, civil, or moral integrity," it is only necessary, for the detecting of this part of the fallacy, to say that this must depend upon every man's idea of "integrity." For our parts, we do not think it is any impeachment of the integrity of a Roman Catholic to say, that if the opportunity was offered of overturning our ecclesiastical establishment, and setting up his own church in its stead, he would eagerly embrace it. Nay, the more sincere he was in professing his religion (and with us sincerity is a part of integrity) the more anxious he would be so to do. Nay, this must be so great a good in the opinion of a Roman Catholic, that, even if he had taken oaths renouncing any such intention or act, it would not be matter of surprise to us if his conscience (which also has much to do with integrity) did not tell him that an unlawful engagement, such as that must appear to him to be, was not to stand in the way of a duty so imperious as that of restoring the church of God to its proper seat; for such is the light in which such an act would appear to him.

And therefore, when they go on to state that "*every principle inconsistent with integrity*" (supposing that by this they mean every principle which would lead them to subvert our present church establishment) "has been explicitly disclaimed by the Roman Catholics in the oaths and declarations prescribed to them by the legislature," we must answer, that

we could not altogether rely upon such security, if it had indeed been given. But *what is the fact?* Happily our pages enable us to give the answer. Owing to the vigilance of a noble lord, to whom, on that and many other accounts, the whole Protestant world, and this nation in particular, is largely indebted, it has been ascertained, by unquestionable evidence laid upon the table of the House of Lords,* that only *one* person (and that a female!) has within the last ten years taken "*the oaths* prescribed by the legislature;"—and according to Sir John Hippisley, (their own advocate) not more than five thousand out of half a million, that is, one in a hundred, ever took them since the passing of the acts. We did hope, therefore, that we should have heard no more of Mr. Butler's gasconade, that "the English, Scottish, and Irish Catholics *had sworn*, and acted up to their oaths."† But no, nothing is too hard for Mr. Butler, or whoever is the counsel who peruses and settles these addresses. Facts are nothing. "The Alps and Pyreneans sink before him!" Even this is surpassed by what follows. For we are assured, moreover, that "their" [that is the Roman Catholics] "*allegiance to their king, and attachment to the CONSTITUTION, are pure, UNRESERVED, and UNQUALIFIED!!!*"

The constitution is a *constitution* in CHURCH and STATE. No proposition is more universally known and acknowledged. How then can these gentlemen persuade themselves that they shall make the two Houses of Parliament believe that they are attached to the constitution? A constitution as notoriously Protestant in the church, as it is free in the state; nay, Protestant in the church that it may be free in the state?—Attached to a Protestant church!—and this unreservedly! unqualifiedly!—Who could for a moment give credit to this? There are indeed assertions, which, when made, are so utterly abhorrent from the whole course of nature, that they only serve to take away all credibility from those who make them. And we leave it to our readers to say if this be not one of the number. When Dr. Dromgoole said boldly, what he had said violently and even seditiously enough, yet every body felt that he had said *truly*. His declaration was honest: and it will serve to put us on our guard. What said he further with equal truth on a subsequent day, when justifying himself? "Is there a Protestant of any description, in any of these kingdoms, that does not know *that you*" [that is the Roman

* See Vol. I. p. 365; see also p. 504.

† We wish it were possible to put it to St. Thomas (*Aquinas*, not *Didymus*) whether a man can act up to an oath not taken? We doubt not but the angelic doctor would resolve it in the affirmative "*secundum quid*," and "*sicut ecclesia*," &c. or "*quoad*," &c. &c.

Catholic] “*have objections to the religion of the state? And if you say the contrary, how can they believe you?*”* Very true, Dr. Dromgoole: and for our part we shall at all times prefer open to secret enmity.

The remainder of the petition is so much like the beginning of Mr. Butler's late address, that we are tempted to ascribe it to him. Like that, it suppresses the material part of the history; that is, the issue of the resolutions passed in the House of Commons. Mr. Butler is labouring very hard at this moment in maintaining his veracity against the charges of Mr. Blair, with regard to his correspondence respecting the projected Catholic Bible Society.† In Mr. Blair's hands we wish to leave him; and shall give him up with two more short observations.

First, it is clear that the Roman Catholics of England felt that it was necessary for them to profess an attachment *unreserved* and *unqualified* to the constitution, being a constitution in church as well as state; or they would never have made so extraordinary a profession. Now all those who think with us, that this is a profession which must be at variance with every feeling, and with the very conscience of a Romanist, must disbelieve them, and must therefore pronounce them unfit to obtain what they ask.

But, secondly, it is most evident that, as the *Irish* Romanists profess no such attachment, nay avow a directly opposite sentiment, they at least cannot be fit to obtain that after which they are clamouring: and this, in the judgment of their own brethren. And as the Irish particularly, on many accounts, are to be the first considered, there is an end of the question.

After all, let Mr. Butler try to explain this as he may, no human being can doubt that the professions of the English Roman Catholics and those of their brethren in Ireland are at variance with each other. And surely the legislature may say, and *ought* to say, “Gentlemen, first settle your differences, and let us know what is your real meaning, before you come to us with any petitions.”

Perhaps we might say, probably, this petition will not be presented. We should like to know how many of 495,000, who have not taken the oaths, would sign it, or indeed how many of the whole Catholic population, sworn or not sworn, would set their hands to it? It may be said, that therefore we ought to have waited to see how that might be. But no: undoubtedly not. It was agreed upon, it was put forth, like the

* See our number for February, p. 216.

† See the two last numbers of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The letters are signed C. B. only, and dated “Stonar Park.”

famous resolution for distributing Romish bibles, to serve a purpose. We take it up, therefore, to prevent its serving that purpose; and if, after being thus laid before the public, it be withdrawn, it will thus remain a strong document, and a document only the more strong on that account, against them.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH PROTESTANTS OF LONDONDERY.

With feelings of admiration and gratitude we turn our eyes to the LOYAL, the PROTESTANT CITY OF LONDONDERY. With that spirit which has ever distinguished it, with that decision so characteristic of the corporation, LONDONDERY has again set an illustrious example to the rest of Ireland, in resisting tyranny and the assumption of illegal authority. That INCUBUS of Ireland, the self-constituted, self-denominated, and self-sufficient *Catholic Board* has no influence over the vigilant souls and manly hearts of the freemen and freeholders of the city and liberties of Londonderry. We trust that the appeal which has been made, will rouse from their slumbers those Irishmen who, with all their mouthing of independence, and all their declamatory assertions of an almost exclusive right to the possession of gallantry and genuine bravery of character, mistake slavery for the former, and turbulence for the latter;—slavery to a foreign pontiff and his emissaries,—to a domineering church, which lords it over their consciences and purses; whilst the only signs they exhibit of vigour, are the virulence with which they abuse their fellow-subjects, the suicidal quarrels which subsist among themselves, and the horrible barbarities which disgrace their country, and sink the scale of civil society to a pitch below that of any other in Europe, not excepting the Papal dominions themselves, hitherto reckoned the sink of vice, and the blood-stained territory of assassination.

From this degradation we hope that the resolutions and addresses of LONDONDERY will tend to raise the country. We repose unshaken confidence in the PRINCE REGENT. We know not anything which could tend more strongly to consolidate the strength of the country which he so wisely and so successfully governs, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, than removing, by legal means, that exuberant source of mischief, that fountain running over with the waters of strife,—the *Catholic Board*. Forbearance has no good effect upon it. Connivance only encourages it. We are of opinion that its establishment is at this moment contrary to law, and we appeal to the country at large whether, under a

pretence of petitioning, it does not labour to destroy the constitution of Britain. Is there a preacher or a publisher of sedition whom it does not patronize and protect? Is there a ringleader, connected but in the slightest degree with the Romish superstition, whom it supplies not with an advocate? If the existing laws do not reach the evil, it is high time that an effectual remedy were found. Surely its character is sufficiently developed for parliamentary interference; and if any man should be weak, or sturdy enough to plead the cause of *the Board* in the senate, it seems only necessary, in confutation of any assertion he might make, to read Dr. Dromgoole's speech, and the Londonderry resolutions and addresses.

On the 2d of February last a requisition, signed by more than one hundred freemen and freeholders, was presented to the mayor and sheriffs of the city and liberties of Londonderry, requesting them to call a meeting to take into consideration the agitated and alarming state of that part of the country, &c. Accordingly, the 8th of February was appointed for the meeting, which was held in the town-hall, and very numerously attended. We heartily wish it were in our power to detail all the proceedings, and to print the very able speeches delivered on the occasion. Some circumstances occurred of a very gratifying nature. In the first place, several Roman Catholics of high respectability attended the meeting, by way of expressing their abhorrence of the late riotous proceedings at Londonderry, under the auspices of the *Rev. Cornelius O'Mullan*, who has been convicted of a breach of the peace, and imprisoned for his offence. In the next place, in confirmation of what we observed in a former number, concerning the sentiments of the Irish Presbyterians, the part taken by the *Rev. Dr. Black*, one of the most respectable and leading members of the Presbyterian synod of Ulster, has given us solid comfort. Here was a meeting of a truly *Catholic* character. Churchmen, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics themselves co-operating cordially with each other in the maintenance of peace, the support of order, and the suppression of whatever may tend to the breach of either.—We cannot refrain from giving our readers an extract from the very able and spirited speech of *Mr. J. Gregg*, who expresses our sentiments completely; and we hope what he has said will have great weight with all the considerate members of both houses of Parliament, in case *the Board*, and their leaders, or their tools, should have the insolence to bring their question before the legislature. The resolutions (*which see below*) having been read to the meeting, and read a second time at the suggestion of *Dr. Black*, “with distinctness, precision, and deliberation, so as to be heard and understood by every man in the most distant parts of the hall,” *Mr. Gregg* rose, and addressed the meeting to the following effect.

“ Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen Sheriffs,

“ With every sentiment and every word of the resolutions which have been just read I most heartily and cordially concur; at the same time, I think it necessary to claim your indulgence for a very short time, that I may state the reasons that induce me to consider the present meeting as necessary, and those resolutions requisite to be adopted.

“ The second resolution sets out with lamenting the painful feelings with which we have beheld the peace of our neighbourhood, of late, almost totally destroyed—the confidence which hitherto subsisted between man and man give way to jealousies and distrust—and illegal; secret; and dangerous associations formed, which have spread terror and alarm amongst us. Lamentable, indeed, gentlemen, must be the state of society which calls forth so strong, yet so just an expression of sorrow from this congregated assembly of Protestant and Roman Catholic respectability. Lamentable, indeed, must it be for any community, to be under the necessity of laying such grievances as these, at the foot of the throne, and supplicating their prince to restore, by the strong arm of the law, that peace and harmony which have, of late, given way to riot, anarchy, and disorder. But, I trust, the universal sentiment which will be this day unanimously and loudly expressed by the collected Protestants and most opulent and respectable Roman Catholics of the city and liberties of Londonderry, will shew to the misguided and wretched miscreants who have under the direction of designing and unprincipled incendiaries, disturbed the peace of this hitherto happy neighbourhood, that they will be arrested in their guilty progress, and make atonement to those laws which they have so grossly—so deeply offended. I trust it will be a signal to the watchman on the tower, to awake the slumbering people of Ireland from the apparent apathy which seems to have seized them, and that they will raise their united voice to their sovereign, to implore, as we have done, his mercy and his protection. The enemies of this meeting cannot say, Sirs, that this is a party measure, that it is Protestant pitted against Roman Catholic, and Catholic against Protestant; no, this threadbare excuse is here taken from them, and the loyal and respectable body of Roman Catholics who now surround me, and who feel equally with the Protestants the necessity of this measure, will give the lie to the assertion.

“ For many years, gentlemen, has this neighbourhood and community enjoyed the blessings of peace, happiness, and repose; for many years no dissension was known or felt amongst us, and religious distinction was buried in piety to our God and duty to our common sovereign. Even in the year 1798, that period of Ireland's woes, when treason and rebellion

marched triumphantly through the land, they dared not approach our sacred walls; and, if we except the few disloyal amongst us, who were separated from our society for their crimes, at this dreadful period when the surrounding provinces were visited by all the horrors of a civil war, and weltering in blood, this community enjoyed, comparatively speaking, the sweets of peace and tranquillity. To what was this owing but to the loyalty of its most respectable inhabitants and the activity of its magistracy—The time is again arrived for a similar spirit to shew itself and restore us to the confidence of each other, and to the blessings of harmony and friendship. During the melancholy period to which I have alluded, the proceedings of the people were guided by a directory of treasonable and designing men, who held their daily meetings in the metropolis of this kingdom—thence they spread their poison throughout the land, and blew up the already bursting flame of discord and rebellion; friend was opposed to friend, neighbour to neighbour, and the blessings of social order gave way to anarchy, confusion, and murder. This rebellion was, at length, put down; but I much fear some of the seeds have not been totally eradicated—I much fear the sparks have not been entirely extinguished, and that the smothered embers are, once more, to exhibit their fearful flame. Another Directory, some time ago, succeeded, styling itself the Catholic Delegates, and spread its influence through the land. This, at length, engaged the attention of his Majesty's government, and its chairman, Lord Fingal, was arrested in his seat by one of the magistrates of the metropolis. This nobleman, no doubt, tired of their proceedings, has deserted them and left them to their fate. This assembly was dissolved under the wise provisions of a statute, made in Ireland, in the 33d year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled, "an act to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions, or other addresses to his Majesty, or the parliament.

"The salutary provisions of this statute were then found to be of most essential use; and, as I intend shortly to allude to it, in my observations, I shall read the preamble and enacting clause:—'Whereas, the election or appointment of assemblies, purporting to represent the people, or any description or number of the people of this realm, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, complaints, remonstrances, and declarations, and other addresses to the King, or both, or either houses of parliament, for alteration of matters established by law, or redress of alleged grievances in church and state, may be made use of to serve the ends of factious or seditious persons, to the violation of the public peace, and the great and manifest encouragement of riot, tumult, and disorder.'

" Be it, therefore, enacted—That all *assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons, elected, or in any other manner constituted or appointed to represent, or assuming or exercising a right or authority to represent the people of this realm, or any number or description of the people of the same, or any province, county, city, town, or other district, under pretence of petitioning for, or in any other manner procuring an alteration of matters established by law, in church or state, shall be deemed unlawful assemblies, and any magistrate, sheriff, &c. &c. are authorized to disperse the same.*

" Under the provisions of this statute, the former unlawful assembly was properly and legally dispersed; but, gentlemen, it was not to be put down so easily. Sedition, if put down by the salutary correction of the law in one shape, will soon assume another; Proteus-like, it will not long retain a form of which the law can take cognizance, but the hydra of discord will new mould its deformity, and, in some way or other, whether in secret or openly, spread its poison through the land.

" Another assembly or association has arisen from the ashes of the former, or rather, its scattered members have embodied themselves and assumed another name, viz. *the Roman Catholic Board*, not less extensive in their influence, not less pernicious in their machinations, their plans more alarming, their designs more deep, and their object more dangerous. This unconstitutional assembly has, among its members a number of designing men; some of them, as I have been informed implicated in the transactions of the year 1798; their restless spirits cannot sleep—peace to them is destruction, and they are well aware, they never can rise into notice unless they stir up the flame of discord and dissention among the people—they conjure up imaginary grievances to inflame the minds of the discontented—they make the poor man believe, while they are pilfering his honest earnings from his pocket, that they will lead him to treasures undiscovered—they tell the rich man, while soliciting his largess, that they will point him out the road to further wealth and greater honour—and, to the ambitious they blazon forth the herald of power and distinction—flattery, not at all times a useless engine of designing men, they also call into their aid, and we have seen the first men in England become a prey to their toils.—Melancholy delusion!—They presume to hold their sittings in the heart of the metropolis of this kingdom, from whence they spread their poison throughout the land, and beard the very throne of Majesty.

" It has, I presume, been thought by the law officers of the crown, that this association or assembly, (which I feel myself warranted in calling illegal) does not come within the cognizance of the statute which I

have read; had they, conceived it did, I make no doubt, that it would have shared the fate of its predecessor; for their talents and exertions I have the highest respect, and so must all who have witnessed them, but, with every deference for the high authority of those officers, and with the little knowledge which I have of the law, I should humbly conceive that this assembly, styling itself the Roman Catholic Board, comes completely within the provisions of that act. Does it not assume the right not only of representation, for the pretended purpose of petitioning for the redress of grievances, but also, of actually preparing bills for parliament, and dictating to the members of both lords and commons?—Have they not dared to use the greatest authority known to the constitution of these countries, namely, laying taxes on, and levying money of the people?—have they not formed themselves into standing committees, *committees of taxation, committees of accounts, committees of law, committees to slander the people, committees to separate landlord from tenant, master from servant, committees to direct and instruct the ribbonmen*, that dangerous, secret, and illegal association which, as our resolutions truly say, is spreading terror and alarm amongst the people? Is not this assembly composed of factious and designing persons who, to serve their own wicked ends, have led to the violation of the public peace and the manifest encouragement of riot, tumult, and disorder? That they are factious and designing persons, no one can doubt, and that they have encouraged riot, tumult, and disorder amongst the inhabitants of this city and county, the late transactions and trials have most incontestibly proved. In order to shew that this Board has not only led to, but encouraged, abetted, and fomented the late tumults which have disgraced our neighbourhood, I need only recur to a few facts. Until within these eighteen months, more especially previous to November last, was there, in Ireland, a district more truly enviable for peace, harmony, and good-will among all descriptions and classes of people than the city and liberties of Londonderry?—No! the public sentiment, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, flowed as smooth and as clear as the Foyle which washes our shores; no division, no dissention appeared to distract our peaceful district—every man worshipped his God in his own way; and, in the various occupations of life, each vied with another, without distinction as to sect or religion, in holding his even course through the paths of honest and honourable industry. Alas, how changed! have we not seen riot and disorder commence their tumultuous reign—have we not seen distrust and jealousy supplant that confidence which, until lately, subsisted between man and man—have we not seen tenant taught and encouraged to oppose his landlord, and the servant to despise his master—nay, have we not known him

dragged or seduced from his duty to attend the meetings of the incendiary and the haunts of the midnight assassin, and return to his master's service with a mind estranged from, or poisoned against, the man at whose table he is fed?—Infamous proceeding!—To what are we to attribute these changes in our hitherto peaceful system? is it not to the vile incendiaries who have spread themselves amongst us? is it not to the influence, the damnable influence of that *Board* which is assuming a dictatorial authority over the people, which is holding up all that is great and good in the community as objects of its vile and unprincipled calumny; slandering those who dare to do their duty, and openly and unblushingly directing its attacks against the most sacred and venerable establishments in the land? yes, these are the causes of our misfortunes—these are the authors of our distraction—see what they have done. In the latter end of the month of October last, a number of the most respectable Roman Catholics of this city and county published a notice in the papers, requesting a meeting of their brethren of the city and county of Londonderry, on the 4th of November following, to renew their petition to parliament for a removal of the disabilities under which they laboured. This they had not only a right, but it was their bounden duty to do. Mark the consequences: the incendiaries in this city immediately set themselves into activity; it was not to be tolerated that the respectable Roman Catholics should frame a moderate set of resolutions, declaratory of their sentiments—No! Such documents did not suit the views of the parliament at Stationer's Hall; something abusive, something scandalous, something holding up to public odium the most ancient and venerable establishments of the country, would be more palatable to their vitiated and corrupt tastes, and more likely to stir up the already disordered minds of the populace. The Rev. Cornelius O'Mullan who, I believe, is not unknown to this community, was written for; he comes down, by the return of the coach, from the Capel-street Parliament, with a string of resolutions, ready-cut and dry, for his northern friends. As those resolutions may not perhaps have met the eye of every person here, I shall read a few of them—I shall commence with the third resolution, which you must admit was a pretty specimen for a person pretending to be a minister of the Gospel to bring with him; hear it!—“*If there be a God in Heaven our cause cannot be indifferent to his providence, and if there be justice on earth our slavery must be near its termination.*” Was not this a pretty resolution for a clergyman to bring down for the adoption of his friends? “*If there be a God in Heaven*—impious hypothesis! I very much fear he does not believe that such a Being exists; but, that there is justice upon earth, I

should suppose he will not be inclined to deny, for it has, too lately, been exemplified in the punishment awarded to his own person by the offended laws of his country."

We beg here to refer to the Londonderry Journal for the remainder of Mr. Gregg's speech. Mr. Davenport followed him. The resolutions were unanimously carried; as were also the addresses to the Prince Regent and the Lord Lieutenant, on the motion of Mr. Murray. Dr. Black moved thanks to the committee to whom the framing of the resolutions and addresses had been referred, in which he was seconded by that truly eminent character, the Right Hon. Sir George Fitzgerald Hill, Bart. recorder of Londonderry, and member of Parliament for that city. Mr. Smyth made some very pertinent observations on the perturbed state of the country. "It was impossible for him (he said) to abstain from expressing his opinion of the cause which has so powerfully operated in creating the discord which now exists:—it is to the influence of the *Catholic Board* that he wished to draw the attention of the meeting; a body assuming to itself the powers of a parliament—levying taxes on the Catholic population—assuming the privilege of preparing bills for the Imperial Parliament—petitioning with the one hand and dictating with the other—contemplating a call on foreign influence to interfere for the redress of their real or supposed grievances—weakening the strength of the empire by creating a division in the people—destroying the allegiance to the legitimate government by a representation of its injustice and oppression."

The mayor and sheriffs having quitted the chair, Mr. Smyth was called to it. Thanks were unanimously voted to the mayor and sheriffs, and the meeting was dissolved.

The Londonderry Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the City and Liberties of Londonderry, held at the Town-Hall of the said City, on Tuesday the 8th day of February, 1814, pursuant to public notice, Marcus S. Hill, Esq. Mayor, and Conolly Skipton, Esq. and Marcus M'Cauland, Esq. Sheriffs, in the chair.

"It having been proposed, and seconded, that a committee of seven be appointed to prepare matter for the consideration of the meeting, the following gentlemen were proposed and approved:—James Murray, Esq.; Archibald Boyd, Esq. the Rev. George Hay, William Scott, M. D. William Marshall, Esq. John Dysart, Esq. and Thomas Davenport, Esq.

" The said committee having retired, and on their return submitted the following resolutions to the consideration of the meeting, which, after having been considered, twice read, and put from the chair, were unanimously adopted.

" *Resolved unanimously*,—That we are unalterably attached to his Majesty's sacred person and government, and to those principles which placed the illustrious house of Brunswick on the throne.

" *Resolved unanimously*,—That we have lately beheld, with feelings of sincere regret, the peace and tranquillity of this hitherto happy neighbourhood disturbed, the confidence which existed in all classes of the community almost destroyed, and illegal associations, of the most dangerous tendency, spreading terror and alarm amongst us.

" *Resolved unanimously*,—That to the operation and influence of a body of men in Dublin, styling themselves the *Catholic Board*, we can distinctly ascribe the evils of which we at present complain. That, whilst we deprecate every idea of interfering with that invaluable privilege of the subjects of this realm, the RIGHT OF PETITION, we wish, unequivocally, to mark our disapprobation of that body, as promoting, under this constitutional pretence, purposes destructive of our liberty and peace.—That this body have assumed to themselves the right of taxation on the Catholic community—that, by this means, a fund has been created, which, in this city, has supported the RIOTOUS AND SEDITIOUS, whom a jury of their countrymen have found guilty—That in our city too, by the emissaries of this body, the deluded populace were taught the monstrous and pernicious doctrine, that "*trial by jury is a curse*"—That characters the most upright and the most distinguished have been dragged before their meetings, and marked with their censure—that the verdicts of our juries have been stamped with their reprobation; and even the sentence of our judgment seat has been arraigned and condemned at their tribunal.

" *Resolved unanimously*,—That, knowing these facts, and feeling, as we do, their baneful consequences in our society, an humble and dutiful address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, praying his Royal Highness to adopt such measures as may put an end to an assembly whose proceedings and influence are so destructive of the tranquillity and happiness of this country.

" *Resolved unanimously*,—That an address be presented to his Excellency Lord Viscount Whitworth, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, expressing our confidence in his Excellency's administration, and requesting his Excellency may be graciously pleased to forward our humble address to the spot of the throne.

" *Resolved unanimously*,—That it is our firm determination to support

the magistrates in the execution of the laws of the land; and, by every means in our power, to maintain the tranquillity of the country.

" It was then proposed and unanimously carried—

" That the thanks of this meeting be given to their committee, for the pains and ability with which they had framed the resolutions and addresses, which so correctly and fully express the sentiments and objects of this meeting.

" *Ordered*,—That these resolutions and addresses be published in the Londonderry and Belfast newspapers, in the Patriot, Correspondent, and Dublin Evening Post, the Caledonian Mercury, the London Courier, and Morning Chronicle.

" MARCUS S. HILL, Mayor.

" CONOLLY SKIPTON, }
" MARCUS M'CAUSLAND, } Sheriffs."

" The mayor and sheriffs having left the chair. and John A. Smyth, Esq. having been called thereto, it was unanimously

" *Resolved*,—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the mayor and sheriffs for their prompt compliance with the wishes of the freemen and freeholders, in convening this meeting, and for their proper and dignified conduct in the chair.

" JOHN A. SMYTH."

The Addresses to the Prince Regent and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

" To his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

" We, the Freemen and Freeholders of the city and liberties of Londonderry, assembled in the town-hall of the said city, on Tuesday the 8th of February, 1814, pursuant to public notice, beg leave to approach your Royal Highness, and to express our unalterable attachment to his Majesty's sacred person and government.

" Actuated by the same unshaken loyalty which, above a century ago, baffled the efforts of a tyrant—which has since hailed, with gratitude and joy, the succession of the illustrious house of Brunswick, we are now impelled with confidence, but with profound respect, to address the throne.

" For years we had lived in tranquillity and peace—for years enjoyed every blessing which a constitution, happily established and wisely administered, could impart—for years no political or religious distinctions were felt to have existence amongst us. In attachment to the same monarch, and piety to the same God, all minor feelings were forgotten or lost.

" But these days of peaceful security appear, of late, to have passed away—the spirit of dissension has breathed upon us, the feelings of confidence and security have deserted our neighbourhood, and mischievous and illegal associations are spreading terror and alarm amongst us.

" Unreservedly have we stated to your Royal Highness our situation and apprehensions—fearlessly shall we now declare to you the cause.

" *To a self-constituted society in Dublin, styling itself THE CATHOLIC BOARD, we beg leave to turn your Royal Highness's attention, AS THE PROLIFIC SOURCE OF MUCH EVIL TO OUR COUNTRY.*

" Far be it from us to interfere with the right of petition. We deem it one of the glorious privileges of our constitution, that the meanest subject of our sovereign can lay his grievances before Parliament, or present them to the throne.

" But this body, unknown to the constitution, assuming, with *Jesuitical humility*, the name of *petitioners*, yet exercising the *authority of dictators*, possess an influence incredible. In the height of their assumption they have DARED TO EXERCISE THE RIGHT OF TAXATION—the pittance of the poor has been forced to swell their exchequer, and the hard earnings of indigent industry have been made to contribute, partly to the *personal aggrandizement of self-elected demagogues*, and partly been reserved for purposes WE KNOW NOT WHAT. By this fund the stream of public justice may be impeded in its course—actions at law, however unjustifiable, may thus be maintained, and oppressed individuals may be obliged to shrink from seeking redress, being unable to contend against the coffers of the Catholic Board.

" Censures, the most unqualified, have been passed on characters the most respectable; even the sentence of the judgment seat has been assigned and tried at their tribunal.

" Knowing these facts, and acting under these impressions, we invoke the justice, we implore the mercy of your Royal Highness, to dry up the source from whence these mischiefs flow; and that you may take the most prompt and effectual measures which your Royal Highness's wisdom may point out, to silence and put down a Board whose existence has sown discord—whose continuance must produce division and distraction in this hitherto tranquil country.

" Signed, in the name and on the behalf of the Freemen and Freeholders of the city and liberties of Londonderry,

" M. S. HILL, Mayor,

" CONOLLY SKIPTON,

" MARCUS M'CAUSLAND, } Sheriffs."

" To his Excellency Charles, Lord Viscount Whitworth, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

" We, the Freemen and Freeholders of the city and liberties of Londonderry, assembled in the town-hall of the said city, on Tuesday the 8th day of February, 1814, pursuant to public notice, humbly beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on your appointment to the chief government of this part of the United Kingdom, and to express our gratitude to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, for nominating as successor to our late highly-esteemed and venerated viceroy, a nobleman of such distinguished talent, such firm and upright character.

" We are fully aware, that under your Excellency's wise and vigilant government the laws of the land will be constitutionally and wisely administered, the peace of the country maintained, and the lives, properties, and liberties of his Majesty's subjects, of all classes, supported and protected.

" That it is with feelings of unfeigned regret we are impelled to state, that the peace of this hitherto happy and tranquil neighbourhood has been of late much disturbed; hence we feel the imperious necessity of transmitting to your Excellency the inclosed address to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the United Kingdom; and we intreat your Excellency will be graciously pleased to have the same laid before his Royal Highness, for his most gracious consideration.

" We beg leave, at the same time, to assure your Excellency of our firm determination to assist the magistrates in support of the laws; and, by every constitutional mode in our power, to maintain and preserve the tranquillity of our district.

" Signed, in the name and on the behalf of the Freemen and Freeholders of the city and liberties of Londonderry.

" M. S. HILL, Mayor.

" CONOLLY SKIPTON, }
" MARCUS M'CAUSLAND, } Sheriffs."

TRIAL OF THE REV. MR. O'MULLAN AND HIS ASSOCIATES AT LONDONDERRY.

We have often observed that the people of England have no correct ideas of the state of society in Ireland, nor have it in their power to estimate the dreadful evils resulting from the party-spirit incited by that class of Romanists who adhere to, and co-operate with the Catholic Board. The trials concerning which we are about to give some account,

cannot fail to furnish matter for serious consideration, cannot fail to put the legislature on devising some remedy for such civil disorders as would be scandalous in any country, but are peculiarly disgraceful to Great-Britain, proud as it ought to be of the legislative and the executive branches of the constitution. The picture of civil society here given, is not drawn from loose report; or unauthenticated conversation, or partial description; but from the proceedings of a court of law,* where every thing is delivered under the sanction of an oath, where every allegation is scrutinized; and where nothing is finally admitted as matter of fact, which has not been tried by the touchstone of cross-examination, and the test of re-examination, and at last is laid before the jury, separated from all adventitious matter, from the colourings of advocates, and the misapprehensions of witnesses themselves, by a discerning judge. Such a judge Londonderry happily possesses in the Right Hon. Sir George Fitzgerald Hill, Bart. the recorder and representative in Parliament of that city, and a member of the Privy Council in Ireland. Here again we have to lament our circumscribed limits. It is impossible for us to give, at length, the trials of the Rev. Cornelius O'Mullan and his fellow rioters. We shall confine ourselves to the charge of the Right Hon. the Recorder to the grand jury; the opening speech of Mr. Dogherty for the prosecution, (and never was there a case better substantiated by evidence;) and we shall conclude with the admirable address of the presiding magistrate on passing sentence. We conceive that these extracts will give that sketch of the state of society in Ireland, which we wish to bring before the public. As to the defense of Mr. O'Gorman, (sent to Londonderry, as we verily believe, by the Board, ever employed in organizing discontent and ripening it into revolt, and shielding offenders against the vengeance of the law), we shall not descend to notice it further. That learned gentleman had the comfort of insulting the Protestant city of Londonderry, by being drawn in his carriage through its streets by a tumultuous mob of Popish bigots, whose conduct must have given great pain to the venerable Dr. O'Donnell, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Derry, and to all those respectable members of his communion, of whom we have already made honourable mention in the preceding article. The dispute between Mr. O'Mullan and his bishop, originated in a difference of opinion concerning a school-house in the chapel-yard. Why should not Mr. O'Mullan have deferred to the authority of his bishop? Canonical obedience was

* It is this consideration which gives such a preponderant weight of authority to Sir Richard Musgrave's History of the Rebellion. Nothing can shake the authenticity of that eminent work.

his obvious duty ; and the bishop is notoriously of so mild a disposition, so liberal-minded and unassuming, that no one can suppose him capable of exerting unduly the authority with which, by the constitution of his Church, he was invested. This, (incredible as it may seem to those who know not the rancour which influences the worst passions of the multitude in Ireland), is the very reason why Mr. O'Mullan did not obey the injunctions of his superior, but was rather induced to resist them. Dr. O'Donnell has none of that violence which impels other Irish Roman Catholic prelates to nose the bishops *de facto*, to spirit up their dependents, whether clergy or laity, to tumult and outrage, and to fight the infamous battles, and obey without remorse the terrible behests of the *secret tribunal*—the *Board*. The air of Londonderry is not suited to the respiration of bigots. It will prove fatal to Mr. O'Mullan. He must quit it, or the inflammation under which he labours will destroy him. Dr. O'Donnell and the respectable clergy, whose moderation does honour to Londonderry, enjoy its salubrity. Their lungs are untainted. What *Philips*, in his *Cyder*, says of Ireland in general, is peculiarly true of Londonderry—

Happy lérne ! whose most wholesome air
Poisons envenom'd spiders ; and forbids
The baleful toad, and viper from her shore ;

we mean, however, figurative reptiles, and we wish that if St. Patrick had the power, as a Saint, to free Ireland from venomous beasts, and as a Prophet, had foreseen what miseries were to be brought on Ireland in after-times by bigotry, he had provided for the clearance of that country from rabid bipeds, more dangerous far than the creatures mentioned by the poet. Our motto calls the Roman Catholic clergy slaves to their bishops—Mr. O'Mullan however is no slave, but neither is Dr. O'Donnell a tyrant ; and if so, Mr. O'Mullan is a rebel to his spiritual superior.

We now, without further preface, give our readers the extracts which we have mentioned. Possibly in our next we may give some account of the rioters tried, on the prosecution of Dr. O'Donnell on Feb. 8. It is a very interesting affair, and sets the conduct of the Popish multitude, worked-on by the agitators and agents of the *Board* in a strong point of view. It is in contemplation, we understand, to publish these various trials in form of a pamphlet. If this shall be done, and it is very desirable, we beg the favour of some one or other of our friends at Londonderry, to send us a copy as soon as it shall be published.

“ It was lately our boast, at Derry, that there was hardly an instance

of a Sessions' jury being troubled with the charge of one of our fellow-citizens; but the Sessions which commenced on Monday the 2d of January, presented the novel sight of a dock full and overflowing with men belonging to a community, hitherto exemplary for attachment to our King, constitution, and laws. The grand jury being sworn, the recorder, the Right Hon. Sir G. F. Hill, Bart. on behalf of the presiding magistrates, addressed them to the following effect:—

“ Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

“ You have so frequently discharged the duties of grand jurors with diligence, discrimination, and credit, that it may be almost unnecessary for me to trouble you with any observations on the offences, or their nature, which appear to be charged on the face of this calendar against various individuals.

“ I have carefully read over the different informations, which I shall have laid before you for your investigation, and on which, together with the *visu voce* evidence of the witnesses who shall be sworn in Court, and sent to you for your examination, the bills of indictment to be offered for your determination, are to be grounded. From the perusal of these documents I perceive peculiarities have attended some of the offences charged, which call for a few comments from this bench.

“ The most marked feature of this description is what distinguishes transactions which occurred at the Roman Catholic chapel on Thursday the 4th, and on Sunday the 28th of last November.

“ Gentlemen—It is sworn, as you will find in these informations, that riots and assaults took place on both of those days, and that a particular class of our inhabitancy, namely the Roman Catholic, was *exclusively* concerned in the acts of violence which took place on both of those days.

“ On the first of those days (the 4th of November), a difference of *political opinion amongst themselves* would seem to have led to the disturbance; and, on the 28th of the same month, the disgraceful outrage which you will find detailed, was excited by an organised opposition to a decision made by Dr. O'Donnell, the Roman Catholic Bishop, *in virtue of his clerical functions*, which related to the inhibition of Mr. O'Mullen from any longer officiating as parish priest of Templemore.

“ Gentlemen—With respect to political controversy, or the mode, or the manner, or the language in which any class of men think proper to assert, or put forth their lawful claims, it is not your business, nor is it mine, by any means, in the first instance, to enquire into; but if, under the pretence of petitioning Parliament, or performing any other legitimate constitutional act, any individual shall collect around him a

banditti of roffians, excite tumult, (*in terrorem populi*), and not only thus endanger, but actually proceed to disturb the public peace, it then becomes the duty of the magistracy, assisted by the jurors of the land, to arrest his guilty progress, and punish his delinquency.

“Gentlemen—It is peculiarly the subject of the investigation which you are about to make, whether certain persons, sworn against, have or have not been mainly instrumental to, and prime movers of the riot which took place at the Roman Catholic chapel on the 4th of November last, and of the assault and injury on that occasion sustained by William Gallagher, Thomas Murray, and others.

[N. B. Reference here made to the informations, to the acts which, in the eye of the law, constitute a riot, that law explained and expounded, and the extent of evidence pointed out requisite to sanction the grand jury to find a bill of indictment.]

“From the informations I have thus referred to, you will be enabled to select the culprits, if any, chargeable with those offences of riot and assault, and I feel less disposed to be reserved in my preliminary observations on this case, as it unquestionably comprehends parties exclusively of one distinct class, namely Roman Catholic, and therefore, precluding the vulgar charge of bias or prejudice on our part. To the decision of this bench, and to the verdict of jurors of this community, they have appealed, and impartial justice, Gentlemen, I trust, and am certain they shall have, notwithstanding the slanders, the calumnies, and the opprobrium some of themselves endeavour, by one of their resolutions, passed on the 4th of November last, to heap upon us, when they unjustly and mischievously assert, that where Catholics are concerned, such is the construction of our juries, “that life, liberty, and property have not security, and trial by jury operates as a curse.”

“But, Gentlemen, it was not (it would seem) to be endured that this and such like resolutions should meet with opposition; if any respectable, moderate, sober-minded Roman Catholic dared to offer a dissent, riot and assault were to be the consequences.

“Gentlemen—Hear again, another resolve—‘That we consider it wise, as it has been usual with the Catholic body, to invoke the interposition of Allied Powers, that Spain has before interfered in behalf of the Catholics of Ireland.’

“These and such like resolutions were not permitted to be controverted; but, Gentlemen, I fear they have flowed from a source which has, at least, poured its destructive torrent into the heretofore peaceful and tranquil vale of the city and liberties of Londonderry.

“They have been praised by, and met the approbation of, the Roman

Catholic Board, (Parliament I would call it, if converting their pastors into tax-gatherers, and levying contributions on the people, if dispatching embassies to, and treating with, foreign powers, if wielding in the Board's omnipotence the elective franchise of, and prescribing rules to, Ireland, or originating laws, even for the legislature of the United Kingdom, can fitly entitle it to the name;) but these Derry resolutions, Gentlemen, in the foppish phraseology of one of the members of that Board, have been designated "highly-talented resolutions;" perhaps a little of self-conceit induced the eulogy, as they certainly were not home-spun by either of the distinguished characters who moved and seconded them on the 4th of November last.

"Gentlemen—Although it is not your province to pronounce on the propriety or prudence of such resolutions, it is yet your duty to put to trial these men who dare to inflict violence, riot, and assault against their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens who attended, constitutionally to oppose them.

"The second occurrence of peculiar nature, which appears from these informations, is a wanton, shameful, and outrageous attack made against Dr. O'Donnell, whilst officiating in his chapel, on Sunday the 28th November, by a number of those enlightened politicians, with a view to compel him, by force, to annul the sentence he had passed against Mr. O'Mullan; here, again, Gentlemen, you have nothing to do with the clerical discipline of the Roman Catholic Church; but, if the well-drilled partisans of Mr. O'Mullan shall have, with tumult and outrage, violated the public peace, in their efforts to intimidate and constrain their own bishop into acquiescence in the views, or wishes, or advantages of Mr. O'Mullan, this bench and you, Gentlemen, are to arrest their progress so far as riot or breach of the public peace are concerned.

"Gentlemen—I had, for a time, entertained some doubts whether the offence in this transaction was not of so high a nature as to affect the lives of the parties concerned; for, by various temporary statutes, finally made perpetual, it is felony, without benefit of clergy, to assemble with tumult or riot for the purpose of disturbing any place of worship—so great a crime has it been considered by the legislature to impede the pious exercise of religion. Had this construction been correct, a higher tribunal than the present would have taken cognizance of the guilt; however, upon a closer review of the informations, they do not sufficiently bring the offenders within the meaning of that statute; their crime is, however, morally as great, and, thank God, it is a novelty, indeed, in the city of Derry, to see the Roman Catholic bishop driven from the altar, in his robes, by his own flock, and to see him,

on the following Sunday, take refuge in the office of the chief magistrate during the entire period of Divine service in his chapel, whither he dared not go; nor do I believe that reverend gentleman has since ventured his person amongst those disciples of Mr. O'Mullan, and subjects of the Roman Catholic Board.

" There is another case of riot and assault, of a very aggravated nature, committed on the evening of Christmas day against a man and his family of the name of Dutchfield, to which I likewise particularly direct your attention. I have already explained the law; Gentlemen, it is for you, carefully to investigate the evidence in these different cases, calculated to support the prosecution of, and arrest such atrocious-guilt.

" There are some minor offences for your consideration which do not require any observation to you from this bench "

After a few minor trials were gone into, the Rev. Cornelius O'Mullan, Dan. M'Sheffry, (acquitted;) John M'Sheffry, James M'Sheffry, Bryan Doherty, Conn. O'Donnell, James Doherty, Edward M'Allister, John Glass, Patrick Sheales, John Gillespie, (acquitted;) John M'Guire, and John Magee, were put upon their trials for a riot in the Roman Catholic chapel, on the 4th of November last, and an assault upon William Gallagher and others. Counsellor Doherty, opened the case for the prosecution in a maiden speech, which, in itself, eloquent and impressive, gave ample earnest of future excellence. We gathered the following imperfect sketch amidst a Court so crowded that it was almost impossible to take notes:—

" May it please your Worships, and

" Gentlemen of the Jury,

" Before we proceed with the evidence, I think it necessary to call your attention to some particulars connected with this case, which render it, in my mind, an unprecedented and as aggravated a violation of the public peace as, perhaps, ever occurred to be tried by a jury. Was it before any other jury but one composed of the citizens of Derry, it might be necessary to go into a more minute detail of the circumstances which led to these unpleasant transactions; but, at present, it will be sufficient to request your attention to the leading features which the case, in itself, presents. The unfortunate differences which have, for some time past, existed among the Roman Catholics of this city and county, are too well known to you all; but matters might have remained in that situation, and every good man might have lamented, that any differences could exist among people seeking to obtain the same great political object, had not the day to which I must direct your attention exhibited, in the Roman Catholic chapel of this city, a scene of riot, of tumult,

and of disorder, sufficient in itself to disgrace any assembly whatever ; not that any attempt is to be made, and let it now be distinctly understood, to cast any imputation of blame whatever on the Roman Catholic people of this country ; for them, those who are this day reluctantly obliged to prosecute, entertain the highest friendship and esteem, and the most lively feelings of regret for their differences ; but it is to place in the proper point of view some violent and intemperate leaders who would wish to mislead a virtuous people, make them the instruments for their private ends, their dishonourable aggrandizement, and, under the sacred, but too often abused name of patriotism, commit excesses which should warn their Christian brethren against their insidious designs, under the name of petitioning for the redress of public grievances, taking opportunities to vent their slander and disseminate their poison through an unsuspecting people—taking base and unmanly opportunities to calumniate private characters, and indulge in vulgar invective on highly esteemed absent individuals, whom, if present, they dare not encounter.

“ Gentlemen—you must also recollect, that the place where these riots were exhibited, was a place which, among the most uncivilized people on the face of the earth, is wont to sooth the savage and check his impetuosity ; but, lamentable is it to find, in a country where Christianity is the creed, that any of its people could so disgrace themselves as to pollute religion itself, in the inmost recesses of its temple—the altar of their God, was one of the places where this unseemly spectacle was exhibited, and where many sought a sanctuary against personal outrage, but in vain—retribution may yet fall on the sacrilegious heads of those who could prompt others to these acts, but now they shall atone to their country for this aggravated violation of its laws.

“ It is for you, Gentlemen, as the jury impanelled, to try these serious cases, as the natural and constitutional guardians of the genuine liberties of Irishmen, to enquire and say whether any man, or set of men can, with impunity, marshal a number of their countrymen for their own purposes, bring them from a remote part of the country to assist them in these tumults and disorders—whether you, as guardians and fathers of families, should not, by your speedy and effectual interposition, crush, in its infancy, this dangerous rising spirit, which, when matured, might involve this hitherto peaceable county in anarchy and all the horrors of domestic war. Are you not bound to take into your serious consideration the present situation of this city, and say, whether a man who has acquired a popularity by acting contrary to the opinion of every good man, and of every man who dares to think for himself, should not be checked in his career—a popularity, acquired by teaching the people of this

county, that licentiousness is liberty, and who, under the *garb* of a *clergyman* and *minister* of the *Gospel*, whose precepts should be those of *peace*, and whose doctrines only *forgiveness* of *injuries*, could so disgrace that *sacred mantle* as by violent speeches, to excite his hearers, at the *House* of his *God*, to acts of *violence* and *transgressions* of the *laws* of his *country*.

"It is, Gentlemen, a most unpleasant duty for me to perform, to depreciate, before you, any one member of the Catholic body, a body for whom I have ever had, and for ever shall entertain, the deepest respect and veneration, and particularly for its clergy; but, Gentlemen, if one of its clergymen has forgotten himself, the venerable bishop who nurtured, instructed, and ordained him, who is unmindful of the great duty he imposed on himself at his assumption of his holy functions, you can but now regret his *apostacy*, and treat him as an individual whose own impropriety has divested him of even the respect due to his sacred character—the proper upholding of that character was incompatible with civil broils; any interference, on its part, should have been for the purpose of restoring unanimity; but, here you will find it the great engine and first mover of all these dissensions. If we pass by the circumstances which immediately preceded the late tumults in Derry, we find this Reverend Gentleman assume his real colours. After the requisition appeared in the public papers for a Catholic meeting—we find him arrive in town, and that the very evening prior to the meeting. On the morning on which it was to have taken place, we also find a great and unusual number of strangers in the neighbourhood of the chapel. Now, Gentlemen, what can a reasonable mind infer from these facts but this, he saw the requisition, thought the meeting would furnish a favourable opportunity to gratify his malice, by attacking private individuals; he sounded the warhoop of discord through a peaceable people, and made those who were ignorant of his real designs, his supporters on the great occasion. But, Gentlemen, the people of this county shall now see him stripped of his blandishments and divested of his charm, and will find that their conduct, on that day, although unintentionally on their part, injured one of the most glorious objects a great people ever sought to attain.

4 "Those who had signed the requisition, and whose object really was petition, repaired to the chapel at the usual hour, which, to their no little surprise and astonishment, was literally filled by a great number of people, whose object apparently was, any thing but petition; that sacred place where they were accustomed to worship their Maker, was polluted by cabal, and where they went for the constitutional purpose of addressing the legislature for a redress of grievances, they were attacked

by the most opprobrious language at the door, and threatened, if they entered the chapel, their lives should answer for it. They remained outside until the multitude began to come out, at the head of which was the *Reverend Leader* himself; he stopped at the chapel door, delivering a speech the most insolent ever known, and thereby excited some of his unwary auditors to those acts of violence they are now to answer for; at the very time these tumultuous proceedings were going on, then did Mr. O'Mullen address an already inflamed and irritated people, triumphantly declaring eternal hostility to all others who should afterwards disagree with him, and gaining a momentary popularity by insidious addresses, in the true cant of the hypocritical demagogue. This address, Gentlemen, was delivered at the time of tumult, disorder, and riot, which the reverend gentleman well knew, and which was accompanied by a similar act of violence. I have endeavoured so far to give you the outline of the proceedings, as they occurred on that day, at the chapel; but, gentlemen, in the regular course there will be brought under your consideration matters of, at all events, equal interest; it will be recollected that the highly venerated and respected Roman Catholic bishop of this diocese was obliged, by many powerful reasons of his own and his brother clergymen, to deprive Mr. O'Mullen of clerical jurisdiction within this parish—that venerable prelate who had, for a residence of nearly forty years, gained for himself the esteem of every good man, whether Protestant or Catholic, when he saw his Protestant friends attacked in the public papers and unjustly maligned, he found not only a renunciation on his part, but a speedy one was necessary; he was not to wait the ordeal of recantation, affirming or denying, but he acted in the prompt and speedy way the circumstances required.

Gentlemen—It is useless to take up your time any further. I shall conclude, imploring you as men who wish to preserve this city in peace and concord, to investigate, with patience, this most unpleasant transaction; as men who, I know well, (their only object being public tranquillity,) will bring in such a verdict as will teach a people naturally quiet and unoffending, that it is not intemperate and violent men or measures that ever shall attain for them the great object they look for; they have a right to look for their emancipation, but they must do it constitutionally, and you on your part will do not a little towards furthering that object by your verdict, by punishing men who take the opportunity of a ferment they themselves have created, to sow the seeds of sedition among a people who have been ever proverbial, throughout Ireland, for peace and unanimity." [In all that is here said, with one or two exceptions, we heartily concur.]

" We give the sentence, pronounced by the recorder, on the following traversers who were found guilty :—

" Cornelius O'Mullan—you, Sir, together with Bryan Doherty, James Doherty, Con. O'Donnell, and Edward M'Alister, have been indicted for a riot at the Roman Catholic chapel, in the suburbs of this city, on Thursday the 4th day of November. You have been tried by the fullest bench of magistrates that I have ever known assembled at city sessions.

" They have investigated this case, which has occupied almost an entire week, with a patience and a latitude given to defence, I will venture to say, unparalleled. The jury who tried you, have evinced a diligence and attention to evidence, and a conscientious anxiety to be fully informed, which is not usually met with, composed of men irreproachable in public dealings as mercantile men, and exemplary in private life, for their moral conduct as Christians and good men.

" Your defence has been conducted by enlightened, able, and liberal gentlemen of the learned profession, and you have had the fairest and most impartial trial I ever witnessed or heard of—and you have been found guilty.

" It is now my duty, as the recorder of this city, to pass upon you the sentence which has been unanimously determined upon by this bench.

" Before I do so, I feel it necessary to address a few words, particularly to you, Mr. Cornelius O'Mullan.

" Be assured, Sir, that it would have given me great satisfaction, if without a relinquishment of my official duty, I could have assigned this task to any other member of this bench.

" I have experienced from you that degree of marked and studied illiberality and unkindness which has been endeavoured to be thrown as a feature into this case, which creates a feeling of sincere regret, on my part, that I am to be the organ to announce the degree of punishment which awaits you. But I will not, and cannot, from that cause forbear to perform my duty, as I might, thereby, give a shade of colour to the surmise that I felt a portion of triumph or of pleasure, in the disgrace or suffering of a man who had done me gross injustice. I must trust to my character through life to relieve me from so unworthy an imputation.

" Before I announce your sentence, I shall now detail the grounds and causes which have influenced the bench as to the extent of your punishment awarded by them.

" The petty jury who tried you offered, after returning their verdict, an address to the court which I shall now read :—

" *Address of the Petty Jury to the Bench, read by Mr. Thomas Davenport.*

" I am directed, by my fellow-jurors, with whom I perfectly concur,

most respectfully to address a few words to the bench. It has been stated by the counsel on both sides, that they were most anxious to heal the unfortunate animosities which have, for some time, subsisted between the two parties of Roman Catholics in this city; and, that they hoped, our verdict would be a healing verdict. We have, of course, returned our verdict agreeably to our consciences and our oaths. We cannot see that any thing healing could have resulted from our verdict, whatever that verdict might have been; but we certainly concur with the learned counsel, and we believe with all classes of our fellow-citizens, in wishing that these animosities may be healed, although we cannot, as jurors, take it into our consideration; and, if *the influence* of the bench can have any effect to that desirable end, we hope it will be exerted. We do not presume to urge any thing to the bench that may seem to interfere with its jurisdiction. We beg to assure the bench, that this address is not the result of any thing like a compromise, on our part, as we are all of one mind as to our verdict.

"We beg to recommend Bryan Doherty to the consideration of the court, so far as that his conviction for the assault may not occasion him a greater degree of punishment than what shall be awarded to those convicted of the general riot—this recommendation we give on account of his age and his general peaceable demeanor, which is well known to us all."——

"This address has made its due impression; and, if any influence or authority to be exercised by this bench could heal the irritation which exists between the different parties to be found amongst the Roman Catholics of Derry, no effort we could make should be deemed too painful. I am here much inclined to allude, in pointed terms, to the influence of *the Roman Catholic Board*, but, in deference to a learned gentleman now in my eye, I shall forbear. He has conducted your defence ably, but with the temper and candour of a gentleman, and is, therefore, entitled to any respect which, consistent with my duty, I can mark.

"He has urged that this trial is of more importance in its result, than any which has occurred since the trial of the seven bishops, and that it involves the exercise henceforth of the valuable right of petition. God forbid that this constitutional blessing should be restrained by the decision of this jurisdiction.

"I tell the Roman Catholics of this country, that it is their right, and not only their undoubted right, but their bounden duty to petition in any instance where they have a grievance to be redressed, or a claim to be advanced, which the throne or the parliament can remedy. I only add, let them do it in a legal and peaceful manner.

“ A second ground which has influenced the sentence of this bench is, an application of the prosecutors, through their counsel, namely, that they do not wish for a vindictive punishment, but that it may be as lenient as the nature of the crime will admit—this also has had full weight.

“ But there is a third ground which the court have very deeply weighed—that speech, Mr. O'Mullen, fraught with slander, calumny, and falsehood, which you are, by the witnesses on every side, proved to have uttered when you had partly succeeded in the object of the riot you promoted besides your vituperation of some of the most respected characters of this county, whom you marked out to your admiring auditors as objects of their detestation and hostility—you indulged in the terms of Orange Papists towards your brother curate of your own persuasion, and your Roman Catholic brethren who presume to censure your violence. You frequently, as has been proved, applied the epithets of Orange Banditti, Orange Ruffians, Orange Corporation of Derry. Mr. O'Mullen was this kind—was this peaceful—was this the truth—did it accord with your own experience in this city? No, Sir, you know it did not; and, on my honour as a gentleman, in my conscience as a Christian, and on my oath as a judge of this bench, I do not believe there exists an Orangeman in the corporation of the city of Londonderry.

“ You know, Sir, likewise, that in the Yeomanry Corps, which I have the honour to command, consisting of 400 privates, and of which not one tenth were Roman Catholics, *we have forborne, for the last three years, on the first of August, the Anniversary of the Relief of Derry, to exhibit the Orange Lilly, the accustomed badge, for above a century, of that day of rejoicing amongst Derry men of all persuasions; and that out of respect to the feelings of our Roman Catholic brethren, then, for the first time, expressed.*

“ Those facts, Mr. O'Mullen, which you well knew, should have spared the community of the city and liberties of Londerry from your malignant denunciation.

“ But this third ground which I have thus stated, has weighed deeply with the court in the sentence which they award to you—and strange as it may seem, has materially lightened its effect: but they wished to mark, in this way, their contempt of your opprobrium. In no case of conviction for a riot of the least aggravated nature, has, in my experience, in this country, the punishment been less than two months imprisonment; yet, if we could be certain, that we should never again have the peace of our society endangered by the presence of Cornelius O'Mullan, and which was never religiously disturbed until you came among us, you

should depart from that bar with the fine alone of six-pence; but something must be awarded to vindicate the injured peace of the land.

"If you have any feeling left, the very conviction for a riot, committed by a clergyman, and the consequent dishonour and disgrace to a man whose holy and Christian duty it was to promote peace and good will amongst all men, ought to be morally sufficient; but the law requires something—it shall, from these three grounds, be as small as we can make it, therefore, you, Cornelius O'Mullan, are to be imprisoned only one calendar month, to pay a fine of five pounds sterling, and to give security to be of the peace and good behaviour for two years, yourself in the sum of £200 and two sureties in £100 each. The others convicted, to be each imprisoned a fortnight, and to give security to keep the peace."

PROCEEDINGS OF IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

JESUITS.

We beg to refer our readers to p. 156, (Prot. Adv. for Jan.) where they will see mention made of an intended establishment of the Jesuits in Ireland, of the sum which the society has in hand for that purpose, and the money, £18,000, which they have expended in the purchase of a House. We have received the following observations and attestations to this fact from Ireland, and we hasten to lay them before the Protestant public, together with other important extracts from our correspondent's communications.

"You may rest assured that the mansion-house of Castle Browne, in the county of Kildare, with a certain number of acres, has been purchased, for the purpose of establishing a college of Jesuits there. I have been assured of it by a beneficed clergyman who lives near it, and also by an active and intelligent magistrate, who displayed great activity and valour in the rebellion of 1798, in that county."—I cannot look forward to this increase of Popish preponderance in this county without the greatest uneasiness. I am satisfied that we stand on the verge of a precipice. Judging from all that took place preceding the rebellion of 1798, I cannot but think that a civil explosion is about to take place. I tremble to think of the dangers that must arise to unhappy Ireland, when the violence of the *Catholic Board* shall be directed to horrible purposes by the machinations of those masters in political intrigue, THE JESUITS. Is Ireland to become the most Popish of all Popish countries? Are the Jesuits, expelled from England in 1604; from Venice in 1606; from Portugal in 1759; from France in 1762; from Spain in 1767; from Naples in 1768; from Prussia and from Rome itself in 1773, and the very order abolished in the same year, to find a retreat in Ireland, and to exercise

their dangerous arts in this country, already the victim of Popish trickery, Popish ambition, and treachery.

The rise and progress of this dangerous society is too well known to need description. Its power and its malignant tendency were felt so severely by the Roman Catholics themselves, that, in the year 1773, it was expelled from Europe, by Clement the XIV. and so little Christian were its principles, that history charges it with having carried off by poison, that Pope who had the courage and virtue to encounter it.

So late as the year 1782, it was again established by Pope Pius the VI. who annulled the Decree of his predecessor, not for religious purposes, but to indulge the wishes of a Russian Empress, who from temporal and political motives demanded it, as the means of making herself popular in a part of her dominions professing the Roman Catholic religion.

If one Pope can annul what his predecessors have established, I may fairly argue that the Church of which he is the head, is NOT FOUNDED ON THE IMMUTABILITY OF SCRIPTURE DOCTRINES, but on the FRAIL AND ERRING JUDGMENT OF THE EXISTING POPE ; but without contesting this point, surely Ireland, under the British Protestant Constitution, has no wish to lay claim to the indulgence so liberally granted to the Empress Catherine, and that too at a time when we are told the columns of Catholicity are collecting to overthrow the Protestant establishment.

The College of Maynooth is a noble monument of Protestant liberality. It is an establishment founded in wisdom, as it affords an opportunity to the Roman Catholic clergy to be educated at home ; but surely when educated, there ought to be sufficient docility among those who are subject to their church, not to make it necessary to resort to the measure of gathering the Ex-Jesuits together, and establishing a college of them in Ireland.

Whenever Catholic supremacy has sought for pre-eminence, the Jesuits have ever been the bulwark of their hopes. James the Second, the last Roman Catholic king of these realms, felt their efficacy, and preferred them with indefatigable industry, until he lost his throne.

But we have now, thank God, a Protestant king, and a Protestant parliament ; and if no law exists to prevent this establishment, I trust, that the wisdom of parliament will provide one for the purpose.

My friend the magistrate, (whose name, could I, in the situation in which I am here, disclose it, is of the highest respectability,) assures me that the Popish priests are very active in collecting the tax imposed by the Catholic Board ; the *Ten-penny Levy*, as you have called it. A decree of the Cortes, ordered to be read in the Spanish churches, was not read, because the order to read it in the places of public worship was not

deemed correct in that country; but *here* they read from the altar the order of the Board, for the collection of the tax, and woe unto those who hesitate to pay it. He assured me that in the year 1797 they collected £500 in his parish, which is opulent and populous, and they *compelled* many persons to pay so much as twenty guineas. He is decidedly of opinion that they *will collect in all Ireland £500,000*; for they will compel many opulent persons to pay £500, *as they did previously and preparatory to the rebellion of 1798*. The petty farmers and labourers of Ireland, complained loudly of the sums of money which were extorted from them, from the year 1792 to 1798. God knows when, or how these things will end. I like not, any more than my clerical friend, what he calls *τα σημεια των καιρων*, "the signs of the times." In many parts of Ireland, a Popish banditti continue to commit barbarous outrages, and to plunder Protestants of their arms; and they keep all the adjacent country subservient to them, by a system of terror. It is absurd to think that this country can be governed by the mild regimen of the British constitution. Lord Fingal lately said that the reason of his quitting the Catholic Board was that the clergy had got it completely under their influence.

Ireland, Feb. 1814.

CATHOLIC BOARD.

Proceedings of this Popish Parliament, still sitting in Dublin; from their Official Journals, the Freeman of Saturday, February 19, and Evening Post of Tuesday, February 22.

February 19, 1814.

Mr. Dunn prefaced his motion for a "*Declaration of the religious doctrines of the Roman Catholics of Ireland*, for the purpose of disabusing the *English* people of misconceptions under which they labour upon this subject," by a short speech proving the necessity which exists for such a declaration, and the beneficial results likely to be produced by it.

Dr. Sheridan seconded the motion.

Mr. Dunn then moved that a declaration which he held in his hand, (drawn up, we believe, by Earl Stanhope) be referred to the following committee of five,

Dr. Sheridan, Mr. Taaffe, Mr. Mahon, Mr. O'Brien and Dr. Dromgoole.

Counsellor O'Gorman objected to this mode of forming the committee, by the gentleman who had made the motion; and insisted that it was the right of the Chairman to begin by nominating the first member of the committee;—that member, so appointed, to nominate a second; and so on

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till the number proposed should be completed. He added some reasons for *objecting* to Dr. Dromgoole; but the clamour of *disapprobation*, from persons in the gallery, as well as from several members of the Board, at that part of Mr. O'G.'s observations which went to the *rejection* of Dr. D. became so great as to render it impossible to hear even Mr. O'Gorman.

Mr. O'Connel* was sorry to see that the name of Dr. Dromgoole should give rise to this kind of opposition. He (Mr. O'C.) never gave a vote in

* We must not forget that the Board made an attempt to disclaim Dr. Dromgoole's speech; the motion, however, upon which the speech was founded passed, without a division. The motion remaining unrescinded, it became folly to endeavour to flinch from the speech. We gave the motion together with the speech itself, p. 197, Prot. Adv. for Feb. We think it proper however, by way of elucidating Mr. O'Connell's vacillation or tergiversation, and the final wisdom of the measure he adopted to print it again, and indeed it cannot be brought too often under the eye of our Protestant government and Protestant legislature. "Resolved; that we think it necessary at this particular time, to re-adopt our resolution of 1810, that, as Irishmen and Catholics, we never can nor will consent to any interference on the part of the crown, or the servants of the crown, in the appointment of our bishops; and that, with every disposition to meet, as far as it can be done, the wishes of every part of our parliamentary friends and Protestant fellow-subjects, we yet feel ourselves called upon to declare, that no settlement can be final and satisfactory which has for its basis, or at all involves any innovation or alteration in the doctrine or discipline of the Catholic church in Ireland;—that this declaration is not lightly made, but is grounded upon the concurrence of this board with the prelates, and in the sentiments of the Catholic body at large as publicly and repeatedly expressed at the several meetings held, for the last three years, in every part of the kingdom." Mr. O'Connell expresses his regret in what he says above concerning a vote that he gave—here is one turn round:—another year we find, —(*Dublin Journal*, Feb. 8;)—Mr. O'Connell has given a notice of his intention to submit a very important motion to the Catholic Board. Its object is to be the repeal of the resolutions moved by Dr. Dromgoole, and carried on the day he made his celebrated speech." A third turn (*Dub. Journ.* Feb. 17.) "Mr. O'Connell withdrew the notice he had given respecting rescinding the resolutions passed on Dr. Dromgoole's speech;" &c.—What strange vagaries are here! What demonstrations of vigour! What proofs of imbecility. Wisdom of a certain sort the counsellor possesses after all. He has a clear sense of self-interest. The Board is a very good client. It is something to officiate as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Popish parliament. Above all, now that ways and means have been devised to raise the money—the vote of £1000, is a measure not to be put in jeopardy. But where is principle all this while? gone to sleep with honour slumbering on one side, and conscience snoring on the other. The Board must be cultivated;—it must not be irritated. After all Mr. O'Connell's agitations—a thousand pounds is a very palatable sedative. Mr. O'Connell's case is parallel to that of the Governor of Tilbury Fort.—"Governor. Honour!—Tilburina. A pension!—Governor. Conscience!—Tilburina. A THOUSAND POUNDS!—Governor. Hah! thou has touched me nearly!"

his life that he regretted more than that one which carried the appearance of censure upon the Doctor. But he thought this a new way of rescinding the solemn resolutions of the Catholic Board.

Mr. Lawless thought Dr. D. the best of politicians and ablest propounder of religious doctrines. He was an able man.

Mr. Hughes said he was an able man, but his speech had been highly injurious to the Catholic cause.

Counsellor O'Gorman demanded a ballot. He freely confessed he did not wish that Dr. Dromgoole should be the person to draw up a declaration of his (Mr. O'G.'s) religious opinions.

The ballot was not gone into, but the committee was appointed in the common way of one gentleman naming another. The names stand thus : Mr. Dunn, Mr. Roche, Dr. Sheridan, Mr. Mahon, Dr. Dromgoole, Mr. O'Connell.

On Dr. D. being named by Mr. Mahon, the most enthusiastic applause proceeded from every part of the house, and continued for several minutes.

The declaration is to be submitted to Archbishop Troy.

Saturday, Feb. 26th.—[Freeman's Journal.]

Mr. Hay, the secretary, read the proceedings of the last meeting, and also a letter he had received from Archbishop Troy, disapproving altogether of the DECLARATION OF RELIGION which had been submitted to him, in pursuance of Mr. Dunne's motion passed on the foregoing Saturday.

Mr. Dunne, feeling the sincerest respect for the archbishop, and his venerable colleagues, would not follow up his motion any further.

Dr. Troy's Letter.—[Dublin Evening Post, March 1.]

" Dear Sir,

Feb. 25, 1804, Cavendish Row.

— " I find this DECLARATION an exact transcript of a well known FORMULARY of the condemnation of doctrines imputed to Catholics, emanating from some member, or members of the Committee of English Catholics, twenty four years ago ; and shortly after, when embodied by the framers into an OATH, which it was intended to have been inserted into an act of parliament, it was condemned by the Catholic bishops of Great Britain, and by such of the Irish prelates as were consulted upon it, of whom I happened to be one ; and by them declared to be such, as no Catholic would, with a safe conscience, take or subscribe to. This sentence was confirmed by THE SUPREME PASTOR :* and this accumulated opposition to it, though ineffectual with its original authors, induced

* The Pope.

parliament to reject it, with the decided concurrence of Mr. Pitt. Indeed, every point in this *insidious formulary*, which could at all fairly affect the *political principles and circumstances* of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, is fully and unequivocally inserted in the oath prescribed by the Irish act of 1773, and the declaration appended to that oath, in the act of 1798; this will appear evident on inspection: and surely, the renunciations, abjurations, and condemnations of imputed doctrines, which were deliberately sanctioned by the English and Irish parliament,—of which the extent shocked Mr. Burke, and the precision satisfied Dr. Duigenan—must be amply sufficient to convince fastidiousness itself of the *political purity of our religious principles*, and remove the last scruple of the most jealous suspicion.

"I beg you will have the goodness to inform the gentlemen of the Catholic Board of these sentiments, and of the grounds on which they were formed. They will do me the justice to acknowledge, that from the nature of the subject, its examination, in the first instance, peculiarly belongs to the place I fill; and the speediest expression of my sentiments on it, consistently with proper deliberation, is an imperative duty I owe to them and to the public; and I have no doubt, that from the short, but I hope, sufficient view I have given of it [they] will agree with me, that to entertain any farther inquiry on it, should be highly improper and for any fair purpose, perfectly useless.

"I remain with esteem, dear Sir, &c.

"J. F. TROY."

"P. S. 26th Feb. Dr. Murray perused the DECLARATION as amended; which even in that state, is highly objectionable.

"The motion of Mr. Dunne was then withdrawn with unanimous consent."

I cannot transmit these precious and authentic documents of the PROCEEDINGS OF THE POPIST PARLIAMENT, still sitting in *Dublin*,—"not half a bow-shot from THE CASTLE,"—insulting the government, trampling on the laws, and fomenting rebellion, without offering, through the channel of the PROTESTANT ADVOCATE, a few plain remarks, suggested thereby, to the BRITISH PUBLIC.

1. From the proceedings of the former meeting, Saturday, February 19, it appears that Doctor Dromgoole is still in the *odour of sanctity*, with a large majority of the members, and the whole of the auditory; as shewn by their tumultuous applause on his being nominated a member of the select committee of religion. Whence we may collect that the subse-

quent motions, condemning his celebrated speech of December 8, are *hypocritical and delusive*, merely designed to blind the eyes of the good people of *England*; for in *Ireland* they are ridiculed, even by the *Roman Catholics* themselves, that is, such of them as are *not Papists*, Counsellor *Bellaw*, &c.

2. The *Romish hierarchy*, both in *England* and *Ireland*, are evidently actuated by one and the same spirit of devotion to ~~THE SUPREME PASTOR~~, their sovereign lord the *POPE*, and of hostility to the existing government under which they live, and are fostered, like vipers, in its bosom. This is the perennial source of the rejection of every attempt of the *Protesting Catholics* of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* to evince their allegiance and loyalty, now, and at all times. Nor can this most desirable *DECLARATION* ever take place, till the parliamentary abolition of the *Pope's* usurped *supremacy*, in *to*, so often attempted, from the *Saxon* times.

3. It is truly remarkable that in all the petitions to Parliament, signed by the *Romish prelates* of *Ireland*, they have studiously avoided any explicit declaration of their own religious and political tenets; and have quashed, by their *peremptory mandates*, every attempt of that kind on the part of their *clergy* and *laity*! Such is the present mandatory epistle of *Dr. Troy*, couched exactly in the same strain as those of the *Vicars Apostolic* in *England*, and productive of the same powerful effect of instantaneous submission. But surely he must have a very contemptible idea of the understandings of his *priest-ridden flock* in the *Catholic Board*, when he can insult them with such reasoning as his second paragraph exhibits; from his antecedent, "Surely the *renunciations, abjurations, and condemnations* of *imputed doctrines*, which was [were] *deliberately sanctioned* by the *English and Irish Parliaments*"—[upon the fullest conviction that they were *justly imputed* to the *Roman Catholics*] "*in all their extent and precision*;"—the consequence is obviously the reverse:—"must be amply sufficient to convince fastidiousness itself of the *political impurity* of our *religious principles*, and confirm the *last scruple* of the most *jealous suspicion*!!!"

PAPATUS EST DELENDUS.

CRITO.*

P. S.—Doctor *Murray* is the *soadjutor* of the titular Archbishop of *Dublin*. He was raised at once to this elevated situation, from a simple

* We beg leave to make our acknowledgments to CRITO for the favour which he did us in sending us the "*Reflections on the Times*," which appeared in our last number, p. 253. This paper is the evident composition of a mind well informed and versed in the art of stating and reasoning.—We earnestly wish that we could reckon the author in

curacy of Liffey Street chapel, for his talents, and for his obsequiousness to the see of Rome. He has been for some years in this probationary station; and on the demise of Doctor Troy is regularly to succeed him in that diocese. Thus the Pope is sure of having the *Irish sees* always filled by ecclesiastics of tried zeal, and fidelity, and talents, all exhibited during their noviciate. The appointment of *coadjutors*, or *assistant bishops*, indeed, was a measure of the deepest policy.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE REFORMED RELIGION, RECOMMENDED BY THE EDITOR OF THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE.

(Continued from page 240.)

28. *The Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Crown proved to be the Common Law of England. With Preliminary Observations, and an Appendix. By Basilicus. 8vo. Pp. 82. J. J. Stockdale, Pall-Mall.*

We understand that this very able pamphlet is the production of an Irish barrister. We heartily wish that the number of such loyal and constitutional barristers may increase in the sister island. Sure we are that incalculable mischief has been done in that country by lawyers of another description; both previously to the union, in the Commons' House of Parliament, and since the union was completed, in the mock parliament which assumes to itself the name of *the Catholic Board*.

Basilicus is perfectly at home in elucidating the point of law which he has undertaken to discuss. He writes in that free style which is the result of a familiar acquaintance with his subject; and in that spirited and almost triumphant manner which betokens his full conviction that what he advances is law, is truth, and irrefragable constitutional doctrine.

The preliminary observations, (which comprize fourteen pages, exclusively of those above-mentioned,) demand particular notice. Our readers possibly may have observed the eagerness with which we seize every opportunity of giving publicity to the refutation of *vulgar errors*; especially if those vulgar errors be craftily forged, and industriously spread,

the number of our *immediate* correspondents. Though written in *England*, his letter, or rather an extract of his letter, came to us by the circuitous route of *Ireland*.—Particularly, there is something so profound in what he says of *the spirit of superstition operating as the spirit of party*, that we most anxiously solicit a further development of his sentiments, not on that point only, but on the general Catholic Question, which he seems to have studied so deeply. If he would do us the honour to favour us with his name and address, our valuable friend CARO knows enough of us to assure him that we are incapable of betraying any confidence which he may be pleased to repose in us.

and sturdily maintained by those who have evil purposes to serve, and would willingly lead the multitude blindfold to destruction. With the club of Hercules, Basilicus encounters that hydra of delusion and sophistry—"the Board." "The language of the Board," says he, is marked by certain frontless fallacies. They style their religion *Catholic*; the laws whereof they complain, *penal laws*; and the relief which they seek, *emancipation*." We shall extract a portion of what he says on each of these three heads.—P. iii. "*Catholic* is, *quoad* Christianity, the term appropriate to the Christian religion; whose professors belong to the universal church of Christ, or to the flock of the faithful, made up of her several congregations. Not any particular church is privileged to assume this common title:—it is the *nomen generis*, which belongs generally to all, and therefore cannot be the peculiar property of any one. If the church of Rome be the *Catholic* church, then the churches of the East, the church of Geneva, and the church of England, either are not parts of Christ's church, or, being parts, are subservient to the church of Rome; and her assumption of *Catholicism* is the assumption of exclusiveness or of supremacy. But this, though strongly contended for, has never yet been conceded to Rome; whose church is *Roman Catholic* only, as ours is *Anglo-Catholic*: since each church, with reference to her particular doctrine, must assume her particularizing distinction. Therefore, we should be cautious not to slide into any admission of the *Catholicity* of Rome: when speaking of their profession of our common Founder's religion, we should call her followers *Roman Catholics*; when adverting to their maintenance of the Papal supremacy, we should stile them—much as they abhor the term—*Papists*. Nor need we scruple this distinction, even though they insist that they call themselves *Catholics*, "for the sake of brevity, not of controversy;" and that "the reproachful epithets of Papist and Romanist are no longer applied to them by any gentleman or scholar."

"That every part of Christ's church was *Catholic*, is shewn by the enlightened Bishop Saunderson; who, in his last will solemnly bequeathed to posterity the testimony of his faith in this decisive illustration.—"And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire and (by the grace of God) resolve to die, *in the communion of the Catholic church of Christ and a true member of the church of England*."—The man who will assert that this good prelate was not a *Catholic*, or that he set his dying hand to a falsehood, must not murmur at hearing himself stiled by his proper name—a *Papist*."

After duly characterizing Dr. Dromgoole's *speech*, Basilicus proceeds to expose the second fallacy. In a note, however, (p. vii.) he gives the elo-

quent doctor a hint of some importance. "Gratitude for his signal service requires us to apprise the good doctor of a point of law, which the counsellors of the Board are not very likely to communicate to him. These obligations of a Popish conscience are prohibited by a most intolerant statute passed in the reign of King James,—not the *enlightened* James the Second, but the *bigot* James the First—which enacts, that whosoever "shall put in practice to absolve, persuade, or withdraw any of the subjects of the king, his heirs, and successors, from their natural obedience to the king, or to reconcile them to the Pope or See of Rome, or to move them to promise obedience to any pretended authority of the See of Rome, they and their abettors shall be adjudged TRAITORS, and being convicted shall suffer and forfeit as in cases of HIGH TREASON." 2. Jac. 1. c. 4.—This inconvenient statute, I trust, will be included in the repealing clauses of the next emancipation bill.

"Translated out of Irish, the Doctor's argument is this—We will not be so "lost and abandoned," as to swear "not to seek, directly, or indirectly, the subversion of the Protestant church;" because such an oath would be contrary to our TREASONABLE conscience, which commands us to seek that subversion by every means."

(P. vii.) "A second imposture, and of almost equal mischief, is the practise of styling the laws which affect Popery *penal*, while they are merely *restrictive*. I shall of course be understood to speak of those laws only which the Papists themselves have denounced as grievances, and not of those from which Mr. Canning volunteered to relieve the uncomplaining sufferer. When a Popish orator harangues against "*penal laws*," I fancy that he intends the laws of treason and sedition; which certainly do bear somewhat grievously on our modern demagogues:—but their lawyers should have taught their doctors better, than to describe prohibitory restraints as mandatory inflictions. Exclusion is not privation; still less is it compulsion; least of all is it persecution. The Papist is not punished for his opinions;—no, nor for the expression of his opinions. It was reserved for this age to behold a body of Recusants, protected in their sectarian worship, enabled to acquire property, and even power, yet complaining of chains and degradation. It was reserved for this age to behold the still more strange anomaly of slaves, running wild in licentiousness while clamouring of their slavery, vaunting their energy while lamenting their depression, and triumphing in their strength while mourning over their weakness. Is not *this*, however, the slavery of Irish Papists? Have they not arrogated to themselves the exclusive liberty of our state?—And seem not our legislators to have

taken of the insane root

Which makes the reason prisoner?"

In p. ix. Basilicus explodes the improper use of the word *emancipation*.—"The term *emancipation* is a fraud, whereby the Papists hope to entrap our compassionate weakness. 'Emancipation!—The very word suggests ideas of torture, of imprisonment, of slavery. And do the Papists suffer these? And if they do not, are they wise in reminding us of what they have once inflicted, of what they would inflict again? A Papist should not talk of being emancipated into the legislature, lest he should remember a Protestant of having been emancipated out of the Inquisition. When men ask to be *emancipated*, we look for their whips, their dungeons, and their fetters. But when we hasten to relieve the Irish Papist we find no whips to break, no dungeons to open, no chains to rend asunder. Needless as might be the function of the turnkey or the beadle, these salutary officers trouble not the Board; their ministry subsides into a metaphor; and five hundred brawling demagogues, assembled in all the parade of a parliament, gravely tell us—that the emancipation which they seek is the emancipation of the mind!—

"These people understand well the power of a word.—*Emancipation!*—We rejoice in the *emancipation* of Africa:—we triumph in the *emancipation* of Holland. But the sufferers of those injured countries did not assemble, and harangue, and menace:—they did not prove, by the loudness of complaint, that they had no reason to complain. The Irish Papist, however, sallies forth, sleek, well fed, and fearless, to his spouting place; with just enough of calamity to tag a trope or point a period. Then, after his fantastic fretfulness has made out a subject for a motion, this oppressed slave, this victim of the Protestant establishment, returns home to empty his bottle, and collect "more miseries" for the next day's exhibition.

*Ambulaculorum Collegia, Pharmacopole,
Mendici, Mimi, Balatrone;—hoc genus omne!*

This begging, brawling, delegated horde,
Quacks, Quibblers, Jesters, Jesuits;—all the Board!

"Emancipation!—Slavery!—Yes, the Irish Papists, whose infatuated idolatry worships the Board, as the Ghebers worship the snuff of a candle, and cherish it for its stink,—they stand in need of the one, low as they are crushed beneath the other. They must be emancipated from their *slave-drivers*, the Board; who, at the master-bidding of the priest, goad and lash them from idleness to discontent, from discontent to turbulence, from turbulence to plunder; from plunder to insurrection. This is the grievance which they suffer, this is the penalty from which they should seek to be relieved. *They can relieve themselves.*"

Speaking (p. 11) of the *clock* which regulates the Popish Committee's time of meeting, the author gives us the following anecdote:—"A piece of secret history, which the English people ought to be instructed in. On the twenty-third of February 1611—(Irish Popery has a strange affection for *twenty-thirds*:—witness the *twenty-third* of October 1641, the *twenty-third* of May 1798, the *twenty-third* of July 1803)—the Popish Committee was to assemble in Dublin at *two o'clock*. The magistrates entered the room, to disperse this illegal meeting, at *half past one*: when, after a discussion which occupied nearly twenty-eight minutes, the right honourable Lord Ffrench, *who had taken the chair*, assured the magistrates that the meeting was *not* a committee. On this assurance the magistrates retired; the clock struck *two*—and *then*—the meeting *was* a committee. This was a terrible stroke at honour!—*But the clock struck first!*

Set danger from the East unto the West,
So Honour cross it from the North to South,
And let them grapple!

Basilicus, in opening and entering on his main subject, destroys another error of which the Papists make great use. "It is a common error, (says he, p. 5) the mischief whereof is proportioned to its extent, that the supremacy of Rome in England was for the first time abrogated in the sixteenth century. The assertors of Papal power have studied to connect it with our early constitution; calculating, perhaps, that when one general repeal shall have swept away the statutes of Henry the Eighth and of William the Third, the effects of the Reformation and of the *Revolution* will vanish altogether.

"THE AUTHORITY OF THE POPE WAS, FROM THE VERY COMMENCEMENT OF ENGLAND'S CHRISTIANITY, WHOLLY UNKNOWN TO HER PEOPLE AND REJECTED BY HER LAW. Toward the eleventh century, his gradual encroachment did, *for the first time*, commence that system which his servants now contend to establish: while the supremacy, which our Catholic forefathers refused and prohibited, their Protestant descendants are now, *for the first time*, summoned to receive and recognize. We are required, not only to repeal our ancient statutes, but to abrogate the yet more ancient law which those statutes have declared: we are required, not to restore a dormant authority, but to institute a novel usurpation. Our Legislature and our Regent are called upon to divest the English crown of that supremacy which our Wittena-Gemot and our Alfred asserted as its eldest possession. When the sovereigns of a remote period, of itself sufficient to create an imprescriptible right, claimed that supremacy as their immemorial inheritance, Providence preserved to us the

testimony of centuries, and threw, even on that dark age, the light of the most early truth. Shall we then weakly and wickedly forego those privileges, which outstrip the memory of man, and make antiquity but the resting point of time?

"It was not, however, to be expected that the extinction of our original laws should be insisted on, or even glanced at; until the Romanists should have seated themselves on the woolpack, filled the senate-house with their numbers, and added the command of the army to their *military means*.*. Unfortunately, their manoeuvre was marred by a too precipitate friend; and therefore they accord so little thanks to the rashness of their champion.

"If, among the multiplied demands of the Romanists, ascendancy shall be permitted to exist at all, we should ascertain what is to constitute its existence. The equality of all is the superiority of none: but the law has vested in the sovereign a supremacy, which a sect, "acknowledging a foreign jurisdiction," and disclaiming his domestic authority, now struggles to impair. Neither is that foreign acknowledgment *essential to the religion of that sect*; since, while England and Ireland were Catholic, their common law recognised the supremacy of the church in the sovereign, unsevered and undisputed. It were worse than absurd to argue, that the subsequent reformation of the national religion has contracted his previous authority, or reduced him into the leader of a sect from the sovereign of the empire.

"We may, however, indulge the Romanists with this absurdity. It recognizes, in a Romish sovereign at least, an ecclesiastical jurisdiction; such as our Catholic sovereigns exercised while admitting the spiritual authority of the Pope. The Romanist of the nineteenth century will scarcely labour to invest the tiara with higher privileges than it possessed in the reigns of the Plantagenets or in the æra of the Heptarchy! Though he may refuse to continue, in a Protestant king, the supremacy of a Catholic sovereign, he will admit that the supremacy, at any time vested in a temporal potentate, is not now inherent in the spiritual Pontiff! If general supremacy had ever been acknowledged in a layman—no matter of what creed—it cannot now essentially belong to a priest: and, as the Irish Romanists are no longer blessed with a Romish sovereign, they may reasonably endure in our Protestant king ecclesiastical supremacy.

The actual confusion and apparent contradiction which involve this question, may be relieved by a very simple explanation: so simple, indeed, that our emancipators must have neglected it for its obviousness, if

* Vide the "*First Part of the Statement of the Penal Laws, Dublin, 1812.*"

they did not avoid it for its inconveniences. It is merely this—the distinction between *spirituals* and *ecclesiasticals*. In the Romish church, the first belong to the hierarchy, the second to the state: in the Protestant church, the first belong to the religion, the second to the sovereign. In some congregations of the Romish church they are united; because the Pontiff unites, in his own person, the double capacity: in the Protestant church they are severed, because the capacity of the sovereign is purely secular. The difference is precisely the same as that which exists between the soul and the body, between internals and externals, between consciences and canons, between doctrine and discipline.

“For this distinction I claim neither novelty nor ingenuity. It is coeval with our common law. It was declared by Elizabeth, when, in her famous *admonition*, she separated from her supremacy “all power of ministry.” It was asserted by James the First (then king of the Scots) in his *declaration* to that people in 1584. It was avowed in 1604 by the Romish priest Lalor, when upon his trial for a *præmunire* under this English statute 16, Ric. 2. (which had been enacted in Ireland by 32 Hen. 6.) he protested his *ecclesiastical* submission to the sovereign, and justified his obedience to the Pope as purely *spiritual*.* Did the Romanists confess this distinction, instead of vindicating the ferocious spirit of Hildebrand and Boniface, the haughty aggression of Paul and Urban, the domineering violence of Innocent and Alexander, they would not now see their hopes and their interests sacrificed to the fraud and folly of an Irish faction—the dregs of rebellion and the leavings of the law.

“Some tender conscience perhaps has startled at the assertion, that *ecclesiastical* jurisdiction is not necessarily *spiritual*:—but a moment’s consideration may satisfy that, so far from having an indispensable connection with matters of faith, it merely regulates the external affairs of the church; such as the appointment and investiture of her functionaries, with the consequent offices of promotion, of correction, and of privation. In a word, it is precisely that species of supremacy which the statute of our Eighth Henry declares to be the common law of England; and which the thirty-seventh article of her church has stipulated. It is that species of supremacy which James the First asserted against the Dissenters: “What speak you of the Pope’s authority here? *Habemus jura quod*

* “Case of *Præmunire*. Sir J. Davis’s Reports in Ireland. It is worth remarking, that this early statute was selected in preference to the act of Elizabeth, as having been framed so long before the Reformation; and, as the Attorney-General declared, because it shewed the laws of our realm to have been adverse to the Pope’s authority, while they admitted his religion.”

habemus—what we hold, we hold by right; and therefore, as the Pope has no power in England, it is plain that he ought not to have any.²² But, to satisfy the most rigid Romanist, it is that species of supremacy which even the bigot Mary claimed to herself, when she excepted it from her sweeping repeal of her father's enactments; and which even the famous Bishop Gardiner, of persecuting memory, admitted; when in his oration *de verâ obedientiâ*, he said that, "by the parliament's styling King Henry the Eighth head of the church, it was no new invented matter wrought; only their mind was to have the power pertaining to a prince by God's law, to be more clearly expressed by this emphatical appellation."—*Significantiori vocabulo competentem principi. divino jure potentatam exprimi clarius voluerunt.*

The learned author, after this commencement pursues his plan; and beginning at the earliest recorded period, shows clearly that by the Common Law of England the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Crown is completely recognized, as it is also by the statute law.—In the course of his argument, the reader will find many most interesting passages; a great number of which we had marked for insertion in these pages, but we must stop, which we do very reluctantly.—We conclude with the following passages, which occur p. 57.—"To vindicate the wisdom of our ancestors, not any other authority needs be adduced, than the statute law of England and the ancient common law whereof it is declaratory. Neither the opinion of our own learned universities, which, anno 1534, explicitly denied the Pope's jurisdiction in these realms; nor the example of foreign nations, which under the earliest dynasties have preserved the supremacy in their sovereign; need be instanced in support of England's immemorial law. As we have not argued on the prerogative of the first Christian emperors, on the practice of the original Christian church, or on the doctrine of the primitive Christian fathers, to defend the supremacy of the king; so we will not admit the decrees of councils, the ordinances of canons, or the aggressions of priests, to justify the supremacy of the Pope. While England rests her throne on the deep foundations of her ancient law, not any other antiquity is required to confirm her dignity, her rights, and her safety.

"Hitherto we may seem to have spoken of England alone; and the Popish orators who are not yet in Parliament, may insist that our arguments have no application to Ireland. They who make Emancipation the stepping-stone to reform, and reform to separation, will not readily acknowledge the law of a people, unto whom neither ancient connexion nor reciprocal interest can attach them. Yet these Hibernicized patriots must be taught, that the English subjects who first entered Ireland under

the banners of an English king, bound by English law to English allegiance, could never colonize their children into rebellion. The title which our second Henry possessed in Ireland, [given him by Pope Adrian IV], be that title what it may, cannot be disputed by the progeny of his settlers. Should there be, which I much doubt, one aboriginal among the orators of the Board, willingly I remit him to his Milesian independence; but the mongrel Englishman must submit to the ordinances which controuled his forefathers. Nevertheless, if the lapse of a few centuries can have any importance with these high-blooded chieftains, they are welcome to all the remaining rights of Ireland's native princes: since it unfortunately happens, that the Irish potentates executed indentures of submission to our eighth Henry; whereby they acknowledged him to be their sovereign lord and king, and owned his supremacy in all cases, utterly renouncing the Pope's jurisdiction.

"For this unlucky instance, Sir John Davis, who had the happiness of living amongst them, is alone to be blamed. This almost contemporary historian observes, very disrespectfully, that their submission was 'most worthy of note, in that when the Irish had once resolved to obey the King, they made no scruple to renounce the Pope.' Surely this was almost as bad, as if some Protestant attorney-general should infer *ex-officio*, that disaffection is the strongest support of their principles; and that if they could once remember their allegiance they would forget their bigotry. Be this as it may, whether the English colonists in Ireland are bound to England by Henry the Second or by Henry the Eighth, by Elizabeth or by James, by Charles or by Cromwell, by the Revolution or by the Union, at this moment they are subject to the common law and the statute law of England, with all the weight of its antiquity and its authority."

A COPY OF A BULL SENT TO MARSHAL DAUN, BY CLEMENT XIII.

Clement XIII. &c. &c. &c. to our dear son in Christ, Marshal Daun, commander-in-chief of her apostolic majesty, health and the apostolic benediction.—Your great actions in the war, carried on against the heretics, but especially the extraordinary victory which you obtained over the Prussians on the 14th day of last October, has given us the highest joy. In discharge of our duty as Father of the Faithful, we think it incumbent on us to add the energy of our benediction to the wonderful effects of your bravery and to imitate our predecessors in the Papacy, who sent a consecrated sword and hat to Prince Eugene of blessed memory, to reward his military virtues, eminent in the frequent defeats of the infidels.

dehs.* To you therefore the distinguished defender of the church, as you surpass that hero in excellence by fighting against the heretics,† who are more obstinately attached to their abominable errors, than even the infidels, we do most liberally impart to you the celestial benediction, and do commit this sword into your hands, to be employed in the utter extirpation of heretics, whose pestiferous contagion smells rank of the devil and his imps. The destroying angel shall fight close by your side to extirpate the infamous progeny of Luther and Calvin, and the great avenger of crimes shall make use of your arm, for the total destruction of those Amalekites and Moabites. May that arm be dyed in the blood of the heretics. May the axe be laid to the root of the tree, productive of such execrable fruit. May the northern regions in Germany, in imitation of that pious Prince Charles the Great,‡ at length be restored by fire, the sword and a deluge of blood, to the true religion. If the blessed are represented as rejoicing in the recovery of one lost sheep, what transports must they, as well as the faithful feel, at your recovery of this perverted and impious multitude, to the embraces of the divine mother church. May the adorable blessed Virgin be propitious to their undertakings, and may Saint Neopomuca, by his prayers and intercessions § be importunate in thy favour. May the whole heaven filled with the blessed, and the registered among the saints, conspire to your successes. Animated by these glorious hopes, we do again invest you with the apostolic benediction.

Given at Rome, under St. Peter's seal, the 30th of January 1759, the first year of our pontificate.

Dublin, March 7th, 1814.

Mr. Editor,—The above bull was brought to Ireland by a native of this country, who attained the rank of major-general in the Austrian service, during the Seven Years' War, under Marshal Daun, to whom he had been aide-de-camp. He brought a copy of this bull to Ireland, and his nephew a Protestant, who laughed at such Popish trumpery, gave me a translation of it. It is no antiquated document. It was composed by the Pope and dispatched to Marshal Daun in our own days.—SOMERS.

NOTE FROM THE EDITOR TO P. H.

THE Editor received a letter from Ireland, signed P. H. who says that the author of the "Commentary on the Proceedings of the Roman Catholics of Ireland," &c. noticed and recommended in the PROTESTANT ADVOCATE for January, p. 165, is mistaken, where he asserts that "the Catholic Church admits that the Protestant Church is

* The Turks.

† Protestants.

‡ This alludes to the dreadful butchery of the Saxons by Charlemagne.

§ Notwithstanding the Pope's reliance on the importunities of the Turks, that there is but "one mediator between God and Man."

Christian Church, though it was in some particulars an erroneous one. We offer our pages to the author of the Commentary, in case he should be inclined to defend the proposition which he has advanced. As to what the *ribald Ward* has said on this subject, or what the *vulgar papists* conceive, we cannot but believe that the great mass of Roman Catholics, that is of those who are possessed of such a degree of information as to enable them to form a judgment, or to authorise them to give an opinion, will admit that the Protestant is, at least, a *Christian Church*. It is true, she does not symbolize with the Church of Rome in those comparative *novelties*, tacked to the ancient faith in the creed of Pope pius IV; (see Protestant Advocate, vol. 1, p. 546) but receiving, and adhering to the NICENE CREED, which the Pope himself, and the Council of Trent did not venture to throw aside, whatever some bigots may affirm, our Protestant Church, as she is substantially Christian, and can shew a succession in her priesthood, as clear as that of Rome herself, —all Roman Catholics, enjoying common candour, must acknowledge her to be a Christian Church. However, the author of the Commentary does not stand in need of our support, perfectly competent as he is to maintain his own ground.

As to the other matter noticed by P. H. we did not fail to send that part of his letter which related to it, to C. D. through a channel which has been most condescendingly opened to us. We annex the answer, which the Editor hopes will prove completely satisfactory to P. H. whose attachment to the Protestant cause merits every attention.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—In answer to the observations of P. H. on the following passage in the state of parochial clergy of Ireland, published in the Protestant Advocate in January last, (p. 189) that “*the poor are liable to it (the tythe) in its fullest extent, and consequently, the burden falls on them;*” —I must remark, that I was not in that place, speaking of *lands tythe-free*, but of the exemption of grazing lands from any tythe or agistment, whilst in grass; the consequence of which is, that in those parts of Ireland where the grazing system prevails, the rich being the graziers, and the poor some of them cotters and some under-tenants, being the cultivators, generally speaking, *the burthen falls on them*. If P. H. will take the trouble of looking over the Essay again, he will find, that the writer of it, was fully aware of the different manner in which those cultivators are treated; who take their tythes from the clergy, and those who hold them, either under lay impropriators, or else pay an additional rent under the idea of their lands being tythe-free.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

February 25th, 1814. CLERICUS DROMORIENSIS.

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For MAY 1814.

"If it be asked why the Bishop of Rome calls himself Universal Bishop? *Pasce oves* is his warrant. Why he pretends to a power of deposing Princes? *Pasce oves*, said Christ to Peter, the second time. If it be demanded why also he pretends to a power of authorizing his subjects to kill him? *Pasce agnos*, said Christ, the third time: and *pasce* is *doce*, and *pasce* is *imperu*, and *pasce* is *occide*."—BR. TAYLOR.

THE DETHRONEMENT OF BUONAPARTE AND THE LIBERATION OF THE POPE.

We congratulate our country on the Revolution which has taken place in France. The power of Buonaparte is at an end, his ephemeral dynasty is no more. "How hath the oppressor ceased! The Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked and the sceptre of the rulers. He who smote the people in wrath with a continual stroke, he that ruled the nations in anger, is persecuted, and none hindereth. The whole earth is at rest, and is quiet." The deposing of the Corsican Upstart has restored peace to a distracted world. Two countries must, however, be excepted, America and Ireland; but even in these we confidently look for the restoration of tranquillity. Now that the deceitfulness of Buonaparte has been exposed, we may hope that the trickeries, and the unfounded calumnies, and the wretched policy of Mr. Maddison will lose their effect: that the citizens of the United States will "hiss him out his place;" and that as Buonaparte has been allowed to hide his bilious face in the Isle of Elba, Mr. Maddison may be sent in disgrace to Mud Island.—As to Ireland,—the hopes of the seditious are blasted. The bravery and military skill of the Allied Sovereigns, and the perseverance of the British government, have put it out of the power of Buonaparte or any of his commanders (who indeed have left him to his fate) to invade Ireland. The Popish multitude who have been induced "to swear to be true and loyal [monstrous perversion of terms!] to Buonaparte and his forces," (see *Prot. Adv. for Match*, p. 257), we trust will see the impossibility of his assisting them to rupture the Union between Ireland and Great Britain; and we hope that

the seducers and instigators of those wretched bigots will desist from their treasonable labours.—Now that peace will shortly be restored, in all probability our country will be less incommoded with the insolent applications of the Papists; who always seize upon moments of national embarrassment to urge their claims, and endeavour to extort concession as the price of appeasing, what some weak-minded people count, dangerous discontents. Violence there is, doubtless, and a great deal of high-sounding language, which they would willingly pass off for, and some mistake for, eloquence; but after all it is but nonsense, mingled with impertinence, nor is there any “terror in their threats.” There is not an argument that they use, which has not been refuted over and over again; and they are guilty of one folly which seems very *bullish*, that is, they pretend to *petition* parliament, and yet will not allow the legislature power to frame such regulations as are absolutely necessary to prevent their bringing ruin on the community, in case they should (which we sincerely deprecate) be released from some of the restrictions under which they lie. The fact is, that these zealots either cannot, or will not, make the necessary distinction between the meaning of the words *ecclesiastical* and *spiritual*—the former is applicable to affairs which it is the undoubted province of parliament to control and to arrange,—and with regard to the latter, parliament will never think of encroaching upon them, or interfering with them. We conversed the other day with a very worthy member of Parliament, concerning the Popish claims, and he gave it as his opinion that the Catholic question, as some call it, when next brought before the House of Commons, will be disposed of in less time, at least than when it was debated in the last session. He said that certain gentlemen seemed shy of irritating the Roman Catholics, for fear of throwing them into the arms of Buonaparte; but that after the disasters which had befallen him in the Russian winter campaign, as his power was not so much to be dreaded; notwithstanding the demonstrations of insurrection in Ireland, gentlemen would, in all probability, act more promptly and decisively in 1814, than they did in 1813. If our friend was correct in his judgment, what may we not expect from parliament now that Buonaparte has even lost the shattered remains of his power; now that his *mighty* soul (how erroneous has been the vulgar opinion concerning that *wretch*!) has condescended to barter his imperial crown for an eleemosynary subsistence?

What but the rancorous hatred which the Papists, (we mean the *thorough-paced*, the *staunch* Papists,—not the *mitigated*, the *moderate* Roman Catholics), bear to Protestants, could have induced them to look to Buonaparte for what they affect to call *emancipation*? As partizans of

Buonaparte they must have submitted to the basest of slavery. He never had a friend in his life. All his adherents were slaves. Would Buonaparte have spared the *Irish Papists*, holding, as he did, even the *Pope* in fetters? That miserable victim of his caprice was hurried from prison to prison, as the fears of the tyrant induced him to think the places of his confinement exposed, in their turn, to the generous efforts of the liberators of Europe:—and in fact *the first* resolution (April 2d) of the provisional government of France, formed and acting under their auspices (the Emperor of Russia, a member of the Greek, and the King of Prussia of the Lutheran church) has been to “remove all obstacles to the return of the *Pope* to his own territories, and to order that all honours be paid to him on his journey.” (See the *Courier* of April 9th, where the act of the provisional government of France, announced in the *Moniteur Universel* of April 3d, is recorded.) May he reach the Vatican in safety, and rule his dominions in peace! That is the worst we wish him; with all our zeal for Protestantism. We have not learned to “despise dominion or to speak evil of dignities.” Let the *Pope* exercise his ecclesiastical functions, and his spiritual jurisdiction, within his own states, or in those states where they are recognized and legalized; but *here*, in the United Kingdom, *here* where the constitution is FUNDAMENTALLY PROTESTANT, let him not intrude. We must needs adhere to the oath which we have solemnly sworn, and “declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, *ecclesiastical* or *spiritual*, within this realm.” We hope that, disciplined in the school of adversity, the heart of the *Pope* will be softened, and that Pius VIIth will be as remarkable for humility, and moderation, as some of his predecessors were for pride and tyranny. We must confess that we expect the happiest results from the report which the French clergy cannot fail (we trust) to make to his holiness, and the whole Roman Catholic world, of the liberality and kindness which, during the tedious years of their expatriation, they received from the British people,—from the British clergy. And here we cannot refrain from inserting a note which occurs in Mr. Kett’s charming translation of M. Chateaubriand’s “*Beauties of Christianity*,” (vol. 4. p. 70.) Mr. Kett has lost no opportunity of doing justice to his country; and to his country’s religion. M. Chateaubriand in the text tells us that “the disciples of Luther and Calvin came to hear the exiled Romish prelates preach, in some obscure retreat, the love of humanity and the forgiveness of injuries.” His translator, who rivals the *unction* of the original, says, in a note,—“the members of the Protestant church of England were among the foremost of these disciples of Luther, to af-

ford a refuge to the conscientious *emigrants*, who fled from *persecution of those who professed their own creed*. Large sums were raised in England for the support of the fugitive Gallican clergy, and the University of Oxford reprinted the New Testament in the favourite language of the church of Rome, for their gratuitous use. Thus even their prejudices were indulged, and all ranks of society concurred with the British government to alleviate the miseries of their exile. Let these facts make a deep impression upon the minds of Catholics, for the honour of Protestant beneficence. The unfortunate who have tasted the sweets of their bounty will, doubtless, be ever ready to do ample justice to their "fervent charity," which, as it is the mark of a true Christian, cannot fairly be denied to be the mark of a true church."—We feel persuaded that Mr. Kett's expectation will not be disappointed, and we indulge a hope that the report of the emigrant Gallican clergy will have greater weight with the Romish Pontiff than any "railing accusation," or any turbulent appeal with which the Irish Papists, or the *Catholic Board*, may think proper to trouble and harass him.

PROCEEDINGS RESPECTING THE ROMAN CATHOLICS IN IRELAND.

The *Catholic Board* being, like Buonaparte, obstinate in error, the defection of Ireland from that mock parliament is every day more apparent. Grand juries of counties express their disapprobation of its proceedings; as do many of the Romanists themselves, after the example of Buonaparte's generals.—The Londonderry resolutions (which we printed in our last number) have called forth various similar declarations, in different parts of Ireland. An abhorrence of the conduct of the Board is spreading throughout that country, like the cry of *Orange-brown* in Holland, or the adherence to the *white flag* in France.—Thus the county of Tyrone—(dated at Omagh, March 16th.)—"We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury, assembled at Lent Assizes, 1814, think it necessary to publish the following resolution:—

"That we have viewed with considerable disgust the proceedings of a body, styling itself "the Catholic Board," whose *dangerous doctrines* are circulated through this country with unwearied diligence, and we trust that the wisdom of the *legislature* will make such alterations in the laws (should it be found necessary) as will effectually *put down all factious assemblies*, without encroaching upon our invaluable rights of petition. ANDREW GODFREY STUART, Sheriff.—Signed also by the Grand Jury."

The County of Wexford.—At a meeting of the High Sheriff and Mr.

gistrates held at *Enniscorthy*, March 21st, amongst others the following resolutions were voted :—" Resolved, that we are fully of opinion, that the minds of the lower classes of this kingdom are studiously depraved ; and all the angry passions of dispositions, not naturally bad, are excited to those and similar outrages by inflammatory publications, gratuitously disseminated amongst them—publications, purporting to contain the speeches pronounced in assemblies *usurping legislative formalities*, and in close imitation of a *French revolutionary directory*, denouncing to annihilation, our happy constitution, and all who dare to avow themselves its supporters ; levying, by parochial imposts, as unblushingly declared, the means of perverting public justice, by the defence, in the courts of law, of *felons and traitors* ; and thus presuming to sanction the most atrocious of municipal offences.

" Resolved, that whilst such assemblies, and their grand engine, a licentious press, shall continue uncontroled by the laws of the land, it would be unjust and vain to expect from the Magistracy a responsibility for public order, or private security of person or property.

" Resolved, that we will, however, persevere in our endeavours, inefficacious as they may be, regardless of every personal risque, to secure the tranquillity of our country—flattering ourselves with the assurance, that the legislature will, in its wisdom, take into its consideration the difficulties of our [the magistrates'] function, and by a speedy enactment of wholesome provision, render the duties expected from us practicable."

The Grand Jurors of the County of ANTRIM, at *Carrickfergus*, March 24th, entered into the resolutions next following, which were sent to the Lord Lieutenant.—" I. Resolved, that revering, as we do, the glorious constitution under which we live, we cannot have the most distant wish to interfere with, or to injure one of its most valuable privileges, the right of petition, which all his Majesty's subjects, of whatever denomination, ought equally to enjoy ; but when we direct our attention to the measures of certain persons in *Dublin*, styling themselves the *Catholic Board*, we cannot hesitate to declare, that the object of petition for some time past appears to us the least prominent feature in their proceedings, which, if not speedily counteracted, we consider pregnant with danger of the greatest magnitude to the peace of the country.

" II. That although we have every wish that the claims of our Roman Catholic brethren may be considered by the legislature with all that attention which is justly due to an object of so much importance, we feel it to be our bounden duty to mark with our *decided reprobation* the acts of this Board (the existence of which, conducted as it has been, we deem incompatible with the safety of the country, and to express our confident hope,

what measures may be taken by government for effectually removing and preventing the recurrence of this alarming evil."

Previously, however, to the holding of the above meetings, the *High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Wicklow* unanimously entered into resolutions approving the proceedings of the city and county of Londonderry, in decrying the "*Catholic Board*," as an unconstitutional self-created body, from which much mischief has issued. We have not received a copy of the *Wicklow* resolutions; and we take this opportunity of requesting our friends in Ireland to send us all such documents, which we shall print with pleasure in our pages, for our 'miscellany purports to be "*a repertory of Protestant intelligence*."

We think that we cannot better finish this head of our detail of proceedings relative to the Roman Catholics in Ireland, than by inserting the following passage from Judge Day's charge to the Grand Jury of *Westmeath* at the Lent Assizes, held at *Mullingar*;—his lordship most happily characterizes "*the Board*," by recapitulating some of the illegal acts of "*the united Irishmen*." We have ever regarded "*the Board*," as *THE RUMP* of the traitors who stirred up the last Irish Rebellion, and we know that one of the present *confidential functionaries* of "*the Board*" took a very active part in the commotions of 1798. After alluding to existing disturbances in the county of *Westmeath*, his lordship said—
"It will be found, I am persuaded that internal enemies have been dispatched amongst you (as in the commencement of former troubles) from the *head-quarters at all times of our disaffection and conspiracies, the capital*; have mingled amongst your credulous and deluded peasantry, and by fair and plausible promises, have seduced them from the straight road of industry, morality and peace; not merely for the immediate and proximate purpose of plunder and personal violence, but possibly for the ulterior and grand object of a general insurrection;—objects never disclosed by the leaders to the wretched dupe till he is too far advanced and steeped in guilt to return, I do not say that such a calamity will happen, but I am sure that the awful and portentous *signs of the times* may well warrant such an apprehension, and call for prompt and vigorous precaution to guard against the recurrence of such a calamity. The Rebellion of 1798, to many of you known only as history, and matter of sad and mournful recollection, was preceded by symptoms not unlike the present. A *sedition and disaffected society*, who assembled in Dublin; under colour of *petitioning* for a redress of grievances, assumed and exercised a formidable ascendancy over a large portion of the Irish population. They preached and professed peace, but practised a *deadly and rancorous hostility* against all the constituted authorities of the kingdom; against its

executive, its judicial, religious, and civil establishments.—“ Peace in their mouths, but treason in their hearts.” By their *seditious speeches* and *libellous publications*, they relaxed the springs of Government, inculcated *separation* from Great-Britain, and diffused discontent, confusion and insubordination through the land. By *secret emissaries* they enjoined the administering of *unlawful oaths*, the plunder of arms, particularly from the peaceful loyalist, the murder of witnesses and magistrates, and the infliction of barbarous and unheard-of tortures. By the degraded instrumentality of men, who should blush to lend their holy authority and sacred character to the purposes of *sedition*, they did what brought a British monarch to the block, they *raised money* upon the subject by *terror*, and in the plenitude of *their own parliamentary authority*. And finally, they raised men and organized them; impeding at the same time and thwarting with fatal success the raising of men for the service of their king and country.

“Such is the short sketch of the established Society of United Irishmen. Gentlemen, do you find *nothing in the present state of our country analogous* in any degree to the system that I have been describing? If you do, then say so.”

We next proceed to the defection of Romanists themselves from “the Board.” Lord Fingal, Counsellor Bellew and others have seceded, and left those civil madmen to follow their own inventions. *Mr. Woulfe*, a barrister, at the Clare meeting of Roman Catholics, expressed his dissent from the Board in maply terms, for which he had the honour of being abused by Mr. O’Connell [a thousand pounds is a handsome general retaining fee] on the spot. We copy the following passage from the Dublin Journal, of March 24th.

“A tolerably accurate picture of the Catholic Board was lately given by Mr. Woulfe in a speech in which he opposed a design to suppress the expression of any opinion relative to the general policy and conduct of the Board, at a meeting of the Roman Catholics of the county of Clare. “Under pretence,” says Mr. Woulfe; “of preventing dissention, they have proposed a resolution, which they hope will *screen the proceedings of the Board for the last eight months from examination*, and protect their own conduct from the animadversion which they are sensible it merits. This is the real object of the present resolution. It is impossible it can have another. It is absurd to suppose that a measure which, they must have known from its novel character and pernicious consequences, would create division, could originate in a desire to preserve their unanimity. They want to delude the public into a belief that the county of Clare acquiesces in the *present system of violence and terror*. They want to

create a false appearance of unanimous support, by stifling every sentiment which is hostile to their supremacy. It is only a fuller development of that policy which has driven almost all the Catholic rank into secession, and disgusted every Protestant; and which, in return for thus separating the Catholic from the Catholic, and arraying the Protestant against both, has sworn a few individuals into unnatural importance—a few men who pretend that beyond their little junto there is no patriotism or wisdom—who in their pride stretch out their hand, and imagine they can collect into their little focus the broad sunshine of intelligence. It has been observed of servitude, that it always inspired its victims with a tyrannical disposition. Of all the moral effects of the penal code, this, perhaps, is the most remarkable. The mental despotism which is exercised, even at the present moment, by those who are denominated leaders of the Catholic Body, is infinitely more rigorous and hateful than the dominion paramount under which they labour. It is as if there was an *infallible authority* in their temporal as well as their spiritual concerns—nothing but abject submission will content them. They throw down their opinions as unerring dogmas, and whoever refuses to submit without enquiry, is assailed by their anathemas. He is *threatened, reviled, and persecuted*. He is branded as a *knave*, and held up to *public scorn*. No crime is too heinous for the perpetrators—no name too gross for the designation of the man (to whatever persuasion or class he belongs) who claims the privilege of free thought.” “*Such*,” said Mr. Woulfe, “are the fundamental principles of that system of which the meeting had that day a practical illustration.”

Mr. O’Connell, at this meeting, whilst he pretended to say nothing disrespectful of Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, (whose former correspondence with the Board, we published) betrayed the ill-will which he bears them in many parts of his intemperate speech. He amused himself with a pun of Mr. Lawless, who had talked, at “the Board” of the *Knuckloftiness* of Lord Donoughmore’s letter, (his lordship dates his letter from *Knucklofty*). Mr. O’Connell in his turn complains of the style of superiority assumed by that nobleman in his communication with “the Board,”—“better suited (he said) to periods when the Catholics were more depressed, and the Protestants more elevated.”—“Lord Donoughmore (he added) did not think it right to descend from his *lusty* attitude; and Mr. Grattan took the same ground, and even condescended to *lecture* the Board.” Does Mr. O’Connell really believe that *Catholic ascendancy* is in such a prosperous way? We hope and trust that we have shewn it to be in a declining condition; that Ireland is alive to the dan-

gers to which the violence and the intrigues of the Papists have exposed it; and that "the Board" is on the eve of *extinction*, 'the only question' being whether the law as it now stands is equal to putting it down, or whether a new Act of Parliament must be obtained, for that purpose. Mr. Saurin, the attorney-general of Ireland is at the head of those who espouse the former opinion, (which is, indeed, the opinion that *we* ourselves adopted long ago), and Mr. Peel is the leader of those who hold the latter. We care not how it may be brought about, so that "the Board" be abolished; and notwithstanding any difference of opinion which may subsist as to the *means*, there is none as to the *necessity* of putting an end to the machinations of such a set of seditious Demagogues as compose that mock Parliament. The Romanists have taken the alarm, as appears from the following remarks which appeared in the Popish gazette—the *Dublin Evening Post*, of March 29th. The writer of it endeavours to "stir up strife" between those two eminent Protestants, the Attorney-General and the Secretary of State;—in vain!—their intentions are the same, and they are not to be influenced by the sorry artifice attempted against them. In answer to the maukish *regret* expressed at the end of the remarks, we affirm that the popularity of the Duke of Richmond never suffered shipwreck; and that the popularity of Lord Whitworth cannot fail to be secured, if "the Catholic Board" shall be suppressed under his auspices, by the exertions of Mr. Peel. The voice of Ireland is with them, and in this case, if in any, we regard the *vox populi* as the *vox Dei*.

"MR. PEEL AND THE CATHOLIC BOARD."

"We understand that this gentleman is about to introduce a bill into the House of Commons for the suppression of "the Catholic Board." Of course Mr. Peel differs with Mr. Saurin, and differs with him on a *law point*—because Mr. Saurin has already declared, in the Court of King's Bench, that he could put down the Board when he wished, by the law *as now existing*.—If Mr. Peel desires to suppress "the Board," why not call on Mr. Saurin to fulfil his promise? It would save Mr. Peel no small share of trouble, and afford Mr. Saurin no small gratification.—Why need Mr. Peel resort to a *bill*, when Mr. Saurin has offered to put them down by a *Jury*? By the first attempt, Mr. Peel may lose some popularity—by the second, Mr. Saurin could not lose any. We can promise for Mr. Saurin, that he would keep his word in this respect with Mr. Peel, if Mr. Peel would only employ him. This remarkable difference between these gentlemen can only be reconciled by the

supposition, that Mr. Peel regards the declaration of the Attorney-General as erroneous in point of law, and that "the Board" cannot be suppressed without the enactment of a statute. We regret this attempt for many reasons—we regret it for the sake of our present Viceroy, "The Board" was the rock on which Mr. Pole shipwrecked the popularity of the Duke of Richmond—we hope it may not be the rock on which Mr. Peel will split the popularity of Lord Whitworth."

It was our intention to have extended this *exposé* of Popish affairs in Ireland, so as to embrace several other particulars worthy of attention; but our limits will not allow us to enter upon them at present; we shall, therefore, content ourselves with giving the letters of Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan addressed to Mr. Roche, read by the worthy Mr. May to "the Catholic Board," March 26, together with the resolutions of the Board, which followed—how the noble lord, and the patriotic commissioner will relish them, we cannot say.

" Sir,

" Knocklofty, 3d March, 1814.

" I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 25th with the accompanying suggestions, as they are now called, and by which the conductors of the late proceedings of the Board have thought it expedient to circumscribe—so far as in them lies—by limits sufficiently narrow, the direction of those who have been selected, to plead the Catholic cause, and the deliberative functions of both Houses of Parliament. Having availed myself not long since of the occasion which had presented itself, of expressing my sentiments upon that part of the subject—explicitly and without reserve—it is quite unnecessary for me now, to repeat the same declarations again, or to request that it may be remembered, that I receive these communications in no other light than as the opinions of very respectable individuals, who profess and feel a particular interest on a great pending question—not unimportant from its extensive bearings and probable results, to every other class of his Majesty's subjects—but according to which I am not to be considered by this my acknowledgment of the receipt of these suggestions, as bound in any the most remote degree, to regulate my Parliamentary conduct.

" Under these impressions, and because it would not be fitting, that I should anticipate discussions, better suited to another time and place, I cautiously abstain from any consideration of these eleven distinct propositions, which the Catholic Board have voted, to form as it would seem, the basis of a new treaty, into which they are thus preparing to enter with the sovereign power of the state—or how far the same, or any part

thereof, are in unison with, or militate against my now matured opinions and convictions.

" I have the honour to be,

" With much truth, sir,

" Your obedient humble servant,

" P. P. Roche, Esq."

" DONOUGHMORE."

" Sir,

" *March 7th, 1814.*

" I was favoured with your letter, accompanied with a paper containing certain ideas of the Catholic Board, with a desire that I should direct my attention to some matters in which it appeared to that Board that the Roman Catholic Bill framed in the last Session was particularly defective. In answer to which communication, I beg to say, that the Bill framed in the last Session for the relief of the Roman Catholics has been misconceived; but without entering into particulars, and without giving any opinion on the suggestions of the Board, I shall take them into my consideration, and act according to my judgment.

" I have the honour to be

" Your very obedient servant,

" P. P. Roche, Esq."

" HENRY GRATTAN."

" Resolved, That in pursuance of the several resolutions, entered into at the Aggregate Meetings, held in Fishamble-street, Dublin, on the 15th and 29th of June, and by the Catholic Board, on the 30th of October last, our chairman be requested to forward our petitions to the Earl of Donoughmore, and the right hon. Henry Grattan, for the purpose of having as early a discussion as possible during the present Session.

" Resolved, That in respectfully communicating to the noble Lord, and the right hon. Gentleman, selected to present the petitions of the Catholics of Ireland, such suggestions as appeared to us materially necessary for the consideration of the Catholic question, we only exercised a legitimate right, of which any class or description of his Majesty's subjects are entitled to avail themselves."

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE REFORMED
RELIGION, RECOMMENDED BY THE EDITOR OF THE
PROTESTANT ADVOCATE.

(Continued from page 334.)

29. *Animadversions on a Pamphlet, entitled "Authentic Documents relative to the Miraculous Cure of Winefrid White, of Wolverhampton, at St. Winefrid's Well, alias Holywell, in Flintshire, on the 28th of June, 1805." By the Rev. Peter Roberts, A. M. Rector of Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceriog, and Vicar of Madely. Stockdale, Pall-Mall.*

We take a singular pleasure in recommending this excellent little work to the attention of our readers. The author's abilities, and his zeal for the Protestant religion, are too well known to need to be emblazoned in our pages. He himself shall state his motives for setting pen to paper. "There are few circumstances (he says, in the introduction) in the history of Christianity of more importance to its credibility, or to its influence on the mind, than the evidence given to its truth, by the miraculous powers of its Divine Author; and by those which he conferred on his apostles, and, by their hands, on others. But, in proportion to their importance, it is to be lamented that, from a not uncommon propensity to look upon extraordinary circumstances as miraculous, especially if such an opinion of them promote a favourite object, so many have been deluded by pretended miracles; whilst others, astonished and indignant at the influence of imposition and credulity, have been tempted to reject their faith, and give up their confidence in the reality of the miracles recorded in Scripture. Such, then, being the dangers arising from misrepresentations of circumstances, or events, as miracles, which are not so in fact, these dangers are sufficient motives to a careful examination of the facts and evidence relative to whatsoever is brought forward as miraculous. There is also another motive which renders it a Christian duty. We are warned by St. Paul, that, in the latter times, there shall arise one, whose characteristic is, *The wicked one*;* whose working shall be *after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders*; and as these times are certainly very distant from the time of the apostles, and have many symptoms of the latter-times, any account, stating an event to be miraculous, ought, before it receives credit, to be subject to the most exact scrutiny.

"Such are the motives for the following animadversions on a pamphlet, the title of which is, "Authentic Documents relative to the Mi-

* 2 Thess. ii. v. 9, 10.

raculous Cure of Winefrid White, of Wolverhampton, at St. Winefrid's Well," (Holywell, Flintshire,) and of which Dr. Milner, Roman Catholic Bishop of Castabala, is the acknowledged author.

"The third edition of this narrative informs the reader by an advertisement, that "the author has the satisfaction of declaring that he has not met with, nor heard of a reader of any description, who has controverted either the facts or the reasoning contained in it; and that the mode he has pursued has met with the approbation of his R. R. brethren." To which is added, "Should any other person object to the publication of these facts and reasonings, (which are presumed to be equally incontrovertible)," the author replies, "That they are highly curious to the naturalist, instructive to the theologian, and important to the Christian. They decide that weighty question which was so long and so warmly contested amongst the learned half a century ago, and clearly point out that body of Christians, amongst the rival communions, which the Divine Founder of Christianity sanctions."

"Appeals of this kind, by Roman Catholics, have been so numerous, and in so many other instances have proved fallacious, that, however ready those of their communion, who know little of the subject, may have been to wonder and believe, it might have been hoped that these bishops would rather have taken pains to prevent delusion in this. - If, on former occasions, such attention was more particularly expected from Protestants, expectation has been amply gratified by the most decisive refutations of narratives of pretended miracles; and hence, it may be presumed, it has scarcely been thought necessary to notice this pamphlet. Yet, as credit is claimed because the facts and reasonings have not been, as the author says, objected to, a farther silence might be productive of evil, by being considered as acquiescence in the correctness of both, and in the approbation bestowed upon them. My own mind being impressed with a very different idea of both the facts and reasoning advanced as proofs, that the cure of Winefrid White was miraculous, I have thought it a duty to lay my sentiments before the public.

"In the course of the investigation, the origin of the absurdities which, to the disgrace of religion, are so abundantly exhibited in the legends, appeared to be a question intimately connected with the subject; and it is to this investigation that the discovery of what I believe to have been their real origin is owing, which, not having hitherto, as far as my knowledge extends, been noticed, is the more fully detailed in the ensuing account of the legend of St. Winefrid."

Dr. Milner has the character of an acute reasoner, but from the way in which Mr. Roberts handles him in the following passage, it will be

evident to every one how much his enthusiastic persuasion has impaired his judgment. "It is but too common (p. 16,) for an individual to mistake the little sphere of his own knowledge for universal knowledge, and hence to make unlimited assertions; and even men of extended knowledge sometimes inadvertently express themselves too generally; but such men are less liable to be mistaken by others, as their caution, in this respect, is for the most part evident. As to matters of fact, the universality of their truth depends upon the truth of all the particular instances, and he who asserts it ought either to assert with some evident reserve, or to be assured that he knows *all* the possible instances. Yet Dr. Milner says, "this I am *perfectly* sure of, that *whatever* considerable good effects have *ever* been produced by these or other natural remedies, have taken place *gradually*, and by a *repetition* of them." This is so far from a reserved assertion, that it decidedly assumes a knowledge of whatever considerable good effects have *ever* been produced by these or other natural remedies. Can this be a serious assertion? Yet, as if the word *whatever* were not strong enough, the word *ever* comes in as a reinforcement. Is it then by inspiration or revelation that he is able to assert this? Omniscience in any case has not, I believe, as yet been attributed to a Romish bishop, nor even to a Pope, and yet this is a species of it; an omniscience of cures retrospectively as far back as the first cure by natural remedies; and not only of cures, but of *considerable advantages gained by them*. Yet it must be so: for, as a single exception destroys the universality of a general rule, so does a single exception destroy the universality of an assertion. But Dr. M. says he is *perfectly* sure of what he has asserted; and yet as the art of healing has been in use since the time of Moses at least, it will be difficult to account for his being perfectly sure of what he thus asserts, by any other way than by supposing it is one of the miracles which are *manifested exclusively in his communion*, and to these the features of relationship are not dissimilar. To these a Protestant does not yield an implicit faith, and to this particular instance he may object, that it does not follow that such cures must be always gradual, even if no instance could be produced to the contrary; for this is assuming, as a principle, that such a thing cannot be because a similar one has not already been. The force of such an argument I leave to the school of Friar Gerund to discuss. In the mean time, to others, the following case may appear to afford an exception to the principle. It is extracted from Mr. John Birch's Letter on Medical Electricity, published in Mr. Adams's Essay on Electricity.*

" "A fishmonger in my neighbourhood, who had lost the sight of one eye in his youth, applied to me with an acute pain in his head, which he had suffered for some weeks, and which affected the vision of his other eye. The pain shot from his forehead to the summit of the cranium, and produced convulsive spasms of the upper extremities, which were followed by tremors, and great oppression of spirits. Confiding in the notion of the electric shock being harmless, under proper management, I did not hesitate to pass one through the brain in the direction he pointed out, that is, from the frontal sinus to the summit of the cranium. He was *instantly* relieved from his acute pain, the *sight of his eye* became *perfect*, and he thought himself cured *as by magic*.

" "Not trusting to the permanency of such sudden relief, I persuaded him to let me repeat the shock, after which I passed others from the summit of the cranium to the vertebrae of the neck, and from the vertebrae of the neck to the hands. I prognosticated his pain would return in a few hours."

" "In the evening the pain did return, but was neither so violent nor of so long duration. I repeated the shocks the next day. On the third day he said the pain had vanished, but the weight of his hat was irksome to him : on repeating the shocks in the same manner, *this symptom immediately* disappeared, and he could wear his hat with ease ; on the fourth day he was free from all his complaints ; his pain, his defect of vision, his tremors, and his oppression of spirits had quite left him. I passed the shocks again for the last time, and had the satisfaction to find, *a long while after*, that his cure remained complete."

" Extraordinary medical cases, which are strictly parallel, cannot reasonably be looked for, though such a coincidence may not be impossible. In this case, published by a surgeon of reputation, it is stated, that the sight of the eye which had been affected *instantly* after the shock became *perfect*, and as any thing which affects the sight is generally esteemed a *considerable evil*, so is the restoration of perfect sight esteemed a *considerable advantage* ; and in this case it was not gradual. What then becomes of Dr. Milner's assertion? Perhaps he may allege that the words *considerable advantage* are used by him as synonymous with a considerable permanent cure. If so, his meaning was not expressed by the words he used, for these do not intimate any advantage of such a magnitude ; and so unrestrained an use of words cannot but diminish the confidence in his representation. Now it may be observed of the above case that, as under the prudent management of a professional man, who, as it appears, was cautious as to the giving of violent shocks, and had a character to sup-

port, the cure was in all respects complete in four days; it is very possible that; had the case been submitted to a quack, who would have ventured a violent shock, the cure would have been complete at once, however injudicious the mode might have been. Yet in this case, as in that of Winefrid White, all the symptoms disappeared at the first shock. In this, however, some of the symptoms returned; which, in that, the subsequent shocks by bathing, I have no doubt, prevented: for it is acknowledged she remained at Holywell a fortnight by the advice of her friends, to bathe. This very advice, and her following it, proves sufficiently that, however surprised they were, none of them had the confidence to trust to the cure being a miracle, which otherwise they surely would have done. Their conduct was prudent, for such a confidence might possibly, nay probably, have exposed her to a relapse. With equal prudence, and happily for their own credit, they left the pretensions of the case, as to its being miraculous, to the decision of one more ready to assert, if not more able to prove it.

"The Doctor admits that there have been similar instances of sudden recoveries at Holywell,* "but then," says he, "I maintain that on all such occasions they have been sought for and obtained, as on the present occasion, by supernatural means; namely, by prayer, and a strong faith in the omnipotence of God, with hope in the prayers offered up to God by the blessed Virgin Mary and St. Winefrid."

"I hope the reader will excuse me if I have made any mistake as to Dr. Milner's use of the word *supernatural*. I had somehow or other imagined that it denoted what was above the natural powers of any human being to effect, but here I find that *prayer*, a *strong faith* in God, and a *hope* in the efficacy of the prayers of the Virgin and St. Winefrid, are said to be *supernatural means*. This I must confess I was not aware of; nor are they, I believe, generally so considered. I always thought that prayer, faith, and hope, were within the limits of *natural means*, and exertions of natural powers; and really, when words are used to convey meanings so widely different from those which they commonly bear, one may be mistaken, and should therefore be *edified by the margin*. But, even so, it will remain to be proved that these very prayers, hope, and faith, were the means of the cure. One circumstance may follow another which has no necessary connection with it; and though I most willingly grant that God has promised to attend to the prayers of his faithful servants, yet when I find that prayers offered to him are polluted by a superstitious service by prayers, unauthorised by scripture, to the

Virgin Mary, and to a supposed St. Winefrid; it is a great mercy when such prayers do not impede the effect of natural means."

Mr. Roberts modestly says (p. 78) that he "*hopes* he has shewn," in our opinion he has *completely* "shewn, 1st, That there is no sufficient reason to believe that there was any thing miraculous in the cure of W. White: 2d, That, if there were, the inferences drawn from it by Dr. Milner would not follow necessarily: 3d, That his appeal to scripture is erroneous, and his argument, as to the passages, founded on his own misconception: 4th, That such cures as that of W. White are not known exclusively in his communion: and 5th, That such cures cannot be evidences of the truth of the doctrines of the communion to which the persons cured belong, since they are found in communions opposed to each other, in doctrines held by each to be essential."

We doubt not but our readers will agree with us, that the lying wonders of Popery were never more satisfactorily exposed.

POPIISH MIRACLES AND PILGRIMAGES, AND ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY.

"Who now hears of pilgrimages to Walsingham, or the miracles of St. Winefrid's Well?"

Such is the question which we have read, to our utter astonishment, as having been asked from the pulpit of a Protestant church, in the face of day, in the presence of a Protestant bishop and his clergy, assembled at a solemn visitation.* It implies, and is meant to convey to our minds, the most pointed assertion, that no pilgrimages, like those which were formerly undertaken to our Lady of Walsingham now exist; and that no Roman Catholic in these days, (at least none in the United Kingdom) has faith in such miracles as were supposed to be wrought at St. Winefred's Well. The preceding article gives us an avowal of Dr. Milner's faith in them.

That this should have been said by any Protestant at all, or in any place, would be somewhat extraordinary; but that it should have been said upon so serious an occasion, and when the speaker was in a peculiar

* See a Sermon preached at the Visitation at North Walsham, in the Diocese of Norwich, in June 1813, by the Rev. George Glover, M. A. p. 13. It is needless to add that this gentleman is a most violent apologist for the Roman Catholics. He has discovered, as well as Sir John Coxe Hippisley, that the differences between our church and theirs are hardly worth talking about!! The answers which we have given to Sir John will suffice for him. But he is also a great admirer of Mr. Eustace, whom indeed he follows, "*haud passibus equis.*" And as it is not improbable that we may have a word to say to Mr. Eustace, there may be occasion again to advert to this worthy squire of his.

master under the eye of the Almighty, and therefore particularly bound not to speak rashly or unadvisedly, is to us a matter not only, as we have said before, of astonishment, but of sorrow. The gentleman is one of those who most essentially differ from us; but such differences shall never make us lay aside the feelings which we ought to have, whenever we see a brother of ours disgrace himself, or act in a manner unbecoming his character, and we do think that this has been the case in this instance.

We are, however, reminded by this of a sort of expectation which we held out in a former number,* that we should at some future time revert to the effects of the doctrines of purgatory and indulgences, as actually operating in the sister island. And we shall do this by laying before our readers some account of the famous place called "St. Patrick's Purgatory;" which will be found to be in as high vogue as ever Walsingham was. And we shall give it as detailed to us by a gentleman who visited the place towards the close of last summer.

As to that part of the question which relates to the pretended miraculous powers of the Romish church, and particularly the miracles at St. Winefred's Well, we really cannot understand the gentleman; for it is most notorious that the reality of the miracle detailed by Dr. Milner, as having lately taken place at that well, is firmly believed by a great majority (to say no more) of the Roman Catholics in England as well as in Ireland. Certainly the relation of it, the *authentic documents*, as they are called, continue to be announced in Keating's catalogue at the end of the Laity's Directory. And therefore to say "who now hears of such things?" is as ill placed as to say "who now hears of the five wounds of St. Francis?" which Mr. Glover may laugh at as well as we, but which certainly form a part of the creed of a Roman Catholic. If he meant only in this short way to put down Dr. Milner, which we partly suspect from the note at p. 18, we must tell him that he has done it badly, or rather not done it, since it is not even clear what he meant to do. But we will further refer him to Mr. Keating's catalogue, for other relations of miracles, propounded and set forth for the edification of the Roman Catholics of these realms; and among the rest certain "*official memoirs*" respecting "miraculous events" and "prodigies" which occurred at Rome, and other places of Italy, in the years 1796-7. And we will, in charity to this gentleman, and to save him from falling again into such gross mistakes, further inform him, that the Rev. Joseph Berrington having ventured to call in question the reality of these same "miraculous events" and "prodigies," was taken to task by Dr. Milner, and after being suspended "at

office" (we believe) for some time, has been said to make his recantation, and to allow them to be good miracles. Whatever, therefore, Mr. Glover may do or say, no Roman Catholic is allowed to treat these subjects with any degree of levity

We now proceed to our account of St. Patrick's Purgatory.

It is in Lough Derg, in the county of Donegal. The lake is secluded from the world not so much by absolute distance from any great town, as by the nature of the country, the mountains and bogs of which form the intermediate barrier. Among the islands on the lake is one containing an area little more perhaps than an English acre, which is covered with chapels and other places of devotion, and residences for the priest and the prior. Here, from the 1st of June to the 15th of August, resort from all parts of Ireland, and from some parts of Great Britain, pilgrims of both sexes, of all ages from ten years, and of all classes in society, to undergo one common discipline for one common object. All are bareheaded and barefooted: none during any part of their penance (which in no case is less than three days, in many six, and in some nine) may taste any thing but eaten bread and water; none, on the last day of their penance, may taste any thing at all: for the twenty-four hours of that day and night they are "in prison" in the chapel, without food or sleep. On the night of our correspondent's arrival in the neighbourhood, there were 360 persons thus "in prison."

There are three rules attending this penance. First, that no pilgrim shall take alms on his journey, or on his return; that the lake may not be the pretence of a mendicant tour: another, that no spirits shall be sold within three miles of the spot; that the intemperance with which Irish meetings, even of this description, too frequently close, may not occur here: the third is, that no person who belongs to any secret society, "ribbon-men," or "freemasons," shall be admitted to the penance; that the services (as they are called) of the lake may not give a sanction to any dividing principle, but that all mankind may be the brothers of the pilgrims.

On the day before our correspondent's arrival, there were one thousand pilgrims on the island: and this had once before occurred during the season. In the course of that season, generally, twelve thousand had been entered on the books.

Our observations upon this shall be short. Our readers will judge for themselves, and feel what a proof is here given of that tremendous influence which has at all times been exerted by the Roman Catholic priesthood over the laity, by means of this sacrament (as they call it) of penance:—twelve thousand persons of all ages and conditions, and of both sexes,

within the space of less than two months, crowding together, to be cooped up in this narrow spot, and thus giving this most humiliating, and, fatiguing at least, if not painful testimony of their fear of purgatory, and subjection to those who are the dispensers of this imaginary fire? This is further shewn in the very submission to these three rules. The latter of them is accounted for from that abhorrence which the Popes have always had of any secret society but their own: and perhaps at this time it is intended to have the effect of casting a discredit on the *Orange societies*, the object of unceasing hatred and dread to all Irish Papists. The first and second are such as sound prudence would dictate, with a view to give and keep up a decent appearance to this mummerly; and even to prevent such scenes as might call for the interference of government. But that this priest and prior should be enabled to enforce the observance of these rules, and to bend the whole of this mixt multitude to this self-denial, is very remarkable. If such be the influence of these spiritual guides, when their injunctions are in opposition to the passions and inclinations of their penitents, how much more forcibly would it operate in cases where the work to be done should be agreeable to those passions and inclinations; as was the case with the Crusades; and as would be the case, if the opportunity was given them of overturning the establishment, in order to rise to power and to wealth upon its ruins!

ON THE TALE OF A TUB.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

MR. EDITOR,—I take it for granted that Dean Swift was the author of "a Tale of a Tub;" although I am aware that he never acknowledged that fact. I am ready to admit that many grave points of doctrine and church discipline are handled in that very witty composition in a most unbecoming way; but whoever reads the "Author's Apology," prefixed to the tale, will be disarmed of a large portion of his indignation, when he learns that the publication took place *without his privity*; that the book was printed *eight years after it was written*; and that, as he says, "had he been master of his papers for a year or two before their publication," he could easily have prevented objections "*by a very few blots*."—It is well known that Archbishop Sharp was much scandalized at the licentiousness in which the author had indulged; and that his disapprobation had a sensible effect, with Queen Anne, in impeding the preferment of Swift. It is said, that the Archbishop afterwards saw the affair in a more favourable light, and was concerned to find that the opinion which he had

once given, was the cause of preventing the rise of the author in his profession.

However this may be, it seems never to have struck Swift's editors, or Sharp's biographers, that both the Dean and the Archbishop adopted, to a certain degree, *the same allegory*—the father—the sons—and the last will and testament.—Dr. Sharp published “a Refutation of a Popish Argument handed about in MS. in 1686,” being at that time rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, and Dean of Norwich. Eleven years after, viz. in 1697, Swift (assuming him as the author, then a young man, unpreferred,) wrote the Tale of Tub. He tells us, in “the Author's Apology,” that “he resolved to proceed in a manner that should be *altogether new*, the world having been already too long nauseated with endless repetitions upon every subject:” and it is curious enough that the worthy Rector of St. Giles's had, so many years before, fallen upon a mode of illustrating part of his argument against the pretensions of the church of Rome, *similar*, in a leading point, to that which Swift seized on as *altogether new*.*

After mentioning that I quote from Mr. Nichols's edition of Swift's works, in 24 volumes, 12mo. 1803, where the Author's Apology (well worth reading) occurs, p. 20; and from the edition of Archbishop Sharp's works, in 7 volumes 8vo. 1754; I proceed to lay the passage in question before your readers. The force of the Popish Argument combated by Dr. Sharp lay in these two points:—“*We cannot shew a visible church that hath, from Christ's time to the reformation, opposed the church of Rome in those doctrines and practices wherein we differ from her; and, there was a time when all Christian churches were in communion with the church of Rome. The conclusion from hence is, that therefore the present church of Rome is the only true church of Christ upon earth.*”

“This is as surprising a conclusion from such premises, as can enter into the mind of a man. First of all we cannot shew a visible church that hath, from Christ's time to the reformation, opposed the church of Rome in her pretences; therefore the church of Rome is the only true church. Why, supposing that all the churches of the world had, from Christ's time to this, agreed with the church of Rome in all points, both of doctrine and practice, yet doth it from thence follow, that the church of Rome is the only visible church? No, not in the least: she is still but a part of the visible church, and the other churches that agree with

* Swift's second motto claims originality of conception;—

..... Juvatque novos decerpere flores,
Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam,
Unde prius nulli velarunt tempora musæ.

LUCRET.

her are as much parts of it as she. And: if this be so, how can it in the least follow, that when churches are divided from her both in doctrine and practice, she is any more the whole visible church than they? Why are not they as much the visible church, after they are divided, as they were before, supposing it was her fault and not their's, that occasioned this division and separation? And if the visible church can be but in one communion, why are not those churches that are separated from the church of Rome, the only true Catholic visible church, and the church of Rome no part of it at all, since it appears that in this case it is she that hath caused the *schism*?

" But that I may fully expose the sophistry of this argument to the meanest understanding, and enable every one to give an answer to it, I will put the whole force of it into an obvious case.

" The argument is, that if we cannot shew a visible church distinct from the Roman, that hath in all times, from the beginning, opposed the doctrines and practices of the present church of Rome, then it will undeniably follow, that the present church of Rome is the only visible church.

" Why now, methinks, this is just such an argument as this :

" A father bequeaths a large estate among his children, and their children after them. They do for some generations quietly and peaceably enjoy their several shares, without disturbance from each other. At last, one branch of this family (and not of the oldest house neither) starts up, and being of greater power than the rest, and having got some of the same family to join with him, very impudently challengeth the whole estate to himself, and those that adhere to him; and would dispossess all the rest of the descendants, accounting them no better than bastards, though they be far more in number than his own party, and have a far greater share in the inheritance. Upon this they contest their own right against him, alledging their father's will and testament, and their long possession, and that they are lawfully descended from their first common ancestor.

" But this gentleman, who would lord it over his brethren, offers this irrefragable argument for the justice of his claim. If, says he, you deny me and my adherents to be the sole proprietors of this estate, then it lies upon you to shew, that ever since the death of our progenitor, who left us this estate, there hath appeared some of the family who have always opposed my claim to this estate. But that you cannot shew; and therefore I have an undoubted title to the whole estate: I am lord of the whole inheritance.

" I do appeal to any man living, whether this plea would pass in

any court of judicature, say, whether any private man, though never so unlearned, can believe that this insolent pretender doth offer any fair reason for the disjoining the coheirs of their inheritance. And yet this is just the argument with which those learned gentlemen would persuade us to give up *our birth-rights*, to depart from that share of the inheritance we have in the Catholic church.

“ Well, but what will the coheirs that are concerned say to this argument? Why there are three things so obvious to be said to it, that if the persons concerned have not the wit to hit upon them, they are fit to come under the custody and guardianship of this pretended *heir-general*. May they not say to this gentleman that makes so universal a claim,—Sir, your claim was not so early as the death of our forefather, who left us this joint-inheritance. Your ancestors and ours lived a great while peaceably together, without any clashing about this estate; and we were suffered for some ages to enjoy our own right, without any molestation from you or those you derive from: And the case being so, there was no need of opposing your pretences, because you made none. But then, (which is the second thing) when you did set up for this principality, and *wheedled some* of our family, and *forced others* to join with you, you know you were presently opposed by others of our family, who would not so easily part from their rights. You know, that as soon as ever you made your claim, there were some that *stoutly declared* against it, *though they had not power, and strength, and interest* enough in the world to stem the torrent of your ambition.

“ But then thirdly, may they say; supposing it was not so; supposing you had met with no rub in your pretences (which yet you know you did); supposing our family were not so suddenly aware of the mischief that would come upon them from those your usurpations, as to make a present opposition; doth now it follow, that because no opposition was just then made to your pretences, that therefore your pretensions to the whole estate are justifiable? No, we can prove they are not so; for it is plain by the testament, by the settlement of our common father, that we have as much a right to our parts in this estate as you have, or as your ancestors ever had. Tell not us, that you were not at first, or that you were not always, opposed in your claim: but tell us by what right or justice you can pretend to be the sole lord of this inheritance. Let the will of our common parent be produced, and that will plainly shew, that we have as much a share in this estate as you have.

“ This allegory is so pat to our business, and the application of it so easy to our present case, that I think I should injure the most vulgar un-

derstanding, if I should suspect his ability to make that use of it which I intend."

I conceive, Mr. Editor, that I need not offer any apology for this letter, which at once contains what I am inclined to deem a literary curiosity, and an argument against the encroaching spirit of Popery.—Of this at all events be assured, that no man can possibly wish success to the efforts of the *Protestant Advocate* more sincerely than, Sir,

Your's, &c.

London,

INDAGATOR.

March 24, 1814.

MELANCTHON'S TWELFTH LETTER.

NEW EDITION OF THE HOLY CATHOLIC BIBLE.

The prospectus of a new edition of the Holy Scriptures, containing the following paragraphs has been some time circulated in Cork and Dublin:—

"Holy Catholic Bible, under the patronage of the most Rev. Dr. O'Reilly, Roman Catholic Lord Primate of all Ireland, and Archbishop of Armagh; the Most Rev. Doctor Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; the Most Rev. Doctor Murray, Roman Catholic Coad. Archbishop of Dublin."

Then come the names of six Right Rev. Roman Catholic Bishops.

"Now publishing in numbers, a new and superb edition of the Catholic Bible, by J. A. M'Namara, of Cork, explained and illustrated with valuable notes or annotations, according to the interpretation of the Catholic church."

It is stated to be according to the genuine translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English language; first published by the English Catholic College, at Rheims, A. D. 1512, and the English Catholic College, at Douay, A. D. 1609.

It is most certain, that these titular prelates, in denominating themselves bishops of any particular diocese, and in claiming a right to exercise episcopal jurisdiction therein, without the consent of the state, and under the sanction of the Pope only, are acting contrary to the early canons of the Christian church, and are guilty of a flagrant breach of the British constitution. No person could be raised to the prelacy without the approbation of the king, in every part of Christendom, till the year 1073, when Gregory VII. the founder of Popery, published a bull of excommunication against all princes who should dare to confer investi-

tures, and against all prelates who should venture to receive them. Decret. 2 caus. 16 qu.

In England it was high treason at common law to admit, or act under any foreign jurisdiction whatever. Coke's fifth Report, p. 12, 13.

The ambition of the Popes increasing with their wealth, and regarding the dark ignorance and superstition which prevailed in the middle ages as favourable to the extension of power, the Pontiffs made many attempts to entrench on the independence of the state, and the king's crown and dignity in England. At length, Papal encroachments were productive of such evils, that the following penal statutes were enacted against them by Popish parliaments; and these statutes, as Sir Edward Coke observes, were only in affirmance of the common law, 35th Edw. I. 15th Edw. III. cap. 24; 25th Edw. III. *de provisoriis*, 38th Edw. III. cap. 1, 2, 3, 4; 2d Richard II. cap. 12; 3d Richard II. cap. 3; 7th Richard II. cap. 12; 12th Richard II. cap. 15; 13th Richard II. cap. 2; 16th Richard II. cap. 5; 2d Henry IV. cap. 3, 4; 6th Henry IV. cap. 1; 7th Henry IV. cap. 6. and 8; 9th Henry IV. cap. 8; 3d Henry V. cap. 4.

Though Queen Mary manifested a furious zeal to extirpate heresy, and to establish the Pope's spiritual supremacy, Sir Edward Coke observes (3d Institute, p. 127,) that she did not venture to repeal any of these venerable guards and monuments of our constitution. But the zeal of those gentlemen who framed, and presented a bill to parliament last session for relieving the Roman Catholics, far exceeded that of Queen Mary; for they meant to have repealed the whole of them. In short, had they succeeded, they would have altered the very frame of our constitution; which, blessed be God, continues *fundamentally Protestant*.

The following incidents which took place on passing the 25th Edw. III. *de provisoriis*, will evince how much the people of England were incensed against Papal encroachment:—

“ The commons complained of provisions coming from Rome, *whereby daily alms were decayed, the treasure of the realm was transported, the secrets of the realm were discovered, and the clerks therein were impoverished*. They, therefore, require of the king and lords some remedy: for that they neither could, nor would bear these strange oppressions, or else to help them to expel out of this realm the Pope's power by force. The answer of the king was, that he well understood these mischiefs, and willeth, that between the lords and commons, some remedy might be found, whereunto he might assent. Coke's 2d Institute, p. 582. In the debate on that law, “ the Pope, for divers usurpations, was called the common enemy of the king and the realm.” Idem. p. 585. It was

said, "that the Pope's avarice was altogether without bounds, and might justly be looked upon as the plague or bane of the nation." Idem, p. 585. Such were the sentiments of a Popish Parliament, on the great evils arising from the Papal supremacy.

To enumerate the various penalties enacted against it by all these statutes, would exceed the limits which I have prescribed to myself. I shall confine myself, therefore, to some of Richard the Second's laws. By the 16th of Richard II. cap. 2, any person who shall accept of a benefice, by any foreign provision, is made subject to banishment and forfeiture of his lands and goods: and by cap. 33d, any person bringing over any citation or excommunication from beyond sea, shall be imprisoned, forfeit his goods and lands, and moreover suffer pain of life and member. But the most important of these is the 16th Richard II, cap. 5, usually called the statute of Provisors, which enacts, that whoever procures at Rome, or elsewhere, any translations, processes, excommunications, bulls, instruments, or other things which touch the king, against him, his crown and realm, and all persons aiding and assisting therein, shall be put out of the king's protection, their lands and goods forfeited to the king's use, and they shall be attached by their bodies to answer to the king and his council.—In the year 1806, Father Lalor, a Popish priest, was indicted in Dublin, under the statute, and convicted of a *præmunire*, for having exercised ecclesiastical jurisdictions under a Papal bull. See Davis's Reports, Title *Præmunire*. The Roman Catholics have inveighed against Henry VIII, for having separated from the Church of Rome. Sir Wm. Blackstone truly observes, that nothing new was enacted by his laws against that Church, and that nothing more was done by those Statutes, than subjecting to the penalties of a *Præmunire*, any person who should act under a foreign power, creating an *imperium in imperio*. His laws did not meddle with any speculative tenets or doctrinal matter of the Holy See. All matters concerning the Popish Church in Ireland are AT THIS TIME regulated by Papal bulls, epistles, and other instruments, and all its dignitaries are appointed by such. On the 2d November, 1813, Dr. Moylan, titular bishop of Cork, published a bull,* obtained from Pius VII. "granting a plenary indulgence to raise money applicable to the souls in purgatory." In this, he tells his flock, "were your sins as red as scarlet, by the grace of this absolution, and the application of this plenary indulgence, your souls shall become as white as snow." Dr. Troy says, in his famous pastoral letter of 1793, p. 27, that the Pope is invested "with a primacy, by divine right, of real au-

* See Protestant Advocate for March, p. 245.

thority and jurisdiction in the universal church." The Council of Trent expressly declares, "that the Bishop of Rome, from the duty of his office, is to appoint pastors for every See," p. 93. A college of cardinals at Rome superintends the ecclesiastical affairs of these kingdoms, p. 42. When such flagrant breaches of fundamental laws, enacted by Popish Parliaments, are connived at by our Protestant Government, can modern Papists complain of a want of religious liberty? Let them recollect what their conduct has been, since the restoration of pure Christianity by the reformation, particularly in Ireland within a few years, and even since the repeal of the Penal Laws. We may truly say, with the Roman satirist—

"Iram atque animos a crimine sumunt."

The titular bishops manifest an extraordinary degree of hardihood, in assuming these titles, in direct violation of the 9th of William III, cap. 1, which is still in force. The preamble says,—“whereas it is notoriously known, that the late rebellions in this kingdom have been contrived, promoted and carried on, by Popish archbishops, bishops, jesuits, and other ecclesiastical persons of the Romish clergy: and forasmuch as the peace and safety of this kingdom are in danger, by the great number of the said archbishops, bishops, jesuits, friars, and other Romish clergy, now residing here; and settling in fraternities and societies, contrary to law, and to the great impoverishing of many of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom, who are forced to maintain and support them: which said Romish clergy do, not only endeavour to withdraw his Majesty's subjects from their obedience, but do daily stir up, and move sedition, and rebellion, to the great hazard of the ruin and desolation of this kingdom.” It then enacts, that all Popish archbishops, &c. &c. and all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall suffer imprisonment, and remain in prison, until they shall be transported beyond the seas, out of his Majesty's dominions: and if any person so transported, shall return again, into this kingdom, he shall be guilty of high treason, shall be adjudged a traitor, and shall suffer as in case of high treason.*

* In the reign of Edward I, a person was adjudged guilty of high treason, for having produced a papal bull of excommunication against another, and this, as Sir Edward Coke observes, was by the antient common law of England, 5th report, p. 12. In the 19th of this reign, the Archbishop of York promoted a clerk to a benefice, under a papal bull. For this he forfeited the lands of his bishoprick for life, and they were seized into the king's hands; and Sir Edward Coke observes, “this was by judgement of common law, before any statute or Act of Parliament was made in that

In my second letter, Prot. Adv. vol. I, p. 202, I shewed the origin and policy of the Papal supremacy and hierarchy; in my third letter, p. 304, I laid before the reader the fundamental doctrines of the Romish church; in my fifth letter, p. 434, I shewed their baneful effects in Ireland for three hundred years past. Whoever attentively peruses these letters, will not be surprised at the necessity of enacting the 9th of William III, and he will perceive, by the note annexed, that it was only declaratory of the common law.

The Irish titular bishops appear to me to be guilty not only of inconsistency, but of duplicity, in publishing a new edition of the Bible for the use of their flocks: because the leading doctrines prescribed by it, are in direct contradiction to those contained in the canons of the Romish church; all which were framed subsequent to the year 1073, the grand era of Popery. Besides, in the *index expurgatorius*, framed by Pope Clement VIII. under the sanction of the Council of Trent, all persons are prohibited from reading the scripture, without a licence; and whoever presumes to do so is not to receive absolution, unless he first gives up his bible. The translation of it into the vulgar tongue was altogether prohibited. By the Council of Trent, an anathema was denounced against those who should dare to say, "that mass ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue." Sess. 22. can. 9.—The Irish priests absolutely prohibit their flocks from receiving the cheap editions of the holy scriptures, which are circulated by the Bible Society, and in many instances they burn them. A few years since, the parish priest of Kilrush in the county of Clare, collected a large parcel of them, and burned them publicly in the streets. Now, whoever examines the following texts of the holy scriptures, will find that they enjoin all persons to read them, for the sake of edification. St. Paul's 2d Epist. to Timothy, cap. iii. v. 15, 16, 17; Acts, cap. xvii. v. 2; Deuteronomy, cap. vi. v. 7, 8, 9—17, 18, 19, 20. The reason why the Romish clergy prevent the middle and lower classes from reading the scriptures is, lest they may discover the errors of their own religion, which is quite contrary to them. As this translation of the bible is, according to the prospectus, "to be explained and illustrated with valuable notes or annotations, according to the interpretation of the Catholic Church," it will have no other tendency but to confirm them in its errors; of which I shall give some specimens.

It was ordained by the 27th chapter of the 3d Lateran Council, held *case*," *idem* p. 13. See also the excellent pamphlet by Basilicus, reviewed and recommended in our last number.

under Pope Alexander III. A. D. 1179, "that all those who are any way bound to heretics, are absolved from all fidelity and obedience due to them, as long as they persist in their iniquity," Concil. Bin. tom. 7, p. 338. Gregory IX. in the 13th century decreed thus: "be it known to all who are under the dominion of heretics, that they are set free from every tie of fidelity and obedience due to them, *all oaths and solemn engagements to the contrary notwithstanding.*" Greg. lib. 5, tit. 7. By the 3d canon of the 4th Lateran Council it is decreed, that they who under the badge of the cross, shall set about the extirpation of heretics, shall obtain a full remission of their sins, (Concil. Bin. tom. ii, p. 148). And by the 27th chapter of the 3d Lateran Council, great indulgences are granted to those who shall do so, (Idem tom. 7, p. 6, 62). By the 3d canon of the 4th Lateran Council, under Pope Innocent III. A. D. 1213, the Roman Pontiff is not only empowered, but commanded, to dethrone Sovereign Princes, who shall refuse to extirpate heretics within their territories, by absolving their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to transfer them to others, who shall enjoy them without contradiction, provided they extirpate the heretics therein. Idem tom. ii. p. 148, 149.

The Pope is bound by oath to uphold and enforce the decrees of general councils to the least tittle, even to the shedding of his blood.—Concil. Const. Sess. 39; Basil Sess. 27. A popish priest swears thus in his canonical oath: "all doctrines delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils, and especially by the most holy council of Trent, I receive and profess; and whatever is contrary thereto, and all heresies condemned by the church, I equally condemn, reject and anathematize." "I will be careful that they are held by, taught and preached to my parishioners, or those the care of whom shall belong to me in my functions."

Now I beg leave to ask these most rev. and right rev. bishops, what purpose can it answer, to circulate among their flocks the holy scriptures, which brought "peace upon earth and good-will towards men," which inculcate Christian charity and brotherly love, when the pastors of the Romish church are bound by oath to infuse into their flocks doctrines obviously repugnant to the fundamental principles of Christianity, and the leading attributes of the deity: and which must ever produce treason, discord, and bloodshed, under a Protestant state? and their practical effects for three hundred years in Ireland, prove, that the Popish priests have been very assiduous in fulfilling that part of their pastoral duty.

MELANCTHON.

DR. DROMGOOLE'S SPEECHES.

Observations on " the Speeches of Dr. Dromgoole against surrendering the Government of the Catholic Church in Ireland to the Discretion of Parliament ; accompanied with a Vindication of his Statements and Principles," just published by H. Fitzpatrick, Capel-street, Dublin, 1814.

WHEN Dr. Dromgoole first delivered and afterwards published in the *Dublin Evening Post*,* that famous speech upon securities, as he himself entitles it, we feared much lest the *proteus* quality, that talent of evasion and equivocation, which from the beginning has belonged to Catholicity, as established at Rome, should have provided a loop-hole, by which the downright honesty of that speech, and its open avowal of irreconcilable hostility against every Protestant Church, and ours in particular, should be withdrawn from the sight, or so accommodated as not to shock the nerves of our incautions and less sensitive brethren. Luckily however by the diligence and exertions of some good Protestants in Ireland this was rendered impossible: the currency which was immediately given to it, and the stamp of authenticity with which it was immediately impressed, fixed it as a sort of a record, to which reference might be made for the sentiments and feelings of those who are true sons of the Church of Rome. We lent our hand to this, and the effects have been even beyond our hopes. For to convince even the most incredulous, that there might be nothing wanting, it has produced the present publication: containing not only a formal avowal by the Doctor himself of the speech in question, but a report, from the first authority also, of other speeches, almost equally material, which preceded or followed it. And lastly, Dr. Dromgoole has given us a detailed vindication of himself and of his statements and principles, including a solemn and energetic reproof of "*the Board*" (Catholic, or whatever it may be called) for their meanness and hypocrisy in having, after they had received his speech with approbation the most distinguished, and unanimously, and with acclamation, passed the resolution which it was intended to enforce;—on a subsequent day, by another resolution, disavowed the sentiments which he had thus delivered, and they had thus solemnly accepted. Indeed, it was with considerable surprise that we discovered that such had been the result of the debate on the 24th of December;

* This paper is deservedly a great favourite with the Doctor. He calls it "that truly able and *disinterested* paper." Afterwards in language not very good English (but every thing English is an abomination to him) a "*highly talented and reasoning* paper." What these reasonings are or have been, a jury of twelve men upon their oaths have declared.

because we understood, as we have stated, and stated truly, as we are now assured by the Doctor himself, that while he was delivering the speech declaratory of his adherence to the opinions advanced in his former speech, (*see p. 216 of this volume.*) he "was interrupted with repeated bursts of applause, and sat down amidst the acclamations of the meeting." Yet, after this, a resolution passes disavowing those opinions so enthusiastically applauded.

We must recommend this seriously to the consideration of those of our brethren who yet retain any doubts upon the question: because as long as it remains a question, (with us it never was) whether a Roman Catholic can give such securities to a Protestant government as shall make it safe to entrust him with the administration of that government, the honesty or duplicity, the open avowal or concealment of sentiment manifested by that body, or any prominent part of them, and the consistency or inconsistency with which they maintain or depart from their avowed opinions, must be points of the highest importance, and requiring the most serious investigation.

What now are these opinions thus openly professed by Dr. Dromgoole, and always received with acclamations of applause by his audience, though for particular purposes disclaimed in their formal resolutions?

The first speech; it must be observed, was delivered on the 15th of May 1813, at a meeting of the *Catholic Board* in Capel Street; and though the motion proposed by Dr. Dromgoole was "defeated by the question of adjournment moved by Mr. Connell," yet (as the Doctor tells us) "from the impression which this speech made on the public mind, and the alarm it excited, it was considered the principal cause of bringing about that FORTUNATE EVENT:" (p. 1.) meaning the rejection of the RELIEF BILL, as he calls it.

The second speech was delivered on the 13th of November, in opposition to a motion of Mr. Connell's, which had in view to declare that "no specific measure for regulating the ecclesiastical discipline of the Catholic church of Ireland ought to be proposed to the legislature on behalf of the Catholic body, without having been previously sanctioned by the approbation of the Catholic prelates of Ireland,"—and the Doctor so far succeeded, that Mr. Connell withdrew his motion at the desire, and with the approbation of the meeting.

The third speech is *THE speech*; which we have given at large in a former number.

Of all these the Doctor says, (p. v. of his vindication) "the three speeches" (the fourth is but a sort of vindication of the others). "embrace but one object, with this difference, that the first goes against a

specific interference: and the other two against the principle of any interference whatever on the part of the crown and parliament."

"They are all against *securities*, and contain an exposure of the evil effects that must follow from their concession to Catholics, as such—to Catholics as subjects—and generally, to all the inhabitants of Ireland."

Here, then, is the great point contended for by the Doctor, and which we are sure is the view and must be the view of every Roman Catholic—he states it in the second speech, thus: "Let us resume our watch-word of SIMPLE SEVERAL: to which let us add *no state-tampering with religion.*" p. 22.

That is to say, this sect, being in its very constitution hostile to the religion established in the country, having, in fact, through all ages, both *professed* and *shown in practices*, that it will endure no other religion, is to enjoy without reserve, that which neither the established church, nor any other sect of religion, either possesses or presumes to claim, a total exemption from all interference by the legislature of the country! And with all this, they insist that in strict justice they are entitled to a share in the administration of the country, and the dispensation of those laws from which, in a most material, perhaps of all the most material, point, they claim to be exempt!

This is the true state of the case: this is that very "head and front of their offending," against which we have striven, and we shall always strive to put our readers upon their guard. We are, and shall be, always declared enemies to all these attempts at *conciliation*, as much as the Doctor is; though for a different reason. He is fearful lest it should defeat his purpose of carrying through his object with a high hand; lest by any accommodation the high tone of bigotry should be softened, and his church should cease to be "*semper eadem.*" We, for our parts, do not believe that any concessions whatever could have any such effect; we think that, however the spirit of *individuals* may be mitigated, yet, of the *body* at large, and of that *hierarchy* in particular, which is the master-mover and main-spring of the whole, no such expectation can with the least shew of reason be formed. We do not moreover greatly apprehend that the Doctor and his adherents will finally succeed in carrying their object in any way; but we greatly fear that the continued agitation of this question under the hope or expectation of such an event, more especially if the hope be fed by any sort of encouragement or favour, will be productive of infinite mischief; will add fuel to the subsisting discontent, and be the cause of new troubles: that, in short, the spirit of civil war and resistance to lawful authority will continue to exist, more or less suppressed or manifested according to circumstances, until it shall be dis-

tionally understood, and firmly pronounced by the government, supported by the legislature and people at large, that *nothing further will be conceded to the Roman Catholics*. Such a determination (and such a determination alone can do it) will, to borrow the energetic language of the Dr. himself (p. 22) "steady the fluctuation of opinion: will at once teach the people what they are to expect: and, by putting an end to intrigue and delusive hope, cement a concord and unanimity which nothing can shake."

The reader might wonder how Dr. Dromgoole, holding these sentiments, should, in his second speech, be in opposition to Mr. Connell, the *manful* Mr. Connell, standing up, as he did, for the exclusive domination of their prelates in all ecclesiastical matters—but this is well explained by the Dr. in his vindication. To have said that *no securities* should even be proposed to the legislature without the previous approbation of their bishops, was to suppose that *with* that approbation, securities *might* be proposed. "The object of the second speech (says he) was to shew that the admission of the *principle*, even in *this qualified way*, could not but be most injurious—that it would serve as a *precedent*, and would infallibly lead to the *assumption* of the *right* of unqualified interference on the part of parliament; and that any appearance of consent, either *formal* or *implied*, coming from a body *supposed* to *speak the voice of the Catholics of Ireland*, must be productive of great mischief."

The Dr. however seems to have another object also, which in any true son of the church we must not disapprove; the sheltering of their prelates; keeping them, as it were, from temptation. "Is it wise" (he says, p. 14) "to point at our prelates, and to say, that it is from them only that concessions are to be expected; to put them forward as the only persons interested; and to proclaim that the laity are prepared to consent to *whatever terms may be extorted from them*?" The Dr. indeed strenuously contends *against* the position that "the *laity ought not to interfere with the ecclesiastical arrangements*;" and he expressly declares that were the prelates "to-morrow to consent to concede a *Veto* to the crown, they should not have his concurrence, but on the contrary all the resistance which he could give." (p. 16.) Indeed, in his first speech, he positively states that "Mr. Canning's clauses were not *inconsistent* with their religious *principles*: that there was no dogmata which they impugned, no article of faith which they contradicted."

Now if *Laymen* may interfere in their ecclesiastical concerns, as he asserts; what objection, it may be asked, can be reasonably urged against the *parliament of the United Kingdom* doing this? He says indeed afterwards, in the speech, (p. 30) not very consistently, "no lay-

man, (he means, we suppose, to qualify this by what follows) no Protestant, but *above all*, no *ENGLISH parliament*, as at present, or in any way, constituted, ought to be allowed profanely to intermeddle in the administration of your church. That right belongs to *another authority*," [still not *a lay one*, we must observe,] "where it was placed at the first birth of Christianity," [well said, Doctor!], "and where only it can safely rest, or be trusted."

This indeed is the true key. *English parliament, however constituted!* He speaks of it, (p. 20) as consisting of *HOSTILE legislators*. The real fact is, that, whatever may be said about religion, this is hardly more than a secondary point. "THE SPIRIT OF SUPERSTITION," as is most truly intimated in one of our former numbers, (p. 254) is become "A SPIRIT OF PARTY." The deadly hate of this country, and the wish for separation from it, which animate every true Irish Papist, break out through the whole of this singular publication; sentiments these, which if they were only Dr. Dromgoole's, we should have passed by with a smile; but our readers will find that they are most cordially applauded, re-echoed and adopted by the *body supposed to speak the voice of the Catholics of Ireland*." We have no doubt, that it was in those parts of his speeches where the Dr. was most animated against England, and every thing English, that the acclamations were most loud, and the cheering, and clapping of hands and waving of hats most general.

The reader will recollect what the Dr. states as the object of his speeches; that "they contain an exposure of the evil effects which must follow" (from the concession of securities) "not only to Catholics, as *such*; but to Catholics as *subjects*: and generally, to all the inhabitants of Ireland."

By Dr. Dromgoole and every thorough-paced Papist in Ireland, Popery and Ireland are inseparably associated: thus the question here is treated by the Dr. not as simply between Protestants and Roman Catholics; but as between Protestants, or rather between government of the United Kingdoms, and Irishmen. In his first speech he concludes with exhorting the meeting "never to consent to any thing that would be disgraceful to themselves, injurious to religion, or *unworthy of their country*." Again he says (at p. 22) in the second speech, that the *Veto* would be resisted by "every man in Ireland who felt for the safety of religion as a Catholic, or for the common liberties of his country as an Irishman." Again, in declaring against any *negotiation* with parliament, (p. 19) he says,—"here we ought now to make our stand, or rather we ought not now to decline taking our place upon that ground which we have called upon the country to occupy. It has proclaimed in one voice,

that it will never consent to parliamentary interference. This is the language of the country: this was the language of the mover of this resolution" [that is, Mr. Connell] "a few months ago. Such at least were supposed to be his sentiments, after the bishops had decided. For what other cause did he meet with the applause and acclamation of the country?" &c. A little lower down he speaks of certain "*longing Catholics*" who long for *silk gowns* and other such good things; and adds, "they may be assured that the country does not sympathise with them. In his vindication (p. 5), adopting the language of the *high-talented* paper, as he calls the *Dublin Evening Post*: he says, that "by this one act" (the adoption of the resolution against securities) "the Catholic Board have done more for the LIBERTY of Ireland, than has been achieved since the declaration of independence in 1782." In the next page, their motives are stated to be "the protection of their altars and the INDEPENDENCE of their country." Again in the speech he says, "far from us, and from the Catholic name be. . . . the surrender of any of those great points in which are involved the safety of religion and the HONOUR and INDEPENDENCE of the COUNTRY." (See our number for February, p. 207.)

"Thus they join two names,"* not indeed, "*Lothario and Calista*," but, by a still more preposterous union, Popery and Freedom! The independence here spoken of, as to be held fast, and secured by all means, and with every sacrifice, is evidently independence on this country (Great Britain), and separation from it. At p. vii. of his vindication, again borrowing, (as to what it might not be so prudent to utter in his own person), the language of the *Dublin Evening Post*; he talks with abhorrence, absolute abhorrence, of "*English avarice, English monopoly, English jealousy, and English domination*." He represents the country as groaning under an iron despotism, as "being reduced below the situation of South America under the Spaniard, or Greece under the Turk," as long as "*English interest and English domination*" (for the word is repeated) "prevailed." But the most striking is that part in which he speaks of the English Roman Catholics: even their creed does not exempt them from the contempt and aversion which he cherishes for all that is English. It forms the conclusion of his second speech (p. 22)—"This determination will, no doubt, break off all hope of co-operation with the English Catholics, of whom the gentleman has spoken:—but that connection is already dissolved. We had a pledge indeed, that they would act in concert with our proceedings; but when the letter of Lord Grenville appeared, holding out conditions and arrangements, they wa-

* Rowe's Fair Penitent.

vered, and deserted the post which they had promised to maintain. They sought to make terms for themselves, but they were cajoled and disappointed. They are at the same work again, and they may be assured that they will experience a similar result. They are too few in number, and too insignificant, for a British minister to think it necessary or expedient to do them justice. *After these acts of bad faith, no cordiality or union can exist, for all confidence is at an end.* But, independent of this, the fact is, *you and they never could concur. With them the ministers of worship are as servants—and they would make the altar an object of traffic. The character, indeed, of the two nations is too much at variance to hope for any thing like unity of action, or fellowship of exertion.* Then comes a tirade in the true Buonapartean style. “*The English are a money-loving race. They have no business with priests, or a mode of worship which may stand in the way of this their darling pursuit! They do not understand why religion should not bend to the promotion of their gains. WITH SUCH A PEOPLE YOU CANNOT COALESCE.*”!!!

To this most unfounded slander the best answer will be found in the present situation of their great idol, Buonaparte; whose overthrow never would have taken place, had not England poured forth her *treasures*, as well as her *blood*, without stint and without grudging; with a generous and high-souled liberality, which will be acknowledged and loudly proclaimed in every corner of the world, except the country of Dr. Dromgoole, and, perhaps, the country of President Madison. We are sufficiently avenged by the mortification which the associates of these two worthies are at this moment experiencing.

Enough of such miscreants. But we now seriously intreat our Roman Catholic Brethren here, to ponder these things, and to consider seriously in what situation they are content still to be placed. Every day, they are driven in order to preserve even a shew of common sense, to compromise, and half to deny, the tenets of their church: the effect of which is, that *we* cannot trust them, and, at the same time, their *thorough-paced brethren*, the true adherents of the Pope, hold them in contempt. How long will they halt thus between two opinions? How long will it be before they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears?

As for the learned Doctor we must say, having now to dismiss him, that though we admired the *honesty* of his bigotry; yet he must not suppose that it is wholly to our taste. The poor Doctor himself wants a Doctor, and, absolutely frantic, he perfectly raves about the declaration against Popery, which our law requires to be made upon certain occasions. Half his book is filled up with anathemas against it. He calls it a *blasphemous* and *sacrilegious* oath (p. 21). In order to justify this, he

states that every member of Parliament: " declares upon oath *the mode of worship which they [the Roman Catholics] profess, to be superstitious, impious, and damnable, and them idolaters.*" Now the declaration, as we presume our readers know, is simply that we " do believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever: and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous." This is the profession of all Protestants, and has been so from the beginning. They are the two great errors against which they protested when they separated from the see of Rome. They are either superstitious and idolatrous, or they are not. It would not be a difficult matter to prove that they are so. Indeed it has been proved over and over again. And this has been done very lately: for these gentlemen will never take an answer. It has been done without any reply on their part.* But suppose it not " idolatrous," the case only amounts to this, that we take that for idolatrous which is not so: that we are in an error; which is the least that they say of us. Dr. Priestly and his followers say that our worship of Christ is " idolatrous;" but has any orthodox Christian in our church ever been angry at this, or taken it as a *personal* affront? The fact is, that " our withers are unwrung." It is " the galled jade that winces." The reader will wonder too where the Doctor has found that we say that his *mode of worship is impious and damnable*. In the ebullition of his fanaticism he has confounded the declaration against Popery with the oath of supremacy: which latter, however, says not a word of any " *mode of worship.*" It does indeed require us to " abhor, detest, and abjure, as *impious and heretical,*" a certain " *damnable doctrine and position:*" but that any such doctrine or position is *now* held by any creature upon earth at this moment, is no more averred, than any one individual is called an idolater in the other form. The oath of supremacy, in fact, hardly differs in substance from the oath which the Roman Catholics now take or should take under the 31st Geo. III, c. 32; which oath, at the time of passing that act, all the Papists told us they would most cheerfully take; and Mr. Butler tells us they have all taken and will stand by it; which oath, however, Dr. Dromgoole, agreeing in this with the records of Parliament, tells us

* See Le Mesurier's Bampton Lectures; Sermon v, *passim*: and the doctrine of the Eucharist by the same author, at p. 133 and 191; or the Bishop of Durham's tracts which we have presumed to recommend.

(p. 83, and see above p. 203) that they do not like to take, and do not take. The Doctor, indeed, is terribly sore about this oath also. "What an oath is this, that calls upon me to say that I would not dethrone my king—that I would not bear false witness against my neighbour—that I would not murder him on account of religion?" This is one of his great grievances; one source of his ravings. But now, what man whose conscience was perfectly clear on these heads, who knew that there was not the least ground for supposing that he could ever be guilty of such acts, would make any scruple to take this or any such oath? A man might just as well object to the oath of allegiance—"What, make me swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the king? Am I then a traitor? Do you suspect me of disloyalty?" The truth is, we have here again "*the galled jade*." Dr. Dromgoole may say or swear if he pleases that this oath is built on the *falsest* and *most profligate pretences*; but nobody who is not an idiot, and has read only a few pages in history, will believe him. And for our parts we will not lose our time in dwelling longer upon these sallies of a distempered imagination.

Of Dr. Dromgoole's accuracy and attention to fact the reader may judge, when we assure him that having, at p. vi. of his *Vindication*, facetiously asserted that "*the Protestants of the church of England are, in Ireland,*" (an odd circumlocution, by the bye) "*no more compared with the general population than one to one hundred;*" he goes on in this extravagant humour till he works himself up to make the same assertion respecting the Protestants of the church of England, in *England*. "*Are the real members of the establishment* (he asks at p. xxxi.) *at the present day in England as one to a hundred? !!!*"

We should now leave the Doctor, but there is one statement made by him so material that it cannot be impressed upon the minds of our readers too often; and therefore, though we have often said the same thing, we must give it. "The priests of the church of England," he says in the passage above referred to (p. vi.), "have but little influence over their flocks,—the Roman Catholics make, *perhaps*," [a good "*perhaps*" this] "five-sixths of the whole; and among them, the ministers of public worship possess a *CONTROUL* and an authority unknown among Protestants." And if the Doctor on that account is so terribly afraid lest these men should by any means be brought to wish well to the government, he must allow us to take care that, as long as, in our judgment, he keeps them disaffected, we should not suffer them; nor those whom they so *controul*, to rule us.

As for his ravings against our church, because of the many sects which there are in the country, we might refer him to the scriptures: but that

would be too hard, as they are a sealed book for him *perhaps*; but let him go to Irenæus, St. Austin and Epiphanius, and say what were the number of heresies in their days. His peddling list sinks into nothing when compared to their's. And yet surely their's was the Catholic church. But in their days *crusades* and *dragoonings*, and, above all, the *holy office*, were not in use.

Having now to take our leave, we will do it in good Latin, the Doctor's favourite language of course. Persuaded as we are that the downfall of Buonaparte (thank God for it!) will eventually pacify Ireland, as well as bring America to a better mind, we can venture to say to Dr. Dromgoole and Dr. Moylan, as well as to Professor Madison.

"Demetri, teque, Tigelli,

"Discipulorum inter jubeo plorare cathedras."

NIGHTINGALE'S PORTRAITURE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION.

MR. EDITOR,—While you occasionally recommend to your readers useful tracts on the Roman Catholic Question, I hope you will give me leave to point out the unfaithfulness of Mr. Nightingale's Portraiture of the Roman Catholic Religion; that nobody may run a risk of being deceived for a moment, or be induced by any artifice to take that for a likeness of the Roman Catholic religion which scarcely resembles it in a single feature. Indeed I ought not to use the word *feature*, for this precious portrait hardly gives us a glimpse of the face. Figure to yourself an old hag, with a few frightful snags left in her mouth; with evil eyes, looking different ways; with "gory socks;" a forehead hardened with brazen assurance, and a countenance deeply furrowed with the traces of "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness;" grasping the winch of a rack in one hand, and trying to conceal a torch, extinguished, but still smoking, with the other; clad in dingy scarlet, spotted with "gouts of blood:"—I say figure to yourself, Mr. Editor, an ancient beldame like this, depicted *under a veil* of almost impenetrable thickness,

"Drawn like a nun, devout and pure,

Sober, steadfast, and demure,

All in a robe of closest grain,

Flowing with majestic train,

And sable stole of Cyprus lawn,

O'er her skinny shoulders drawn."

Such is the sort of portrait (portraiture the ingenious artist calls it) given of Popery by Mr. Nightingale.

Mr. N. speaks of the "unreserved readiness with which the clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic church have made their communications to him, whenever he applied to them for information." They should have *communicated* to him a grain of prudence. Mr. Nightingale is as free in laying open his mind as Dr. Dromgoole; and by one *indiscreet admission* he destroys all confidence in the fidelity of the picture he has drawn. Truth is very apt to come to light, let a man do all he can to overlay it with specious colours. Mr. Nightingale has confessed, as weakly as roundly, that his labour and skill have been employed *to serve a purpose*. He tried his hand some time ago at portrait-painting. He gave a portraiture of *Methodism*. In this attempt he came off something like "*the painter that pleased every body and nobody*;" one may judge of his embarrassment by a note which occurs in his preface to the Portraiture of the Roman Catholic Religion. In delineating methodism he "felt himself secure in the general accuracy of his statements," but in this latter work he "confesses that every page has been committed to press with fear and trembling, lest he should [here I use italics] *injure* through his mistakes, rather than promote by the faithfulness [sic] of his representations, a cause in which he feels a deep and serious interest, THE [Mr. N. himself uses capitals] EMANCIPATION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS, AND THE REPEAL OF ALL THOSE DISGRACEFUL PENAL STATUTES WHICH AGGRIEVE AND OPPRESS THE DISSENTERS OF THIS GREAT AND ENLIGHTENED EMPIRE." So the judicious Mr. Nightingale pretends to paint a true portrait *to promote the ends of a party*. He had better have remained quiet. Popery has never yet gained any thing by *controversy*. Could but its ambitious, its mighty soul submit to be silent, and apparently quiet, humble, and patient,—it might at length effectuate that revolution by subtlety which will never be accomplished by violence. Dr. Dromgoole's fury has destroyed all that Mr. Nightingale's policy aims at, by calling out the *Dissenters as auxiliaries to the Papists*. The fiery Doctor has shewn them how respectfully the Papists (for what he said was loudly cheered by the Roman Catholic Board) treat them, and the uses to which they would make the Dissenters subservient. If the Papists should ever gain the ascendancy in this country, woe to the Dissenters! But I need not touch upon this topic—the Protestant Dissenters will never coalesce with the Papists.

Perhaps, Mr. Editor, you may be curious to know how this politico-theological painter manages to get over difficulties. Why, in the first place, this is a portraiture, he tells us repeatedly, of the Roman Catholic RELIGION; it "professes not to give a view of the Roman Catholic courts, not even exactly of the court of Rome itself." "When murders and seditions, and plots, and persecutions [Mr. Nightingale, you should not have

mentioned these ugly words, they occasion alarming reminiscences,] are adduced against Roman Catholics, it is sufficient to give this one plain and obvious answer:—they are acts which form no part of the Roman Catholic RELIGION; and I, (says the painter) of course had, comparatively speaking, nothing to do with them.”—But, Mr. Editor, these are the very things that make the ascendancy of Papists a consummation to be dreaded. Their little trifling absurdities of worship, and some of their harmless superstitions, we might smile at or pity,—but the doctrine of exclusive salvation within the pale of their own church, the extirpation of heretics, the defective allegiance of the Papists—all of which flow out of the RELIGION of the Roman Catholics,—these are the things of which I never think without horror, and no partial description furnished by Mr. Nightingale can drive them out of my mind when I frame an idea of a Roman Catholic, or a Roman Catholic's religion. Where are we to look for his religion? In the scriptures, and also in the traditions of the church of Rome, and particularly in the decrees and canons of that church. Out of these last-named authorities has arisen every thing that makes Papists dangerous. If Mr. Nightingale shall say that modern Papists are no way bound or influenced by decrees and canons, we shall refer him to the dictum of Dr. Troy himself, who says—“*the church is infallible in her doctrinal decisions; and the people are bound to yield the most implicit obedience to ALL DECREES AND CANONS which the church in an assembled council declares.*”—I affirm, therefore, that the RELIGION of Roman Catholics is tainted with monstrous and detestable errors; and that no man can fairly pretend to give a portraiture of that religion without setting out those false and bloody doctrines which Papists are bound to believe, support, and, *ut poterint*, exemplify.

This is the principal artifice used by Mr. Nightingale. I am inclined to think that the poor man has imposed upon himself by this wretched sophistry, and that he is hardly aware of the bad consequences which may follow on his labours to induce others to adopt the sentiments which he has imbibed.

He has recourse to a few other contrivances. He sturdily denies the authenticity of many documents which are commonly adduced in evidence against the Papists. For instance, he calls the famous form of an indulgence preserved by Dr. Robertson in his History of Charles V. a non-ecclasiastical imposition. He adopts all the plausible representations of the Papists, with regard to errors, which the reformed have refuted again and again. Luther meets with no lenity, and Calvin's burning of Servetus is made the most of; though the breach of safe conduct granted to John

Huss and Jerome of Prague is explained away. The executions of Papists for treason in Elizabeth's time are described as persecutions unto death for religion's sake.—But I have said enough.

Mr. Nightingale threatens us with a *Portraiture of the Church of England!* As in the case of the Romish religion he has endeavoured to conceal deformities, so I expect in the Portrait of the Church of England he will try his hand at a caricature.

I am, Mr. Editor, your's, &c.

London, March 1, 1814.

INDAGATOR.

PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO THE SPEECH OF THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES ABBOTT, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OUR readers cannot but remember the notice taken of the proceedings of the House of Commons relative to the affairs and pretensions of the Roman Catholics, in the speech of the Right Hon. THE SPEAKER, at the bar of the House of Lords, when the last session of Parliament came to a close. What that enlightened senator then said came home to our feelings as Protestants. We prefixed it, by way of motto, to the number of the *Protestant Advocate* published in September last. We were aware of the active part which THE SPEAKER had taken in the Committee of the House of Commons, when it took into consideration the bill introduced by Mr. Grattan, and improved upon (to the complete dissatisfaction of the Irish Papists, whom he professed to conciliate) by Mr. Canning. THE SPEAKER's arguments and eloquence took possession of our hearts. It was on his own motion, concerning the ineligibility of Papists to sit in the House of Commons, that the promoters of the bill threw it up. We felt grateful for his powerful and successful exertions in the Protestant cause: and highly were we delighted with the sentiments which he uttered before the throne; particularly for stating the grounds on which the majority of the House had proceeded,—“*adhering to those laws by which the throne, the parliament, and the government are made FUNDAMENTALLY PROTESTANT.*” Gratified as we were by the speech, it could not fail to prove distasteful to those who had supported the claims of the Roman Catholics in our Protestant Parliament. Immediate exceptions were taken to it, and early notice was given at the commencement of the present session, that THE SPEAKER's conduct was to be brought before the House. The repeated adjournments which took place in consequence of the eventful movements on the continent, and the near view of a happy termina-

tion of the dreadful warfare in which we have been engaged, (*a glorious result to which the perseverance of the British government so eminently contributed!*) the business was not entered upon till Friday the 22d of April; and we now have to perform the pleasing duty of recording *another triumph of the Protestant cause*,—and a triumph we deem it: for, in spite of all the nice distinctions that have been made, (between respect and censure, between **THE SPEAKER** in the House of Commons and at the bar of the House of Lords, or elsewhere, &c.) we honestly confess that we regard the attempt which has been made as arising out of, and bottoming in what is commonly called “the Catholic Question.”

The proceedings of Friday present two or three incidental matters worth notice.—1. The friends of concession have suffered a defeat. A thrust at Protestantism through the body of **THE SPEAKER**, beloved and revered as he is, seems to have alarmed some of the warmest apologists for the Papists. They deserted the colours under which they fought during the last session, and returned to the cause of our Protestant constitution. Like the partizans of *Buonaparte*, some of them awkwardly *sauvegarde* to assign reasons for their *adherence*, and many more, in the hour of conflict, with arms in their hands, passed silently over, from the party suffering discomfiture, to the victorious assertors of Protestantism and true liberty.—2. Attacking **THE SPEAKER** was a hazardous undertaking, and could not fail to enable us to distinguish between the timid and the bold, the *modérés* and the *enragés*. Lord Morpeth, the opener of the attack had not the heart to go the length of Mr. Whitbread. His lordship paid some handsome compliments to the Speaker, and, after citing several precedents (which in the opinion of many members did not seem to have much weight), contented himself with moving—“that a special entry should be made on the Journals, that it ought not to be drawn into a precedent for the Speaker to communicate to the throne any thing which had engaged the attention of the House, but had not been consented to.” Here is no censure; no bitterness, at least. But this did not satisfy Mr. Whitbread. He moved an amendment which was in substance,—“that it appeared to the House, that the Speaker did, at the close of the last session, deliver a speech at the Bar of the House of Lords, in which he stated certain proceedings that had taken place in a committee of the whole House relative to the claims of the Roman Catholics, without any authority from the House so to do: and that he did inform the Prince Regent of the motives and reasons which he assumed to have influenced the committee on that occasion; that by so doing he

had been guilty of a violation of the trust reposed in him, and of the privileges of that House, of which he was the chosen guardian and protector."—3. Hence it should seem, that even those who were disposed to find fault with THE SPEAKER had not agreed upon any concerted plan of operations. What may satisfy one party, may appear an insignificant measure to another; and even what the latter may propose, may be thought nothing better than "a chip in porridge" to a third class of men. Suppose only that Mr. O'Gorman, Mr. O'Connell, and Dr. Dromgoole had the honour of seats in Parliament; is it to be conceived that Mr. *Whitbread's* amendment could have satisfied these three gentlemen? Or that Mr. O'Gorman (*malus*) could have devised any amendment sufficient to pacify the indignation of Mr. O'Connell (*pejor*), or that Mr. O'Connell himself could have gorged and lulled the "great revenge" of Dr. Dromgoole (*pessimus*)? On this account, we would submit to Lord Morpeth the propriety of leaving the *concessionists* altogether. His half-measures do not please them, and we would fondly persuade ourselves that he will never approve of the violence with which some of them are disposed to act. And indeed, as to Mr. *Whitbread* himself,—we are convinced that he will never perpetrate that deed of horror which alone can satisfy "the Catholic Board," and those furious zealots who direct its energies. The Irish Papists, properly so called, are not to be *conciliated* but by the utter subversion of the Protestant religion. They scout the very mention of *securities*, and indeed *have none to offer*.

But, however tempting this topic is, we must not exceed our prescribed bounds. The speech of Mr. ABBOT was perfectly convincing. Precedents were clearly on his side, and that *Consuetudo Parliamenti* which is held to be a portion of the *Lex Terræ*. We content ourselves with giving the concluding part of what he so ably said.—After adducing many precedents, he expressed himself to this effect.—"I hope I may be allowed to refer to a speech on the records of the Parliament of Ireland, which bears upon this point. In 1792, in the Parliament of Ireland, a bill was brought in for the further relief of the Roman Catholics, permitting them to occupy certain situations in the law, and allowing them to intermarry with Protestants. After the first and second reading of this bill, and while it was in a committee, a petition was presented, in consequence of which the bill was rejected. At the close of the session Mr. Speaker Foster (whom although now present, I hope I may be permitted to name historically), thought it his duty to advert in his speech, to a matter which he conceived to be of such importance, and to state what he believed to have been the motives by which the House had been

influenced in its proceedings respecting that bill; and for that very speech he received the THANKS of the Irish House of Commons on the same day. On reviewing the whole question, I conceive that in such cases the Speaker is allowed to refer to measures which have been discussed, unlimited by any consideration as to their progress or failure. All are agreed as to the importance of the matter on which I have touched; I would not, on such an occasion, have passed it unnoticed, even if there had not been any other bill for the relief of Roman Catholics before the House during that session; but in the same session a bill had been passed for the relief of the Catholics which had originated in the House of Lords. The notice of this bill, which I conceived to be my duty, necessarily brought the whole question under consideration, and involved the proceedings of the legislature upon it. As to the second question, whether, admitting that the proceedings of the House on the subject of the claims of the Roman Catholics ought to have been noticed by me, they were noticed in a proper manner;—I would submit to the House that its proceedings were stated with truth and correctness. The question having been before the House, the large bill not having been passed by it, but the one which had been introduced into the other House by the Duke of Norfolk having been passed; the words in which I stated the proceedings of this House were these:—"These are not the only objects to which our attention has been called; other momentous changes have been proposed for our consideration. Adhering, however, to those laws by which the Throne, the Parliament, and the Government of this country are made fundamentally Protestant, we have not consented to allow, that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction should be authorised to administer the powers and jurisdictions of this realm; willing, as we are, nevertheless, and willing as I trust we ever shall be, to allow the largest scope to religious toleration." In the first division of this paragraph it is distinctly stated, that the House did not think proper to admit Roman Catholics to participate in the legislature. Could less have been said? I conceive it to be a *true narrative of the fact*. The House went into the committee on the bill to consider the claims, not to grant. The bill contained a clause for granting to the Catholics *political power*, and this was *negatived* in the committee. In the paragraph which I have read, it is not stated that the bill was *rejected*. It merely states what the House *did* and what it would *not do*. It says nothing respecting what the House at some future time, and under different circumstances, might think proper to do. So far as it goes, it states the reasons, by mentioning that the laws require the Throne, the Legislature, and the Government, to be

Protestant : and that the Catholics admit a foreign jurisdiction. I conceive it to be the duty of the Speaker to state, as nearly as he can possibly ascertain, the motives by which the House was actuated in such a case. The question then is, *whether I have stated the motives of the majority of the House truly.* This was the task which I had to execute, and by the execution of which I am to be tried. As to what I said on the extension of toleration, the subject being necessarily brought before the Sovereign by the nature of the proceedings, it was proper to state the opinion of the Legislature on the subject, the more so, as the prerogative of the Crown is much concerned in whatever relates to the jurisdiction in that matter. On the whole, I would observe, that the Speaker is entitled to address the Sovereign on any matters that have been discussed by this House during its session, without any regard to the length of time they may have occupied the attention of the House ; and that where he does notice the proceedings of the House, he is to state the motives by which the majority seems to have been actuated in deciding the question. Great authorities have made the path of my duty plain ; I hope that on their authority I have established my vindication. As to the question now before you, it is not for me to sway your judgment upon it. The freedom of debate cannot be shackled by any historical statement of the proceedings of the House. If the House will take on itself to prescribe new rules for the conduct of its Speaker, and to circumscribe his duties within narrower limits than they have heretofore been confined, it will be for you well to weigh the nature and consequences of these new regulations. If it should please the House to enact them, it will then only remain for the Speaker to conform to them with exactness. I must conclude with my thanks for the attention with which I have been heard. I saw the proceedings of the House in the matter of the Roman Catholic claims, form one of the most prominent features in the transactions of the last session, and I thought it my duty to notice them in my speech. If by my conduct in this instance I shall have incurred even the indirect censure of the House, I shall lament it as a very heavy misfortune. But I must say, that *to my own conscience I shall stand for ever acquitted in what I have done, not only as the servant of this House, but from having fulfilled my duty as a representative of the people.*"

The effect of a speech like this could not fail to be powerful. The numbers that appeared on the division of the house shewed it. Mr. Whitbread did not press his amendment. The *Courier* says, that he did not withdraw it. He wished it to appear on the Journals, but he did not intend to divide the House upon it. Of course it was ne-

gated, and a division took place on the original motion, (*Lord Morpeth's*)—

For the motion..... 106

Against it..... 274

Majority..... 168

We have nothing more of much consequence to add.—*Mr. Canning*, as usual, *made a speech*. This we expected. He liked neither the original motion nor the amendment. He held that THE SPEAKER was invested with a discretionary power; and he would not blame him for a conscientious exercise of his judgment. So far we think with him. But when he talked of a *speedy defeat of the speech made by THE SPEAKER*, (we suppose, by granting the Popish claims,) he excited in us some of our old dislikes: and we are not sorry that *Mr. Tierney* belaboured him as he did, for what must have seemed to him mere tergiversation. It had been wise in *Mr. Canning* to have given a silent vote;—but no;—the orator must make a flourish. This *penchant* of his for speaking, in spite of all his points, his *partes orationis* and his periods, will be his ruin. He may amuse, he may even please, but he will one-day cease to *persuade*. He may sparkle as a maker of speeches, but he will not long shine as a senator. Time is too precious a commodity to be bartered for strings of epigrams in prose.

Mr. Whitbread had the support of *General Mathew*, who is an orator also; but although he occasionally occupies the attentions of the House, he is not so classical a speaker as *Mr. Canning*. *Gen. Mathew*, however, is represented, in the *Courier*, to have said that “he would not have given the amendment his *support*, had he known that the hon. gentleman meant to *withdraw* it.” To be sure it was rather cruel in *Mr. Whitbread* to disappoint such a *supporter*, and to rob a general officer of his laurels!—*Gen. Mathew* enjoys, in certain degree, the confidence of the Irish Romanists; for, on April 21st, he presented to the House of Commons a petition from the Roman Catholics of the county of *Tipperary*, and another from those of the city of *Clonmel*. Notwithstanding the pains which *Mr. Canning* has encountered to conciliate the Irish Papists, those wrong-headed men are by no means partial to him. *General Mathew* stands much higher in their good opinion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE received a very flattering letter from W. R. dated March 26th, and we beg to say, that we should be very happy to fall upon some expedient of supplying copies of THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE in the quarter which he mentions. We dare not adopt that which he recommends; and if he will do us the honour to confide his name and address to us, we have no objection to tell him why.

We thank *Fidei Defensor* for his kind attention. He may ever rely on the faithful services of the Editor, to the utmost of his power, in whatever duty may be commended him;

" And what so poor a man as Hamlet is
May do, to express his love and friending to him,
God willing, shall not lack."

We have made inquiry about F. D.'s communication, but our publisher has not yet received it.

ANACREON IN DUBLIN, *a most bumerous, severe, and instructive Performance (peculiarly interesting to THE CATHOLIC BOARD, LORD BYRON, and MR. CANNING).*

THE ORIGIN OF THE CONSTITUTION, OR THE IDENTITY OF THE CHURCH AND STATE IN GREAT BRITAIN, *(replete with documentary Importance).*

DR. TRAPP'S POPERY TRULY STATED AND BRIEFLY CONFUTED, *an invaluable work, dedicated to our staunch, erudite, and worthy Speaker.*

CLERICUS LONDINENSIS' commendatory Letter on SIR ADAM GORDON'S last THANKSGIVING SERMON and CHRISTMAS PRESENT, &c. &c. in a future Number.

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For JUNE 1814.

"One of their [the Popish] writers, Joseph Stephanus, declares he rejoices that the dignity of the Roman church is heightened at any rate, whether by truth or otherwise. Their decretals and glosses upon them, declare that the Pope can dispense against an apostle, against the Old Testament, in a vow, or an oath; and in the Gospel, by interpreting it."—DR. TRAPP.

ARRIVAL OF THE POPE AT ROME, &c.

ON the 21st of April *the Pope* arrived at Rome. He had suffered, and he also bravely endured, many indignities at the hands of, that idol of the low Irish Papists, *Buonaparte*. That idol has been thrown from the pedestal where *opinion* once placed it. It is cast, with other abominations, into "the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth," "to the moles and to the bats." *Buonaparte*, who cared for nothing any further than it might advance his own schemes, found it necessary to negotiate with the Pope, who had ventured (possessing more personal courage than his tormentor ever manifested) to excommunicate him. Tyranny and meanness are nearly allied,—certain it is, that they both inhabited the bosom of *Buonaparte*.

M. de Beaumont, Bishop of Plaisance (Placentia), whom *Buonaparte* had named Archbishop of Bourges, was sent several times to the Holy Father, to persuade him to agree to some arrangements. All his efforts were in vain. The Archbishop of Tours, the Bishop of Evreux, and the Cardinal Maury were also sent. Pius VII. refused to see the Cardinal. He admitted the other prelates, and in answer to their pressing solicitations to make some sacrifices, by which he might avert the consequences of a refusal, he said, "Leave me to die worthy of the sufferings I have endured." M. de Beaumont afterwards presented to him in writing the declaration of the Emperor, that he would consent to restore to the head of the church a part of his estates, provided that Pius VII. would agree to cede the other. To this the Holy Father replied, "The domains of St. Peter are not my property; they belong to the church, and I cannot

consent to the least cession : as to the rest, tell your Emperor, that if, for my transgressions, I may never more return to Rome, my successor shall enter in triumph, in spite of all the efforts of the French government."

M. de Beaumont shewed an inclination to justify the Emperor, who, he said, had the best intentions. "I depend much more on the Allied Princes than on him," said the sovereign Pontiff. The prelate, astonished, desired some explanation of these words. "It does not suit me to give an explanation, nor for you to hear it," replied the head of the church. M. de Beaumont then said it was the Emperor's intention that his Holiness should return to Rome. "It must be then with all my cardinals," said the Sovereign Pontiff. The Bishop said that this could not be at present—that the Emperor had the best intentions, but that circumstances would not allow him to permit the departure of the cardinals for Rome at the same time. "There," said Pius VII. "if your Emperor chuses to treat me as a mere member of the church (*un simple religieux*), I do not forget who I am myself. I want only a voiture to carry me. All that I demand is to be at Rome, to fulfill the functions of my pastoral charge." The Bishop replied, that the Emperor felt what was due to his dignity, and wished to give him an honourable escort;—a colonel would accompany his Holiness. "At least," replied the Pope with dignity, "the colonel shall not be in my carriage." M. de Beaumont departed, and a colonel entered the apartment, and said he was commanded to accompany him to Rome. This was Saturday afternoon. The Pope said he would not depart till the next day, after he had performed his mass. He made this declaration with so much firmness, that no answer was made; but the colonel never quitted the room, nor was his Holiness suffered to speak to any person apart.

His Holiness, however, convoked all the cardinals then at Fontainebleau, to the number of seventeen, and in the presence of the colonel prescribed to them three things :

"1. Not to wear the decorations which they had received from the Emperor.

"2. Not to accept of any treatment or of any pension from the French government.

"3. Not to go to any repast to which they might be invited by the persons attached to the government."

On Sunday the 23d January, at eleven o'clock, the Father was carried away from Fontainebleau, and slept that night at Orleans. They made him travel under the name of the Bishop of Imola. Afterwards the cardinals were carried away, each by himself, and each conducted by a

gens-d'arme; and they were not to be told the place of their destination till after they had set out.

On the 2d of April it was not generally known at Paris whither they were gone; when the provisional government published their decree, (recorded in our last number),—"that all obstacles to the return of his Holiness to Rome should instantly cease, and that all due honours should be paid him."

Since this decree was passed, the following act of the provisional government of France, dated April 21st, was published:—

"We, Charles Philip of France, Monsieur, Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, &c.

"Learning with grief that the venerable head of the church, at the time when he was dragged from his capital, was also stripped of a number of insignia and ornaments, and even of the seals used in the exercise of the sovereign pontificate;

"Learning also that these articles are deposited in Paris, and wishing, by the promptitude of a restitution but too just, to manifest to the Holy Father our zeal and devotion, and to prove to Europe and to Christendom how much past excesses have been and are far from our thoughts and heart, as well as from the thoughts and hearts of the French;

"Having seen the report of the provisional commissioners for religion, and the council of state being heard, we have ordered, and do order as follows:—

"1. The insignia, ornaments, seals, archives, and generally, all the articles used by the Holy See, in the exercise of the sovereign pontificate, which are at present in Paris or any of the departments, shall be immediately placed at the disposal of the Holy See, which shall be entreated to accept their restitution.

"2. The provisional commissary of the departments of the interior, and of religion is charged with the execution of this order.

(Signed) "CHARLES PHILIP."

Of a piece with these friendly attentions of the French government, has been the conduct of the King of Naples, *de facto*. The Paris papers contained the following article, dated Bologna, April 6th.

"The Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII. made his entry into Parma on the 25th of March. As soon as the King of Naples was informed of the arrival of his Holiness at the outposts on the Taro, his Majesty sent his principal chamberlain, the Duke of Campomiele, to meet him, to present him the homage of his filial piety, and to offer him every thing he might stand in need of. The armies paid to the Holy Father all the honours due

to the supreme head of the Catholic church; and his Majesty gave orders that in all the countries occupied by his troops, the people should give themselves up without restraint to the joy with which such a happy event filled the hearts of all the faithful.

“ On the 31st the Sovereign Pontiff arrived at Bologna, and his Majesty immediately paid a visit to his Holiness, who afterwards visited the King. On the 2d of April the Pope proceeded to Imola, his ancient bishopric.

“ Murat, the King of Naples, wrote, on the 4th of April, a letter to the Holy Father, of the following tenor:—

“ Most Holy Father,—I have rejoiced, in common with all the faithful, at the return of your Holiness to Italy, and have ordered public prayers and thanksgivings to the Almighty for it, in all the churches of my kingdom, and those in the countries occupied by my army.

“ It is my wish to see the head of the church soon resume in the capitol of Christendom, both his honours and the exercise of a power so necessary to the happiness of the world. The chance of war having made me master of the states which you possessed when you were forced to quit Rome, I do not hesitate to replace them under your authority, renouncing in your favour all my rights of conquest to these countries.

“ If I had been less acquainted with the sentiments of the sovereigns whose ally I am towards your Holiness, I ought to have waited till they had signified them before I re-established you in your government, being firmly resolved to do nothing but in conformity with their views; but as I cannot doubt the intentions of these magnanimous Princes, on such a memorable occasion, I take a pleasure in fulfilling them with an eagerness which may be a pledge in the eyes of Europe of my profound veneration for the Holy See, as well as of my particular esteem for a Sovereign Pontiff, so worthy by his eminent virtues of the high rank in which Providence has placed him. In order that the restoration of your states, which the French government had formed into the two departments of Rome and the Trasimene, may be performed with due order and solemnity, I wish to be informed by your Holiness at what time and by what acts you choose to take possession of them. As soon as I am informed of your resolutions, most holy father, my chamberlain, the Marquis de Montroue, who will have the honour to deliver you my letter, shall be authorised to concert the arrangement to be made with the person whom your Holiness shall please to appoint. I shall adopt with pleasure all measures which may have for their object either the interest of the Holy See, or the personal satisfaction of your Holiness. I flatter myself that on your side you will approve of all the measures which may be thought necessary,

that the provisional government which I have established at Rome may cease its functions there with dignity.

"We pray to God to bless you, most holy father, for a long series of years, at the head of the government of our mother, the holy church.

"Your devoted son,

"Bologna, April 4."

(Signed) "JOACHIM NAPOLEON."

We have thought it proper to record these particulars concerning the Pope, in order that our readers may be enabled to form a judgment as to what may be the probable result of these attentions shewn to him, and likewise what may be expected from a person of so firm a mind as he possesses. He was seduced (notwithstanding his infallibility) into one measure, which, although he might have taken a part in it from the best of motives, that of promoting the peace of the world, tended to lower him in the eyes of all Europe, viz: the journey to Paris, and his presence at the coronation of the mushroom Emperor, for he did not crown him; but his conduct subsequent to this degradation, has been firm and dignified in a supreme degree. Imprisonment could not break his spirit, insult could not put him off his guard, flattery could not cajole him. What are we to augur from a personage of this high character? We must observe, that, notwithstanding the decrees of the French provisional government respecting his holiness,—in the sketch of the new constitution offered to the King by the senate,—*it does not appear that the Roman Catholic religion is to be the established religion of France.* Is France, like America, to be without an establishment? Does not this savour of the new philosophy, under the insane dictates of which, the realm of France, and all the world, has suffered so long and so severely? Not expecting, as some did, that the fluctuation of conflicting opinions could be composed in a moment, or that the constitution of a mighty empire could be struck off at a heat; we fully expected that the outline, hazarded by the French Senate, would of course undergo some alterations and corrections, when it came to be considered by Louis XVIII. Accordingly, we find his Majesty, in his late declaration, recognizing as good, what he styles, the bases of the new constitution; but observing at the same time that many of the articles bear marks of precipitation, and cannot become fundamental laws of the state;—this we expected, as we have said,—but we were altogether surprised to find what is called *the freedom of worship*, [anythingism, indifference,] guaranteed; and it is provided, that every Frenchman [no matter what may be his religious principles, or whether he have any religion at all,] shall be admitted to civil and military employments. Is this of a piece with the marked at-

station shewn to the Pope by the late decrees? Is there nothing incongruous here? Is it intended to pay the *Bishop of Rome* some French compliments, and to abridge the power of the *Pope*, by declaring, (in effect) the religion of Rome to be no longer the religion of the realm of France? Will Pius VII. sit down contented under such circumstances? Will he quietly submit to lay aside the triple crown, and to wear in future a plain mitre? If so, "Babylon is fallen."—But, we conceive, that a high-minded Pontiff, such as the present Pope, who is not content to be deemed *un simple religieux*, who talks of fulfilling the *functions of his pastoral charge*, (and he could only mean by that expression, when he used it, the plenary prerogatives of the Popedom) will not bid farewell to his occupation without a struggle. We will venture to predict, as well from the character of the Pope, as from the genius of his religion, that things cannot remain as they are; that a thousand engines will be set to work, to bend the will of the nation to his purpose; that, in spite of the boasted immunities of the Gallican church,—the Romish priesthood, its ecclesiastical functionaries, will not choose to lose their individual domination, over the minds, consciences and purses of the laity. If the religion of Rome be not recognized as the established religion of France, there will be no peace in that kingdom; but the Romish intriguers, will keep the country in a state of agitation, at least equal to that experienced, to our sorrow, in England and Ireland; if there be any truth in the maxim that similar causes will produce similar effects.

Now that the Pope has reached Rome, we must expect immediate communications from thence. The Irish *Vicars Capitular* will soon be seated on their titular thrones; and will claim to exercise those powers of *right*, which, at present, they execute *provisionally, ad interim*. The Popish prelates were placed in an awkward predicament. They could hold no immediate correspondence with the Pope, to whom they professed to look for directions. A flying report prevailed for some time, that letters had been sent from Rome approving of a *Veto*, and many of the expedients devised by the framers of the late bill. It was clear that the letters could not have received the sanction of Pius VII., who had not arrived at his capital when those rumours were afloat. They are not, however, altogether without foundation. Dr. Poynter, called the Vicar Apostolic of the London District, has received a rescript from the college *de propagandâ fide*, a copy of which we subjoin, with a few notes appended to it, offering some observations upon it in another part of this number. We wait, with considerable anxiety, the result of the Pope's presence in his seat of government. Lord William Bentinck is said to have had an interview with his Holiness, who had expressed something like an intention to offer

those securities which were demanded from the Roman Catholics, before their civil claims could be entertained. What degree of truth there may be in this we know not. The college has acted rather precipitately. The priests at Rome, like some good folks in this country, had such an extravagant notion of the profound policy, and wonderful foresight of Buonaparte, that what has happened must have come upon them unexpectedly. Their most sanguine hopes could not have led them to expect the utter subversion of the Corsican dynasty, in so short a time; the re-establishment of liberty by the glorious intervention of the allied sovereigns; and the return of the Pope to the Vatican. Else they had probably waited a few weeks, before they dismissed the letter to Dr. Poynter, and risked the placing their sovereign in a situation of difficulty. In one particular they have shewn their good sense; viz. in writing to Dr. Poynter, an *English* Roman Catholic prelate, rather than addressing their letter to any of his hot-headed brethren in *Ireland*, who would sooner die than do as it counsels. It has already excited the indignation of the mass of Popish agitators in the Emerald Isle.

Letter from Mons. Quarantotti to the Right Reverend Dr. Poynter, V. A.
[Translated from the Latin, with notes.]

“ Most Illustrious and Most Rev. Sir,—We have learnt with the utmost pleasure, that the law which was last year proposed for the emancipation from penal statutes of the Catholics of your most flourishing kingdom, and which was rejected by a very small majority of voters, is likely to be brought forward again in the parliament of the present year. It is our earnest desire that this law, so much wished for, may be passed some time or other; and that the Catholics, *who have always given exemplary proofs of their obedience and fidelity, may at length emerge from the most grievous yoke by which they are still oppressed*;* in order that, without any injury to property or liberty, they may more zealously apply themselves to those pursuits which religion and the interest of their country may require of them. We may indulge the hope that this will be

* *Oppressed.* Monseigneur Quarantotti seems here to have formed an opinion on matters and things as they have been colourably represented to him. We have no knowledge of those *proofs of the obedience and fidelity* of Roman Catholics to the law of the land, here intended. On the contrary, we can adduce many proofs of the rebellious movements and traitorous demonstrations they have so often shewn. We cannot allow the restrictions under which the Papists lie, to be called a *grievous yoke that oppresses them*; esteeming those wholesome provisions to be none other than necessary legislative enactments, occasioned by the dangers arising to the community from the overt-acts and from the principles professed by the partizans of the see of Rome.

granted by a most beneficent king, and by a renowned nation, which, as well in former, as in the present times, has acquired for itself such glory all over the world, for its equity, prudence, and other virtues. And whereas we have been informed that certain questions have been agitated among the bishops, and that differences have arisen respecting the conditions which have been laid down to the Catholics,—we, who in the absence of the Supreme Pontiff, preside over sacred missions, and possess all *pontifical** powers that relate to this object, have considered it a part of our functions to remove all ambiguity and difficulty which may impede the wished-for conciliation, and to supply, *by the authority and assent of the Holy See, whatever has been left undecided by the opinions of the Bishops*. Having, therefore, held a council of the most learned prelates and theologians, having taken into consideration the letters transmitted to us by you, and also by the Archbishop of Dublin; and having maturely weighed the whole affair in a special congregation, it was decreed by us, that the Catholics should receive and embrace, with a *contented and grateful mind*,† that law which was proposed last year for their emancipation, according to the form in which your high reverence (*tua amplitudo*) has transmitted the same to us. There is one thing which requires some declaration, namely, the second part of the oath by which the clergy are bound to have no communication with the Sovereign Pontiff, which may tend, directly or indirectly, to subvert or disturb in any way whatever, the system of the Protestant church. It has been sufficiently ascertained, that according to the divine law, this duty belongs peculiarly to the ministers of the church—that they *shall endeavour to propagate the Catholic faith, which can alone lead to eternal salvation*,‡

* *Pontifical*. Not quite *pontifical*, surely. The Pope was a prisoner when this state-paper was written. There are many *pontifical powers* which the congregation for the propagation of the faith, on the 16th of February 1814, neither did nor could possess. The authority of the Holy See was not subject to the will of the congregation, which was, at least, devoid of even a pretension to *infallibility*; a quality which perhaps was never more necessary than in an attempt to determine the *undecided opinions* of the Romish bishops on the propriety of rejecting or admitting the control of the King in ecclesiastical affairs.

† *Contented and grateful mind*. The provisions of the bill of last year, framed with an avowed view of *conciliation*, by the friends of the Romanists, have been scouted and ridiculed by the very people whose acrimony they were intended to assuage.

‡ *Which can alone lead to eternal salvation*. Here is asserted that frightful doctrine of *exclusive salvation* inherent in the communion of the church of Rome, which has done an infinity of mischief in the Christian world; which is the main-spring of that spirit of proselytism (*the Bishop of Landaff* once called it, to the writer of these notes, *that cursed spirit of proselytism*) which has disturbed the peace of Christendom, and

and dispel every kind of error in others. This is inculcated by the precepts of the Gospel, and by the examples of the Apostles and their successors. Now, in case a Catholic should recall any Protestant to the orthodox religion, he may be convicted of perjury: because, in exercising that conversion, he appears in some manner to have disturbed the Protestant church. If the matter be understood in this light, *it is not fit to tender this oath, because it is repugnant to the Catholic doctrine.* Should, however, it be the intention of the legislators, that it should not be forbidden to the ministers of the Catholic church to use arguments, persuasion, and counsel; but that they must not disturb the Protestant church or discipline *by force, by arms, or any bad practices*; this is just, and perfectly concordant with our principles. It will, therefore, be an important duty incumbent on you, with all attention and submissiveness of mind, to entreat that some *modification or declaration*, calculated to appease the consciences of the Catholic clergy, may be introduced into the form of the oath, which, by removing all *ambiguity*, may leave room for *peaceable exhortation*.

“ If, however, the proposed law should be already passed in the same words, or that there should be no intention to make any alteration in it, the clergy must submit; and it will be sufficient for them openly to avow that such is their notion of the law, in order that the orthodox doctrine may not be injured by the oath; that this avowal may be made known to all persons, and be even an example to posterity. It is also to be wished that, if possible, a declaration might be made by some members of the

has placed in direct opposition to each other, those whom their divine Master commanded to love as brethren. Our readers may see the difficulties in which this terrible dogma involves the college de *propaganda fide*. With all their manifest desire to obtain for the Papists a portion of those civil rights which they justly forfeited, the terms of the oath prescribed to them disturb the conclusions of their friends at Rome. If the oath be understood in one light, *it is not fit to tender this oath, because it is repugnant to the Catholic* [this is the usual trick of assuming to the church of Rome the sole right to this term, as if a church were the church, and the sole church to be denominated Christian; or as if it were, what it is not, the *universal church*, and exclusively in possession of the true] *doctrine*. It will be proper, on the other hand, (as it follows after,) to entreat some *modification, &c.* This is the danger. *Conciliate, emancipate, concede*, do what you will, nothing will appease the consciences of the Romanists short of the utter subversion of the Protestant church. We defy the whole power of the Papists to do this *by force or by arms*, but we are fully persuaded that they will unceasingly attempt it, by what is plausibly called, in the text, *peaceable exhortation*. Such was the method used by the wolf when he wanted to enter the sheep-fold, and the fox when he sought to get into the hen-roost! We thoroughly understand what is meant by *peaceable exhortation*.

public council, that the British government requires the oath from the Catholic clergy in this sense, and in no other. With respect, however, to the other matters which you have stated as being contained in the proposed law, *these will be permitted by the indulgence of the Apostolic See*; particularly, the security *which the king requires* for the fidelity of those who are to be appointed bishops or deans, and the assurance that they have received such an education as qualifies them to become good subjects, as well as the proposed enquiry into their morals, as your high reverence has signified to me. Finally, *with regard to the wish of the king*, that, for the same reason, all foreigners, as well as persons who had lived out of the kingdom, for the space of five years, should be excluded from these dignities;—all these things, *so far as they are of a civil nature,* are entitled to every kind of indulgence*. It is indeed highly desirable that our prelates should be grateful and acceptable to the king; that they should exercise their ministry with his full approbation; in short, that their probity should be apparent even to those who live out of the bosom of the church, for it is fit (as the Apostle Paul says to Timothy, 1. 3. 7), that a bishop should have a good report, even among persons not members of his church. These things being so, *we grant permission† from the authority vested in us, that those who intended to fill the office of bishops or deans, and are proposed by the clergy, may be admitted or rejected by the king, according to the proposed law*. Whenever, therefore, the clergy shall choose these, according to custom, the Metropolitan of the province in Ireland, and the Senior Apostolical Vicar in Great Britain, shall announce them, in order that the royal approbation or dissent may be had. If the candidates be rejected, others shall be proposed, who may be agreeable to the king. But should the candidates be approved, the Metropolitan or Apostolical Vicar, shall transmit the acts done to this holy congregation, which, *after duly weighing the merits of each, will take care that the canonical institution be obtained from the Supreme Pontiff‡*. We also conceive this to be a right belonging to the commission

* *Civil nature*. We just beg leave to point out the sly distinction between civil and ecclesiastical matters, here conceived by *inuendo*.

† *Permission*. Our parliament, and the independent crown and imperial sovereignty of Great Britain, are much honoured by this condescending permission of *J. B. Quarantotti, Michael Adeodatus Galeassi*, and others their fellows, to legislate for the subjects of this realm.

‡ *Supreme Pontiff*. *Provisors*, it should seem, are become perfectly harmless! In what difficulties would these contrivances place the King! The crown which he wears has ever been declared, even in Popish times, and by Popish parliaments, uncontrollable by any foreign power; but here the Pope, (nay the *holy congregation*, as it calls itself,) is to exercise a *concurrent jurisdiction with the sovereign*.

appointed to inquire into the qualification of bishops—that they should examine all letters written by the ecclesiastical power to any of the Catholic clergy in Britain, and diligently inquire whether they contain any thing likely to affect the government, or disturb the public tranquillity in any way whatsoever. It is fit that the government should entertain no suspicion concerning any communication of ours. Whatever we write ought to be open to all; for *we never meddle in matters of a civil nature*;* but inquire into those things alone which the *divine and ecclesiastical law*, as well as *the good order of the church shall demand*. *Those things alone shall be secret which affect the internal forum of the conscience*.† Our holy and truly divine religion is favourable to public authority; gives strength to thrones: makes subjects obedient, faithful, and lovers of their country. Besides, nothing can be more gratifying to the Apostolical See than that between the government we allude to, and its Catholic subjects, the utmost concord and mutual confidence shall be preserved; that the rulers of the common-wealth shall never entertain a doubt respecting the fidelity, obedience, and attachment of Catholics; and that in short, the Catholics themselves may serve their country with zeal and alacrity. Wherefore we *exhort all in the Lord, and especially the bishops, that, laying aside all contention, they may direct their minds to the edification of others,*

* *We never meddle in matters of a civil nature*. But the British Papists meddle in them continually. Ask Sir Neal O'Donell how his parish priest intermeddled; and ask all Ireland how the Papists interfered in the last election? Ask the poor creatures called on for the tenpenny levy? Civil power is what they covet above all things. The bill of last session was lost because the legislature did not chuse to give them seats in Parliament. The *divine and ecclesiastical law*, the text says; here are two things dextrously jumbled together. *Spiritual*, as *Basilicus* has taught us, is one thing, and *ecclesiastical* is a word of another meaning. See PROT. ANV. Vol. II. p. 332.

† *Those things alone shall be secret which affect the internal forum of the conscience*. We should be glad to know *who is to decide*, and to determine the jurisdiction of conscience? Are the good Catholics at Rome to settle points of secrecy, or the Papists in Ireland, or England? Here is the cloven foot, which will peep out, though covered by “robes and furred gowns.” Use but a becoming circumspection, and you will detect the grand seducer;—“resist him, and he will flee from you.” A reservation is here made for keeping up a *private* correspondence with the fabricators of lying wonders, the retailers of pardons, the venders of indulgences, and all the abominations of the *great custom-house of sin*. There is not a single corruption, however flagrant, that an ingenious confessor (they call him a *director* in Ireland) cannot convert into “stuff o’ the conscience,”—*the internal forum of the conscience*, and make the same a pretext for writing “*private*” at the head of letters to Rome; letters which must be answered *sub sigillo silentii*, or, what may do equally as well, if the bauble has been restored to the Pope, *sub sigillo piscatoris*.

and consider that no room is left for schism, nor any injury threatened to the Catholic interest. Should the law for the removal of restrictions be passed, the Catholics ought to receive it not only with satisfaction, but return unbounded thanks to the king and his magnificent council for so signal a benefit, of which they ought to prove themselves worthy. In fine, I beseech your high reverence to cause this letter to be communicated to the Bishops and Apostolic Vicars of your kingdom; and in the hope that they will promptly and fully conform to what we now decree, I pray God that, &c.

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ J. B. QUARANTOTTI, Vice Præf^o.

“ MICHAEL ADEODATUS GALEASSI, Subst^o.

“ Given at Rome, at the Palace for the Propagation of the Faith, Feb. 16, 1814.

“ To the most illustrious and most Reverend
WILLIAM POYNTER, Vicar Apostolic of
London.

“ A true copy from the original,

“ JOSH. ODGSON, V. G.”

ADDRESSES, RESOLUTIONS, &c. RELATIVE TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

The opinion concerning the self-termed *Catholic Board*, set forth in our last number, continues to spread in Ireland. We insert the following important address to the Lord Lieutenant, every word of which has our decided approbation, and we particularly beg to call the attention of our readers to the way in which Lord Whitworth receives the sentiments of gentlemen so perfectly well qualified to judge of the political state of the sister kingdom.

The Address of the High Sheriff and Grand Jurors of the County of Cork, assembled at Spring Assizes, to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

“ To his Excellency, Charles, Lord Viscount Whitworth, Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland.

“ We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Cork, assembled at spring assizes, 1814, take this opportunity of expressing our high opinion of those qualities and attainments calculated to dignify your exalted station, for which your Excellency stands so eminently distinguished; attainments always estimable in a chief governor, but of pecu-

lar importance at a time when the clashing of political opinions and the irritations of excited discontent demand a more than common degree of deliberate wisdom, firmness, and vigour.

"The extraordinary occasion which calls for an expression of our sentiments has been already unfolded in meetings similar to the present, and we most heartily concur with other grand juries, not only in the high sense entertained of your Excellency's character and conduct, but also in a decided reprobation of the proceedings of that self-created body, styling itself the Catholic Board, and exercising functions illegal in their principles, seditious in their practice, and threatening ruin by their continuance.

"We have, with indignant feeling, seen this assembly, under the pretence of petitioning, assume the terms and arrogate the power of the legislature, and exercise an alarming ascendancy over a large portion of the Irish population.

"In their debates and resolutions, censures are pronounced against the constituted authorities of the land, against its executive, its judicial, civil, and religious establishments, the power of taxation exercised, prosecutions and actions at law commenced, and notorious offenders supported and defended from the funds of its exchequer. The constitutional privilege of the freeholder interfered with, an appeal to a foreign jurisdiction openly avowed, and that inestimable blessing the trial by jury calumniated and denounced as a curse. Thus the loyal are alarmed and dispirited, while the factious gain courage and strength, seditious speeches and libellous publications are circulated with avidity, and mischievous and illegal associations spread terror through the country.

"We are therefore firmly persuaded that the existence of such an assembly is injurious not only to the community at large, but also to the very body it affects to represent, and that it cannot be permitted to continue with safety to the realm.

"We entreat your Excellency to accept our warmest professions of respect and attachment, and to convey these our sentiments to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, with our dutiful acknowledgments of his paternal solicitude for the honour and security of the empire in general, and the peace and prosperity of Ireland in particular."

Signed by Henry Wallis, High Sheriff, and twenty-one Grand Jurors.

Answer.

"Dublin Castle, April 11.

"SIR,—I had the honour to receive and submit to the Lord Lieutenant the address of the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Cork.

His Excellency desires me to return his most sincere thanks for the very flattering terms in which you and they have been pleased to express your approbation of his character and conduct. I am further directed by his Excellency to assure you, *that the sentiments of persons so respectable on the political state of this country must deserve his most serious attention*, and that he shall lose no time in conveying those sentiments to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

" I have the honour to be, Sir, yours, &c.

" W. GREGORY."

" To Henry Wallis, Esq. High Sheriff
of the County of Cork."

To the same effect, and with a like feeling, was the following address *unanimously* voted; at a meeting of the Magistrates and landed Proprietors of the County of Donegal, held at Letterkenny, on Monday the 4th April, 1814, Arthur Chichester, Esq. High Sheriff, in the Chair,

To his Excellency the Lord Viscount Whitworth, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

" We, the High Sheriff and undersigned Magistrates and Gentlemen of Landed Property of the County of Donegal, beg leave to approach your Excellency with every possible sentiment of respect and regard, and, at the same time, to assure you, that we sincerely rejoice and congratulate our country, that a nobleman of your calmness and firmness of mind has been appointed to the government of Ireland, at a period when systematic outrages and violences have pervaded so many parts of it.

" Permit us, humbly, to entreat your Excellency's attention to an assembly, styling itself the *Catholic Board*, whose existence we conceive to be incompatible with the peace and tranquillity of this country.

" A Board, assuming to itself (under the false plea of petitioning for the redress of grievances) powers which are intrusted by the constitution to the three united branches of the legislature alone; prostituting this valuable privilege (one of the grand supports of our liberties and the undoubted right of all classes of His Majesty's subjects), to the worst of purposes, perverting the minds of the lower order of people, and leading the ignorant to their own destruction, by a system of artifice and gross misrepresentation.

" We, therefore, feel it our duty to make known to your Excellency our sentiments on this most important subject, firmly relying on the justice and uprightness of your Excellency's administration, and confident that you, in your wisdom, will perceive the necessity of making such

representations to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, as shall be productive of measures calculated to put an end to the proceedings of this most dangerous assembly, and thereby secure the future peace and tranquillity of the country."

Signed by Arthur Chichester, Esq., Sheriff, by Lords Donegal and Erne, the Bishops of Derry and Raphoe, and by fifty-four gentlemen of the highest respectability in the county.

Fully persuaded of the danger arising to Ireland, and, of course, to the British empire, from the existence of *the Board*, we most ardently hope that the government of the country, and the legislature, will abolish and root out that nest of treason and hot-bed of disaffection.

Mr. Forster on the 25th of April presented a petition to the House of Commons from the county of Louth, praying for a *total emancipation*, as the petitioners phrase it.

On the 5th of May Mr. Dominic Browne presented a petition from the Roman Catholics of the county of Mayo, of which county he has just become a representative, in consequence of Lord Dillon's having succeeded to his title. We have not seen a copy of this latter petition, and therefore we cannot say whether it goes the length of demanding an unconditional repeal of the statutes enacted by our ancestors, as guards to the constitution and checks to the machinations of the Papists. The *unconditionalists* have now an adversary to contend with in a quarter where they looked for friends only. Monseignor Quarantotti and the thorough-paced Romanists are now at issue. The Board had better send Dr. Dromgole (for so, it seems, he spells his own name,—his aiders, comforters, and abettors spelt it differently) to Rome, to convert the congregation *de propagandâ fide* from their errors.

On the 14th of April, at a meeting of the bailiff, burgesses, and commonalty, and other inhabitants of Daventry, held at the moot-hall, an address was voted to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent; in which, after congratulating the Prince on the recent successes of the British arms, &c. the following passage occurs:—"Your illustrious ancestors were called to the throne of this realm for the support of the *Protestant religion*, and most active and unremitting were their labours in maintaining its interests; not less eminent and praise-worthy has been your Royal Highness's care in upholding the same: in these events, viewing the reward of those labours and of that care, we confidently trust that your Royal Highness will still continue that activity and vigilance, imitating the conscientious inflexibility of your royal father."

We beg to call the attention of our fellow-subjects throughout the United Kingdom, to the sentiments here expressed. The Papists are unremitting in their endeavours to overturn the constitution, it is necessary that the Protestants should exert themselves to maintain it; and therefore we hope that no opportunity will be lost at corporation or county meetings, or provincial assemblies, of making the voice of the people to be heard, in the form of addresses to the Regent, or petitions to Parliament, or both.

The city of London waited upon the Prince Regent with an address, on the 28th of April. It contains many excellent points, but we are particularly delighted with the concluding passage, where a hope is expressed that "no longer distracted by external danger, the internal resources, the cultivation of the arts, the extension of commerce, the diminution of our burthens, AND THE CORRECTION AND PREVENTION OF ANY INROADS AND ABUSES WHICH MAY IMPAIR OUR EXCELLENT CONSTITUTION, whereby we may transmit the inestimable blessing PURE AND UNSULLIED to posterity," &c. We know not of any thing which more loudly calls for *correction and prevention* than the conduct of the *Roman Catholic Board*, we know not any inroad on legal authority more reprehensible, any abuse of the privileges of freemen more flagrant, or any thing more likely not only to *impair*, but to *destroy* the *constitution*, than the violences of the mock parliament sitting in Dublin, and the artifices of the Popish advocates on both sides of St. George's Channel.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE REFORMED RELIGION, RECOMMENDED BY THE EDITOR OF THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE.

(Continued from p. 353.)

30. *Popery truly stated, and briefly confuted; in three Parts.* 1. *The General Doctrines of the Romanists concerning Church Authority, Unity, Catholicism, &c.* 2. *Their particular Corruptions.* 3. *Their fallacious Reasonings, by which they endeavour to seduce Protestants; with Observations and Directions.* By Joseph Trapp, D.D. Small 8vo. pp. 135. Stockdale, Pall-Mall.

If, as one of our correspondents has truly observed, the Papists have a trick of setting up disproved doctrines anew, as though they had never been so much as challenged, in the hope that the works of those able divines who formerly exposed the errors on which they were erected may have become scarce, and not easy to be procured; we must be prepared

to render due thanks to those vigilant friends of the Protestant religion who republish books of acknowledged reputation, written by those champions of truth, who, in the days of our fathers, overthrew the false allegations of Popery. S. C. the indefatigable editor of the work before us, dedicates Dr. Trapp's able production to THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. He has cast it into another form than that in which it originally appeared;—he says in the dedication, “the following work was originally published in 1726, by the celebrated Dr. Joseph Trapp, in the form of three sermons, which he preached at Christ Church, London, St. Martin's in the Fields, Westminster, and the Old Jewry, London. Some well informed and zealous friends, in aid of the established church, having thought that the re-publication of those tracts might, at this time, be beneficial to the country, I have ventured to introduce them once more to the public, *in the author's own language*, but changed from the *form of sermons*;—a name which, I have sometimes found, deters a reader from perusing what might not only serve his soul, but gratify his mind's palate.

“To you, whose public conduct in support of the established church, against the incroachments of Popery, has been so distinguished, so brilliant, and so eminently successful, I dedicate this effort,” &c.

Dr. Trapp's work must be well known to many of our readers;—to such of them, however, as have never perused it, we shall present a few specimens of this useful manual, recommending it to the attention of all.—The author writes in a plain style, suited to the capacity of the generality; but the force of his reasoning, the accuracy of his deductions, and the clearness of his distinctions, have seldom been equalled, and deserve the commendation of the most learned.

Dr. Trapp loses no time in vain flourishes, he grapples at once with the many headed monster with which he combats. Like our British heroes who have so lately distinguished themselves on the ocean and in the field, he sets little store by *manœuvres*, he makes a disposition suited to the emergency, and forthwith charges and routs the enemy. Thus—“by *Popery*, we mean those doctrines and practices of the Papists, which we say are corrupt, and in which we differ from them: (those in which we agree with them are well known, and need not be mentioned:) and these we shew to be maintained by them, partly from the Council of Trent, and Pope Pius's creed—partly from their missals, rituals, liturgies, the writings of their most eminent divines and their constant practices, public and notorious to all mankind. In the former we have their seven sacraments, transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass; communion in one kind, purgatory, worshipping of images, indulgences,

the doctrine of the Pope's supremacy, and of Rome being the mother and mistress of all churches. All these points are sworn to by every ecclesiastic of that church and made necessary to salvation. We prove, that they are so far from being necessary, that every one of them is false and most of them damnable. In the latter, we have prayers in an unknown tongue, locking up the scriptures in an unknown tongue, and denying their people the use of them; their senseless fopperies and superstitions, their lying legends and spurious miracles, by all which they have exposed Christianity to the scorn and derision of Turks, Pagans, and Atheists; canonizations of pretended saints, many of whom were very wicked men, and others never in being; their innumerable, uncommanded bodily exercises and austerities, whippings, pilgrimages, &c. and worshipping of all kinds; the intolerable number of their ceremonies; their auricular confession and opus operatum: in short, their making religion all outside, destroying inward piety and openly tolerating the greatest immoralities. This is what we mean by Popery, or the religion of Papists, and it shall be proved that it is, from the beginning to the end, nothing but one entire contradiction to the Christian religion, and a most shameful and detestable adulteration of it. That we are neither heretics nor schismatics, but they are both: that though we shall not (as they do us) send them to Hell directly, and deny the possibility of salvation to every one of their communion, yet we are the true Christians (I mean in profession, would to God we were all so in practice!) that we are in the plain safe way; and that they, without the most extreme peril of their souls, cannot continue in theirs."

He then examines and refutes the Popish doctrines concerning the authority of the church, the nullity of private judgment, Catholicism, the unity of the church, the pretended non-existence of our religion before Luther, and our want of authority to make a reformation. After having defeated this host,—this forlorn hope of leading errors, Dr. Trapp combats the particular corruptions of Popery, in detail, and overthrows them each after each.—We cannot pretend to shew our readers how he deals with his adversary in every instance; but we trust, that, from the following passages, by no means selected for their peculiar energy, a pretty accurate idea may be formed of the manly way in which he conducts himself on all occasions.

Concerning church authority for instance;—"to tell us we must not judge for ourselves, is to tell us, we must not use our reason, which is the highest of absurdities. If there is no reason, we have nothing to incline our assent, and consequently the assent is irrational. If there is, and we are convinced by it, then, by assenting to this very proposition,

that we must not use our reason, we actually do use our reason, and so the argument destroys itself. If they answer, we may so far judge for ourselves, as to be satisfied that we must not judge for ourselves against the determinations of the church, whatever they be, and no farther; reason will be apt to make a little more use of itself, and ask, why so? For if these determinations be manifestly contrary to reason, and yet require to be believed upon any authority whatsoever, this is still denying us the use of our reason: so the above-mentioned absurdity recurs, and we are just where we were before. But the church, it will be urged, is a better judge than any private person: we grant it, ordinarily speaking, and add, moreover, that in many cases, as in abstruse, difficult points, &c. its authority ought to be submitted to. This our reason tells us; and, in many cases, by submitting to the judgments of others, we rationally and freely judge for ourselves: but to persuade us to believe the church, when its assertions are directly contrary to the first principles of common sense, and to the plainest doctrines of scripture, which we are satisfied is the word of God, is again denying us the use of our reason, a repetition of the same absurdity; and we are not advanced one step further. To say we must use our own judgments, 'till we are convinced of the church's authority, and no longer, is just as if we should be allowed to see, 'till we have found our guide, and no longer. You have here found your guide; this is the man; and now you have him, you have no more use of your eyes: nay, you are obliged to put them out; at least, to be blindfold, or wink very hard: if you do not, you cannot be guided by him. Is not this excellent advice, and excellent arguing? Our blessed Saviour not only permits the use of private judgment, but commands it. Yea, and why even of your own selves (says he) judge ye not what is right? Luke, xii. 57. Judge not according to the appearance; but judge righteous judgment. John, vii. 24. He often appeals to the reason of particular and private persons. If I do not the works of my father, believe me not. John, x. 37. To pass over many other instances. True faith and religion do not supersede reason, but suppose it and are built upon it: and, in a well-ordered edifice, does the superstructure destroy the foundation? However, let it be observed, for the honour of the church of Rome, that (according to her own doctrine) we must abandon our reason, and our senses too, before we can be of her communion. We must believe as the church believes, though the church believes and teaches monstrous lies, and damnable impieties! though it tells us, that two and three make seven; or that murder and adultery are lawful! It will be shewn, by particular instances hereafter, that the church of Rome maintains principles full as absurd as the former, and

full as wicked as the latter. According to her notion of the church's authority, our Saviour's religion was no reformation; and he himself was an impostor: for the Jewish church (as we all know) condemned both it and him."

The claim of Catholicism by the church of Rome is thus treated;—
 "a particular church, indeed, may be Catholic in one sense, *i. e.* true, sound, and pure, and holding the Catholic doctrine: but not Catholic, *i. e.* universal. To say Roman Catholic therefore, as they mean it, is to say, part whole; which is a contradiction. The church of Rome is but a part of the Catholic church; and, in comparison of all the rest, a small and most corrupt part. But, by the Catholic church, they will mean their own; which is again begging the question, and making themselves both witnesses and judges in their own cause: the last being as great an insult upon equity, as the other is upon logic. The truth is, the church of Rome is neither the Catholic church, in one of the senses above mentioned, nor a Catholic church in the other: which latter is fully proved in Part II.,—so that Roman Catholic is, upon all accounts, false and ridiculous. The church of Rome, even in her purest state, is always mentioned by the ancients, as a particular church; and her bishop as a particular bishop, not as an universal monarch; of which hereafter.

"The church, and the Catholic church, are, indeed, expressions anciently applied to her; but then they are applied to others, as well as to her: and, to neither, in the sense in which the Romanists now use them:

"They say, their church is the Catholic, as being the principle of unity; all others being no farther Catholic, than as they adhere to and hold communion with her. We answer—first, there is, in reason, no occasion for this principle: which would destroy unity, instead of preserving it; as attempts to set up universal monarchy, both in church and state, have always done. The unity of the church consists in the union of the members to one another, and to Christ, their only head; not to any visible vicar general under him:—therefore, secondly, in fact, there is no such principle;—no such universal spiritual monarch, or vicar general, appointed by Christ, or thought of by the church for many centuries of years; 'till the bishop of Rome, by his own authority, that is, by no authority at all, was pleased to advance himself to that high dignity, and to lord it, and tyrannize over God's inheritance. This is proved in the article of the Pope's supremacy."

As to scripture and tradition, &c. Dr. Trapp says, "they tell us that the church *ascertains* the scriptures, delivering them down from one age to another, *assuring* us that they are genuine, and written by those

whose names they bear." He reminds the Papists, however, "that the Romish church is not the church: and, even as a part of it, she is so far from being a faithful preserver of the scriptures, that she has shamefully corrupted them. She has imposed upon the world a translation of them, (the Latin Vulgate,) as even superior to the original; though false in many places: and, though one Pope (Sixtus V.) commanded a certain edition of it to be received as the only true, with a curse upon all who should vary from it in a tittle; yet, in less than two years, another Pope (Clement VIII.) found it defective and corrupt, and therefore rejected it, and commanded another to be received with the same strict injunction. How infallible both these Popes must needs be; and what a condition the Papists must be in, with regard to the scriptures; that is, either to have none at all, or to incur the curse of one Pope or the other! They have likewise, in their smaller catechisms, expunged the second commandment out of the decalogue; and most impiously falsified the book of God, by adding the words mass and purgatory to some texts; and left out a material and necessary word in another, to make it favour the doctrine of image worship. The church of Rome, therefore, cannot be trusted as a keeper and preserver of the scriptures; nor indeed of traditions neither: those which she obtrudes upon the world being not Catholic ones, that is, not received by the universal church, but purely of her own inventing, and utterly repugnant both to scripture, and truly Catholic tradition. This will appear when we come to consider her particular corruptions.

"In short, they say the word of God is contained in scripture and tradition: we say it is contained in scripture only; because we can prove the divine authority of the one, but not of the other. Nay, we prove that their traditions are so far from being the word of God, that they are contrary to it. We own indeed that the scripture being written does not make it of divine authority: the substance of it was spoken before it was written: and, were any part of divine revelation delivered down to us by word of mouth, it would certainly be never the less divine; but then we must be assured that it is so, before we can receive it under that character: and there is not the least proof of any such thing, unless the church of Rome's bare word for it may pass for evidence.

"The truth is, the whole matter resolves into that: for, notwithstanding all the dust they raise about scripture, and tradition, they really stand to neither, but only endeavour to amuse the world with both, that their own church's authority may creep in between them. Scripture, they say, is uncertain; what shall determine it? The church; that is, themselves. It is doubtful which is a true tradition and which not: who shall deter-

mine it? The church; that is, themselves. So that, after all this running divisions upon the words scripture, tradition, antiquity, &c. the definitions of the church, always meaning themselves, are the last resort of all: that is to say, Popery is the only true religion, because it is their religion; and the church of Rome is the only true church, because the church of Rome says so.

"That church, however, is pleased to own that the scriptures are the word of God. If they are: how comes she so profanely to blaspheme them by making them good for nothing? For they certainly are good for nothing, if they are not capable of being understood. A position too as notoriously false, as it is scandalously blasphemous."

One more specimen we subjoin, on the indefectibility of the church of Rome. "The substance of what they allege upon this head, may be reduced to the two following arguments. The first is this: our Saviour has promised that his church shall not fail: but ours has failed; their's not. Here they come with their old question, Where was your church and religion before Luther? The other is this: if their church was so corrupt as we pretend, it was no church at all: whence it will follow, 1st, that for some time, and that a long time too, there was no church in the world, contrary to our Saviour's promise. 2dly. That the church could not be reformed; for we cannot reform what is not in being: and consequently our pretended reformed church is a mere nothing. We will consider all these things; but before we do so, I cannot but remark upon the singular modesty of the church of Rome; first, in being monstrously corrupt; and then making that very corruption an argument why it should not, or could not, be reformed.

"The weakness of their first argument will appear, if it be clearly drawn out into propositions. The church of Christ cannot fail: the church of England has failed. Though we absolutely deny the second proposition, and shall presently prove it to be false; yet, supposing it were true; what will be the conclusion? Why this; therefore the church of England is not the church of Christ. Who ever said it was? It is a church; but does not, like that of Rome, pretend to be *the* church. If then they alter the conclusion, and make it run thus: therefore the church of England is not a church of Christ; the conclusion does not follow from the premises. If they put it thus, a true church of Christ cannot fail; but the church of England has failed: I deny both propositions; and the disproof of them will be a full answer to this argument.

"As to the first, there is no promise of indefectibility made by our Saviour to any particular church (and we have proved that of Rome it-

self to be no more), but to the church in general. A true particular church may be extinguished: many actually are so; as some in Asia, and Africa. Were not the seven churches, to which St. John wrote, true churches? Where are they now? Where are the churches of Carthage, and Hippo, and several others? God always had, and always will have, a true church upon earth; but, in what part of the world, he has no where promised:

“As to the second proposition; their church, they boast, has not failed. We do not say it has; (though it has, and does, come much nearer to it than ours;) but it may fail, as others have actually done. But our’s, they affirm, has failed already. How so? If we look backwards, it is older than theirs. According to the best accounts we have, there was a Christian church in Britain, even before there was one at Rome; and this is acknowledged by some of the most learned and eminent of their own communion, Baronius and Suarez. And is it not in being now? It may fail, it is true; and so may theirs, or any other; for our Saviour’s promise was not made to any particular church.

“They tell us we failed during the prevalency of what we call Popery, as a corrupt religion, ’till the time of our pretended reformation: for where was our church and religion during all that time?

“I answer, first: by dating its failure from that period, they seem to acknowledge that it was in being before; which shews that, even according to them, we have antiquity on our side, and they are innovators; for 800 years had past, before the time from which they date our pretended failure.—Secondly, as to the externals of the church, government, succession of bishops, discipline, sacraments, &c. we answer, we were among them during all that time: and acknowledge that they were, and are, a true church, with regard to those externals.—3dly, as to doctrines; they must be distinguished into two kinds: positive; i. e. those which are held in common by them, and us, and all Christians: and negative; i. e. those which we hold in contradiction to them, and are so many protestations against their errors. The former were delivered down to us through all ages of the church, from Christ, and his Apostles, to this day; through several hundreds of years, pure and unmixed; through many more, mingled with grievous corruptions, from which we at last reformed; and we heartily wish all other churches, infected with them, had done the like. As to the latter; if they ask us where were our doctrines, during that time, or before it, (that we may, by the way, take in that too) as contra-distinguished to theirs, as protestations against them, or under that form? The question is sophistical and ridiculous: for, with respect to the time before it, how could any reform from Popery,

before Popery was in being? Or protest, when there was nothing to be protested against? With respect to the times when Popery prevailed without opposition, to ask us where our negative doctrines then were (I mean as negative, or under that form) is to ask us, where was the reformation before the reformation? To ask a man recovered of a distemper, where was his healthy constitution while he was sick? Which is manifestly senseless and absurd. But, if we are further interrogated, where were our distinguishing doctrines, as to sum and substance, before the reformation? We answer, they were (where their's never were) in the scriptures; and there they are still: and in the universal church of Christ for about 600 years; during which time their's were never heard of. Let us, in our turn, having answered their challenge, be permitted to make one to them. It has indeed been often made; and never yet answered: nor ever will, nor can be. Where was their religion for about the first 600 years after Christ? Let them shew us in those times transubstantiation, the Pope's supremacy, image-worship, prayers in an unknown tongue, communion in one kind, and the rest of the practices and doctrines, concerning which we differ from them, as being the practices and doctrines of the Catholic church: let them shew us these; and there is an end of the controversy. They cannot do it: there were no such things in the primitive church; any more than in the scriptures. Therefore they are innovations, and corruptions. This, I hope, may be a sufficient answer to their famous question; where was your church and religion before Luther?"

31. *Anacreon in Dublin. With Notes, critical, historical, and explanatory. Romanusque lyrâ plaudit tibi, Barbarus harpâ.* (Venantius Fortunatus.)—*Dedicated to the Right Hon. Lord Byron, and illustrated by Engravings on Wood.* 12mo. pp. 211. Stockdale, 1814.

"FROM grave to gay!" We have read this little book with great pleasure. It abounds with ingenious allusions and very happy parodies, and is replete with anecdotes of the leading characters who figure at the Irish Catholic Board. Indeed we have become intimately acquainted with some worthies hardly known to us by name before.—The author by no means goes doggedly through Anacreon from beginning to end. He translates, that is, he imitates in a free parody, only twenty-one of the odes. We subjoin the titles of the corresponding English and Greek odes.

" *The Introduction* *Ανακρεων ιδων με.*

The Harp of Erin *Θελω λαλειν Ατρειδας.*

The Post *Ερασμη Πελειαι.*

<i>The Doctor</i>	Τι σοι Θελεις ποιησω.
<i>The Puppet</i>	Ερωτα κηρνον τις.
<i>The Witness</i>	Μακαριζομεν σα Τεττιξ.
<i>The Petitioner</i>	Μεσονυκτιοις ποτ' ωραις.
<i>The Secretary</i>	Ερως ποτ' εν ροδοισι.
<i>The Subscriptions</i>	Ει φυλλα παντα δειδρων.
<i>The Melodist</i>	Τι με τες νομας διδασκεις.
<i>The Delegates</i>	Αγε ζωγραφων αριτε.
<i>The Carpenter</i>	Τον αργυρον τορευων.
<i>The Brewhouse</i>	Στεφος πλεκων ποτ' ευρων.
<i>The Sideboard</i>	Ου μοι μελει Γυγαω.
<i>The Captain</i>	Συ μεν λεγεις τα Θηβης.
<i>The Pillory</i>	Εν ισχυοις μεν ιπποι.
<i>The Bull</i>	Ο Ταυρος ετος, ω παι.
<i>The Pitcher</i>	Εδοκην οναρ τροχαζειν.
<i>Kilmainham</i> ...	Επειδη βροτος ετεχθην.
<i>The Scale of Sedition</i> ...	Η Γη μελαινα πινει.
<i>The Silversmith</i>	Καλλιτεχνα, μοι τορευσον."

We print the first ode, following the introduction, and the notes upon it, which will convey to our readers a pretty accurate idea of the spirit and manner in which the work is executed.

“ ODE I.

“ *The Harp of Erin.*

“ Θελω λεγειν Ατρειδας—

Vatican, Ode xxiii. Barnes, 1.

“ I would sing the pair of O's,
Who such brave harangues compose ;
And extol with lyric ardor
Captain Thresher, Captain Carder :—
But alas ! my luckless harp,
With its foolish flat and sharp,
Echoes nought of either great O,
Answering only to the *Veto*.

“ Then I changed the apostate wire,
Taking to another lyar ;
And I strove to string a cord
For the Threshers of the Board :—
Still, alas ! the Major B
Sank into a minor key ;

And the string, as if 'twere crack'd,
Jarr'd to the *Convention-Act*.

" Captains, Counsellors, and you,
Majors, Board, and all, adieu !
Now no comfort I can bring you,
Now no more my harp can sing you :—
Now, alas ! its Rebel Tone
Tinkle's to your grief alone ;
Vocal only to convictions,
Vetos and *revived restrictions*."

" NOTES TO ODE I.

" *The Harp of Erin*.

" It would have been taken very unkindly of the old Teian, had he left Dublin without saying something handsome about the " Harp of Erin ;"—an harp which has been pawed and thumb'd by every pseudo-patriot from 1782 to 1798, and from 1798 to 1814. The Volunteers handed it to Napper Tandy ; who, after knocking off its crown, conveyed it to the Defenders ; who delivered it to the United Irishmen ; who transmitted it to the Union Star ; which consigned it to the Pikemen ; who tossed it over to the Threshers and Carders ; who delegated it to the Board ; who play on it in tune and out of tune, without the least compunction for this devoted instrument. " Still harping on my daughter," these people and their poetasters have stunned our ears with strings and chords and emeralds, and mountains and fountains, and vales and gales, till, in the emphatic language of the Green Isle, their noise has *bothered* us out of their meaning ; and we forget that in their vocabulary harp means discord, unity division, and energy insurrection.

" *I would sing the pair of O's.*]—The Atreidæ of the Irish bar, Counsellors O'Connell and O'Gorman.—

" *O et præsidium, et dulce decus*—

" Neither of these personages like to be called *Mr.*—a vulgar English appellation, too modern to suit with their distinct dignity as chiefs of a Sept,—*atavis editi regibus*—lineally descended from Heber and Heremon—bless the mark !—and of course to be restored to their ancient regalities by the new emancipation bill.

" *Captain Thresher, Captain Carder.*]—Another *par nobile*, who assume these titles as leaders of their respective bodies ; and as royally descended, we must suppose, as either of the illustrious counsellors.—These gentlemen are the modern reformers of Ireland ; but their functions are

at present confined to regulating the price of land, appointing the rent and the religion, directing the choice of representatives, with such other subordinate arrangements. They hold also courts of civil and criminal judicature, wherein they decide questions of property, and try and condemn without appeal all offenders against their laws.—Their punishments are equally severe and summary. If the convict be within the jurisdiction of Captain Thresher, he is played upon with flails and shillelahs *ad libitum*; and if he belongs to Captain Carder's department, the flesh is torn off his back, in the name of the holy Catholic church, by *carding machines*—such as are used for teasing wool.*—Many unfortunate women have received this horrible torture *on their bosoms*, until the flesh was torn away, even to the nerves and sinews; and of late, it has been inflicted on those refractory persons who presume to sign the Anti-popish petitions, or to deal with a proscribed heretic.

"The 'august' Board have lately put forth an address to these active patriots, and to their coadjutors the Caravats, and Shanavests, and Ribbon-men, begging them not to do such paw-paw things any more;—*because*, if they do, they will certainly be punished by a partial and unjust government. That this admonition will check their proceedings, or that it was intended to check them—*Credat Judæus!*

"The original Greek—Θεω δὲ Καδμων αἰεὶν—is here followed with a fortunate fidelity. Mr. Moore entirely passes over the allusion to Cadmus, whose history forms so important a beauty in the Irish edition. As the Theban sowed *teeth*, which sprung up into armed men, so the Board sow *tongues*, which sprout into Threshers and Carders, and in due season will produce an *after-crop* of "military mean."

"*With its foolish flat and sharp.*—Anacreon, being himself a musician, describes the two divisions of Irish Popery with much technical accuracy. Her *sharps* are the demagogues, who make speeches and receive sideboards; while her *flats* are the "emphatic people," who lose their time in listening to the one, and their money in paying for the other. They should not, however, have been lumped under one common epithet: certainly, the flats are no knaves; but as certainly, the sharps are no fools.

"*Answering only to the Veto.*—An ecclesiastical authority which our sovereign possesses over every sect of the church within his dominions; which the common law had immemorially vested in him, and which the earliest statute law had confirmed:—but for which our legislature has,

* "Some of the commentators think that the Carders derive their name and their power from the *cardinal machines*—such as are used for destroying the establishment."

very oddly, been chaffering; and which the Papists, as oddly, talk of refusing.

“ By some strange and fatal infatuation, we suffer Popery to affix to things and to persons whatever name best suits her convenience. Thus, our ancient rights are described by novel terms, and her innovations are tricked out in all the honours of antiquity. Thus, our regal authority is slurred over by the new-fangled term—*veto*—that offspring of Gallic anarchy, which brought a monarch to the scaffold;—while, had it retained among us its ancient appellation—*supremacy*—not all the subtlety of Rome and her religion could have made us forget its origin or endanger its continuance. And thus, a vulgar horde of scurvy snuffy priests is arrayed in the splendours of a “Catholic hierarchy;” inducing our minds into the foolish association of some indefinite grandeur and uncertain sanctity, with positive ignorance and visible abatement.

“ *Taking to another lyar;*

And I strove to string a cord

For the Threshers of the Board.]

“ Such is the reading of the Vatican MS. against which all the other editions reclaim, and read *lyre* and *chord*. The word *string* applies to either lection, as we find from the authority of Mrs. Winifred Jenkins, who assured Humphrey Clinker that it was “a very *nervus* piece of business.” Possibly, that learned lady had in her mind the *ire per extantum funem* of Horace. But it is a curious anomaly, that one common term should represent an harp and a falsifier, while *fides* is at the same time Latin for faith and a fiddle. The reader may consult on this point, Azorius Instit. Moral. and Ozichovius in Chimæra; the Bullarium Romanum, the Corpus Juris Canonici, and the Apologia Jesuitarum.

“ *Still, alas! the Major B.*]—After the authority of the elder editors, I refer *αὐτοφώνη* to a musical term; while the Vatican compiler interprets it by church usage as the response of an *antiphon*. But, were it not utterly repugnant to the rhythm of this ode, which is compounded of two Iambics and one Bacchic, or of three Iambics and one Catalectic—the critics may choose which—I should suggest a new interpretation, and read *B Major*; leaving B to stand for the Trochaic *Bryan*, or for the Catalectic *Bob*. This elegant ellipsis applieth with equal euphony to the military Hercules, and to that species of ecclesiastical harmony which, in ringing the changes or sounding the tocsin, we call a *Bob Major*. On these points the reader may consult *Magius de Tintinnabulis*, and the learned dissertation of *Calvus Scullius* upon *Wigs*, first and second parts, in the chapters *de Robertis abbreviatis, et de Majoribus*. —BARNES.

" *Jarr'd to the Convention-Act.*]—An Irish statute, passed so long ago as the 33d of George the Third. Before this law attained its twentieth year it became superannuated, and was pronounced incapable through mere old age. The Popish Board, under the several names which that illegal body have assumed, confess its existence by sometimes condescending to covert evasion instead of open defiance. The wisdom of the Irish government, aided by the firmness of the imperial legislature, will soon, however, render their palterings and their boastings equally abortive.

" *Now, alas ! its Rebel Tone.*]—Not only the tone of the Irish harp, which is regularly sounded to the praise of executed traitors, but *Theobald Wolfe Tone*, a United Irishman, and active agent of the French Directory and of the Popish Committee in 1793 : to whom the Board of that year voted fifteen hundred pounds for his services ; and who escaped the gallows in 1796 by cutting his own throat instead of the throats of the Protestants.

" Citizen Tone was examined before the Irish House of Commons in 1798 ; and he very candidly acknowledged that Popish emancipation was desired so far only as it led to the separation of Ireland from England.—Citizen Finnerty said nearly the same thing in 1811 ; and the Board applauded him for the saying.

" *Vocal only to convictions,
Vetos and revived restrictions.*]

" The next chapter of the Board's lamentations will probably be devoted to this melancholy subject. Our government will not much longer leave the Irish Papists in possession of indulgences, which are now on our criminal records, as having generated tumult instead of tranquillity, and insolence instead of gratitude. The safety of the empire will not much longer permit these thankless agitators to retain *the electing franchise.*"

The engravings on wood possess uncommon merit.—The dedication to Lord Byron is very severe.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE RESCRIPT FROM THE PROPAGANDA, ALLOWING THE VETO, &c.

THE astonishing change which within the course of a few months has taken place in the situation of Europe, has extended so widely, and proceeded with such rapidity, as to outrun expectation, and set all anticipation at defiance. This has happened in the case of the Roman Catholic question, as of every thing else. We did indeed presume that upon the re-establishment of peace in Italy, and the return of the Pope

to his dominions, representations would be made to him by the more reasonable part of his adherents in this country, which might draw from him some measure of accommodation calculated to forward their views, and to procure for them that admission into a share of the administration of this country which they are striving so hard to obtain. But, whether in consequence of any specific communication with the Pope upon the subject, or only of a general authority delegated by him for that purpose, we find that, without waiting for his actual enlargement from that durance in which Buonaparte left him, the congregation of the *propaganda*, as it is called, has stepped forward (if we may be allowed to use a coarse but emphatical phrase) to do the job. For this extraordinary precipitation, and seeming irregularity, it would not, we think, be difficult to assign a reason. It might be thought of importance, both here and at Rome, not to forego the chance of what might be gained in this present session of Parliament; during which there could be no hope of making any progress, as long as the declared opinions of Dr. Milner here, and of the Romish bishops in Ireland, remained in force: and apprehensions were probably entertained lest the violence and blind bigotry, or disaffection, of the Irish Catholic Board, if suffered to go on, might create sensations so unfavourable to the Romish cause, as to make it little better than desperate. The holy see (as it is called) has always been sufficiently alive to such *prudential* considerations. It is well known that the Pope of that day disapproved of the precipitancy with which James II. proceeded in the execution of his designs; and, upon his sending Lord Castlemain his ambassador to Rome, his holiness treated his lordship with marked neglect. It was a saying (we believe of the Pope himself) that James was doing all in his power to destroy Popery in England. Much the same judgment is likely to have been formed by the shrewd Italians of these days concerning the proceedings of Dr. Dromgole and his associates. Having in our late numbers paid due attention to the measures and the harangues of the learned Doctor, we have now to accompany, and in some sort to contrast them, with the brief or letter which has been published, seemingly from authority, as having been received by the vicar apostolic for the London district. This gentleman we apprehend to have been always favourable to the system of concessions; and upon a former occasion to have been taxed, on that account, by Dr. Milner, with want of firmness, if not with duplicity.* It is probable, therefore, that this letter may be in fact an answer to some application of

* See a letter of Dr. Milner's to an English Catholic peer (Lord Stourton), annexed to a pamphlet intitled "*The Veto*, a Commentary on the Grenville Manifesto, by Cornelius Keogh, Esq." London. Sherwood, Neely, and Jones. 1810.

his to the congregation of the *propaganda*, stating the great disappointment of himself and the other English Roman Catholics upon the failure of Mr. Canning's bill, and assigning the reasons of that failure. Indeed it is sufficiently apparent that this has been the case; nay, that there have been different representations, one from Dr. Poynter and another from Dr. Troy; and that the former has even transmitted *the form*, that is, we suppose, the very bill brought in by Mr. Canning.

From an attentive perusal of M. Quarantotti's letter, it cannot but be deemed a most complete giving up of Dr. Milner, Dr. Troy, and his brethren, and the Catholic Board, with Dr. Dromgole at their head. For the latter gentleman it comes at a juncture particularly unfortunate, since it follows so immediately the formal republication of his speeches, with a vindication of the positions which he hazarded. He stands, therefore, at this moment, in most direct opposition to what is called *the sacred college*. What may be the result of all this in Ireland, it is not so easy to divine. We are told that the Irish Catholics are all together by the ears. It is but what we might expect, if Dr. Dromgole is to be believed. For he has assured us that "*every man in Ireland who felt for the safety of religion as a Catholic, or for the common liberties of the country as an Irishman,*" would feel as he did: and that feeling was, that "*were they*" (the Irish Roman Catholic bishops) "*to-morrow to consent to concede a veto to the crown, they should not have his concurrence, but, on the contrary, all the resistance which he could give.*" [Speeches, p. 16.] He has spoken as decidedly against the imposition of any oaths, or the giving of any securities, however qualified; and all this with the most decided approbation, nay, loud cheering of the party assuming to be the true representative of Catholic Ireland!! Now here are not, it is true, the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, but here are, unquestionably, the prelates who *rule* the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, claiming to be the authorized organs of the Pope himself; and declaring that it is right and proper to grant the *veto* in full: and that the oath proposed is fit to be taken, only with a small qualification: and that even if parliament or the government should refuse or decline to add that qualification, the oath itself may yet be taken, the person taking it declaring openly in *what sense* he takes it. What now, we repeat, will be,—can be the conduct of these true Catholic Irishmen? Will they do, as we have no doubt Dr. Milner will do? Will they submit themselves to the dictates of the holy father, and receive absolution for this heresy into which they had unwittingly fallen? Or will they go on to shew their *manfulness* by resisting the Pope, as they were before determined to resist their lawful sovereign? We indeed cannot bring ourselves to feel sufficient respect for these gentlemen to bestow

much pains on them, or it might be worth while to try if it were possible to call up any thing like blushes in their cheeks. We need only recall to their minds, with respectful earnestness, (as we intreat our readers to recollect) the insolent and contemptuous language which they have held towards all those who hesitated to give them their full demands; the unmannerly and foul abuse which they have heaped upon all those who but hesitated to grant that unconditional repeal ("simple repeal" is Dr. Dromgole's *watch-word*) of all restrictive statutes; and then bid them observe that all this in fact applies (if it could ever be said to apply to any one) in full force to their holy father himself, to the very "God of their idolatry." Will these, or any other wholesome recollections, teach those gentlemen a little moderation in future? Will they, can they, even thus be brought to feel only a little of that liberality, which they have of late been in the constant habit of vociferating so preposterously and so impudently? Could we hope that any such good effect would follow, we might perhaps be tempted to do what we must now decline; we will no longer continue a discussion which has never excited in us any sensations but those of extreme disgust, a discussion which nothing short of an imperious sense of duty, and fidelity to the Protestant cause, could have induced us to commence.

So much for our Irish opponents. We have dealt with them according to what Solomon bids us: "answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit." But we have a further duty to perform: and we shall not forget that other maxim of the same wise man; "answer not a fool according to his folly; lest thou be like unto him."

If, therefore, we have seemed, in what we have said above, at all to join in giving currency to this rescript of the *propaganda*, we must not have it supposed, even for a moment, that we have done it otherwise than as turning against our adversaries their own weapons, as using most strictly the *argumentum ad hominem*. In itself we consider the rescript as not having made the least alteration in the true state of the question between us and the Roman Catholics, as not having in any way removed the objections which exist, and must always in the nature of things exist, against entrusting a Roman Catholic, professing *allegiance* of any kind to the Pope, with any share in the administration of the government, with any particle of political power in a *free* Protestant state like ours; if indeed in *any* Protestant state this can with perfect safety take place.

We have often stated the grounds upon which we are adverse to any further concession being made to the Romanists. We have stated at large our objections to this very measure of Mr. Canning's. And we believe

that it is not in the power of Mr. Canning to give any satisfactory answer to these objections. We believe that to make the measure at all go down, to give it even the appearance of practicability, will be beyond his powers: as we are most certain, that if, in a fit of insanity, the houses of parliament should pass such a bill, it will never be considered otherwise than as the triumph of a party; as a measure which has done all that it was meant to do when it has broken down the safeguards of our Protestant church, and was never designed seriously to be carried into full execution. We were told, and we suppose that our understandings will again meet with the same gross insult, even at the moment when Mr. Canning was proposing oaths to be taken, we were told, by that gentleman himself, that, however oaths were imposed or might be imposed, it was ridiculous to suppose that they would be taken. He asserted, what the records of any quarter sessions would immediately contradict, that Protestants did not take the oaths which by law were required to be taken by Protestants: thus preparing us, and meaning to prepare us, for an utter contempt and disregard, on the part of the Roman Catholics, of those oaths which he was proposing to require of them as Roman Catholics. It was indeed well known to Mr. Canning at that time, as it has by the vigilance of a noble lord, to whom the Protestant cause is most deeply indebted, been made public, that the Roman Catholics did not take the oaths which the law now requires of them; and that they persisted in this omission, although it left them at the mercy of informers, and within the gripe of all the statutes which are subsisting against Popery. Mr. Canning knew this, and it was therefore, as he felt, extremely important for him to take off the edge of the argument which he foresaw might from hence be drawn against him. But we hardly expected that this precise mode of doing it should have been pursued by a man who had formerly held a high office, and was still a privy counsellor; that the imposition of oaths, that solemn appeal to the deity, should have been openly treated as a mere farce; as at best a nullity; as a fit cloak to cover the passing of a measure, which, without such a sanction, or rather pretended sanction, would not have been endured.

We have insensibly been led to say thus much of one great feature in Mr. Canning's bill, because it makes so considerable a figure in this rescript. Should it, upon the strength of this *missive* from Rome, again be brought forward, we shall have opportunities, and will certainly not let them slip, of expressing our sentiments more fully.

That this will be done, and be done with success, is indeed with some persons a matter of certainty. The Roman Catholics of England, more of one mind now than their Irish brethren, are in the highest spirits.

They say confidently that there is now no difficulty. What has been sanctioned by the congregation of the *propaganda*, it is impossible but that the parliament of the United Kingdom must adopt. We will however venture to suggest to them that it is just possible that there may yet be a majority of the Houses of Lords and Commons who may think that men who will persist in allotting a part of their allegiance, and that perhaps the most material, to a foreign potentate; who will submit their most secret thoughts to the direction and guidance of a description of persons, deriving all their authority and consequence from that potentate, and holding themselves responsible to him for all that they do; however, from a tender indulgence to religious feelings, they may be *tolerated* in a state which owns not that potentate, nor submits itself to his ministers; they are not to be entrusted with the government of that state, nor with any share of political power by which that government may be controlled or influenced. We have said that men who hold such principles, are tolerated, out of a tender regard to religious feelings: we may add that it is to *religious feelings only* that such indulgence is granted:—for let the case be put of any set of men, under any other alleged motive, professing that they owed obedience in some particular matter (it is of no consequence what) to any foreign potentate; would any state whatever submit to consider them as citizens, or as entitled to the rights of citizens? or as any other than subjects of an alien sovereign, and therefore alien themselves? Still more would this be the case if that foreign potentate was one, who considered the country as being virtually in a state of rebellion against him, as having formerly withdrawn itself unjustifiably, nay, impiously from his dominion.

What indeed, after all the endeavour which we may be sure has been used to avoid giving any alarm, what is the language of the rescript? Is it not still the edict of the power which affects and assumes to be the head of the whole Christian world? What is permitted to be done, is a concession from a superior. "*It will be PERMITTED by the indulgence of the apostolic see.*" Again, speaking of the security required "for the fidelity of those who are to be appointed bishops or deans," it goes on, "all these things, as far as they are of a *CIVIL nature*, are entitled to every kind of *indulgence*." And then the conclusion is, "these things being so, we grant permission, by the authority vested in us, that those who are intended to fill the office of bishops or deans, and are proposed by the clergy, MAY BE admitted or rejected by the KING, according to the proposed law." So then, these things being so, that is, being "*of a CIVIL nature*," for of such only it is said that they are entitled to indulgence, our good King, (or the Regent in his name,) is to exercise his

authority (undoubted as it must be in this case, being a *civil* matter) by the *PERMISSION* of the apostolic chamber! What is this, but in fact making our sovereign a vassal of the Pope, and the Houses of Lords and Commons but parliaments after the former French fashion merely to register the edicts of this lord paramount? We must say that we felt our English blood boil at this. And we have always wondered that any Protestant could ever have endured the idea of the *Veto*, and not have seen that *the exercise of it would imply an admission on the part of our King, that there was within his realm an authority in ecclesiastical matters distinct from, and even superior to his.*

We may acquit perhaps the *propaganda* of any intention of bearding the crown and the parliament, though they have done it so effectually; but the truth is, that there are certain pretensions so radically unfounded and preposterous, that they never can be agitated without involving their supporters in the most manifest contradictions and absurdities. Take another specimen. They say, as a reason why the letters from Rome may be submitted to the proposed commission, that they "*never meddle in matters of a civil nature*;" directly contrary to what is said above. But, as they go on, they "*inquire into those things alone which the divine and ecclesiastical law, as well as the good order of the church, demand.*" Now, in the first place, nothing is more notorious than that the *ecclesiastical* law has cognizance of, and exercises jurisdiction over *civil* matters and persons. But further, what is there that has not and may not be drawn into question under pretence that the *divine law*, and the *good order of the church* demand it? Observe too what is said in the beginning. They desire earnestly that this bill may pass in order that the Catholics, "*without any injury to property, or liberty, may more zealously apply themselves to those pursuits which RELIGION and the good of their country may require of them.*" This is the effect to be produced by the admission of the Roman Catholics to the great offices of state! Now we really thought that the taking upon one's self a load of secular cares, was on the contrary very likely to draw away a man's thoughts from *religion*. But further we might observe, that no one can doubt what, in the opinion of a Roman Catholic, *religion and the good of his country, requires of him.* Dr. Dromgole has told us, and told us very truly; it is neither more nor less than the pulling down of every Protestant church, and our's in the first place. But we cite this to shew how utterly impossible it is, (even where men are most anxious to keep this great truth out of sight,) to separate religious and civil duties, to suppose a rule of action for the one which will not bear upon the other. It is the vain endeavour to put asunder what God has joined. And the separation is never attempted

without producing the sort of contradiction and confusion which we have pointed out. It is more folly to say that the authority which the Pope and his clergy claim, can be so exercised as not to influence or interfere with civil concerns, or the exercise of political rights. It is not only so in the nature of things, but the experience of every succeeding age, at least from the time of Gregory the VIIth, has most indisputably proved it.

Many more observations, arising out of this rescript, have suggested themselves to us; but this, in addition to what we have already said in the preceding pages, may suffice for the present. The result is and must be, according to what Lord Clarendon (we believe) has said, that, in this case, as in others, the Pope (if after all the Pope shall sanction what the congregation *de propaganda fide* have done) has given up that which he could not keep:—even that, (we will add) and no more. It was found that to sustain the high tone which was held even so late as 1791, was more calculated to prejudice than to advance what is here called “the Catholic interest.” He has therefore given way. But we are not on that account to be thrown off our guard. It has been done, as the most profitable course for the advancement of the church of Rome, in order to keep a footing at any rate, in hopes that a favourable season may arrive, effectually “to propagate” (as it is even here expressed) “the Catholic faith, which CAN ALONE lead to eternal salvation.” It must be our care, as it is our bounden duty to provide, that this be not done at the expense of that sound part of the Catholic church (taking the word in its true sense) to which we belong. We say this certainly without any hostile feeling to the Pope himself, whose sufferings would rather interest us in his favour. Our objection is to the office, not to the man. Yet we could shew at length, as we have already briefly asserted, that he has not at all a less high opinion of his authority than any of his predecessors.

Since the above observations were committed to paper, the Irish Roman Catholics have made a demonstration of the feelings excited by the rescript. The *emphatical people* are in a tremendous ferment. They are ready to sacrifice their lives rather than surrender the freedom of their church to either *prelate* or *Pope*. As usual, their vehemence outstrips their discretion. They have received a *letter missive* from Monsignor Quarantotti, it is true, but the POPE has not yet confirmed the rescript by his infallible *fiat*. No matter. A NATIONAL COUNCIL is to be convened on the 25th of May. The Romish priests of Ireland who are to form the *council*, must take care lest they adopt resolutions clashing with the decrees of GENERAL COUNCILS. Should they cease to be *papists*,

what will they become? Not *Protestants*;—and they dislike the denomination of “*protesting Catholics*.”—Dr. Milner, the Bishop of Castabala, as we conjectured, like the vane on the top of a cathedral, has veered round once more, and points to a *Velo*. “Carried to and fro with every blast of” authority, we may live to see him turn once again. Can Dr. Poynter, or the English Roman Catholics, place any confidence in this man, whose opinions seem not determined by *reason*, but vary at the bidding of something residing out of himself?—The following article we transcribe from the *Courier* of May 14th, but it originally appeared in, what has been called, the *Popish Gazette*—the *Dublin Evening Post*. “On Sunday, May 8th, many pathetic admonitions against the Papal rescript were pronounced from the altars of the different chapels of the city. The clergymen exhorted their flocks to be patient, to remain tranquil under so severe a visitation; but to be prepared, if *necessary to sacrifice their lives* rather than surrender the *freedom* of their church to prelate, or to POPE. The exhortations were heard with deep emotions of *indignation*; and it was easy to see that the *resistance* will be *universal*.

“Archbishop Troy convened the Catholic clergymen, or, more correctly, the parish priests of his diocese, to hold a meeting—but it was deemed more expedient to assemble a full convocation of all the parish priests of Ireland. This venerable assembly will meet on the 25th instant. It is the first time, for centuries that the second order of the priesthood have been summoned to attend a *national council*. That council, perhaps a more important one has not assembled in Europe, will *decide that the Catholics of Ireland are not papists*. The decision of that council will operate more directly on parliament, than all the speeches of all the orators inside the doors and abroad. Let us hope that it will have a beneficial operation on the conduct of *certain members of the Catholic hierarchy*; that since these members have not recollected the injunction of Dr. Coppinger, the Catholic Bishop of Cloyne, not to have any correspondence *singly* with the Roman See, they must be taught by a decision of the *Irish council* not to mix Italian intrigue with the sacred duties of their function. We should again call upon Archbi-hop Troy to produce his correspondence, but that he will have a better opportunity of laying it before the *council* on the 25th, accompanied by his vindication.

“Since the foregoing lines were written, we have been informed that the Bishop of Castabala (Dr. Milner) has given in *his adhesion*! That a reconciliation is effected between himself and Dr. Poynter; that Dr.

Milner, in his opposition to the *Veto* hitherto, had admitted himself to have acted wrong!"

The ice is broken! the proceedings of the Irish Catholic Board have been mentioned in the House of Commons. It should seem, that contrary to the opinion of many turbulent spirits in Ireland, Mr. Peele, the Secretary of State, and Mr. Saurin, the Attorney General, are both of one mind;—for the former gentleman appears to deem the *conduct of the Board*, an affair rather demanding the attention of the *executive power*, than requiring the interference of *legislative authority*. (See our last, p. 345.)

In the House of Commons, Friday, May 13, Mr. Knox, member for the county of Tyrone, said, "the Secretary of State for Ireland must certainly know of the proceedings which had lately been instituted by the *Catholic Board* in Dublin; which were viewed by *most people there as subversive of all order*. He wished therefore to ask the right honourable gentleman whether it was the intention of the Irish government to put down these proceedings?"

Mr. Peele said, "it was a matter which belonged entirely to the executive, and he did not feel himself at liberty to give any direct answer to the question."

The plot thickens!—We this day (May 16,) received from some friend to the Protestant cause, the following important document, printed in the *Dublin Evening Post* of the 12th instant.—It disowns, and reclaims against, Mr. Quarantotti's *pontifical* rescript, inasmuch as it wants the *signature*, and consequently the sanction of the Pope. The resolutions of the Romish clergy, in what they term the *archdiocese* of Dublin, are signed by the president of the meeting, and thirty-seven other gentlemen.—We beg to return thanks to our unknown friend who sent us this intelligence; his promptitude was very obliging.

"Freedom of the Catholic Church, and of the Irish People.

"We lay before the people of Ireland this day a document, more pregnant in its principle, and more important in its consequences, than any which has ever appeared in this country. This declaration will not seem extraordinary, when the public shall peruse the following most liberal, most Catholic, and most Irish resolutions. They were passed unanimously by all the priests, secular and regular, of Ireland, at present in the city of Dublin.

DEO IN EXCELSIS.

" Résolutions of the Parish Priests, and Clergymen of the Archdiocese of Dublin.

" Bridge-Street Chapel, Thursday, May 12.

" We, the undersigned Parish Priests, and Clergymen of the Archdiocese of Dublin, feel it as a duty which we owe to God and our flocks, to make the following public declaration.

" Resolved, that we consider the document, or rescript, signed *Quarantotti*, as *non-obligatory* upon the Catholic church in Ireland, particularly as it wants those authoritative marks, whereby the mandates of the holy see are known and recognized, and especially *the signature of the Pope*.

" Resolved, that we consider the granting to an Anti-Catholic government any power, either direct or indirect, with regard to the appointment and nomination of the Catholic bishops of Ireland, at all times *inexpedient*:

" Resolved, that circumstanced as we are in this country, we consider the granting of such a power not only *inexpedient*, but highly *detrimental* to the best and dearest interests of religion, and *pregnant with incalculable mischief* to the cause of Catholicity in Ireland.

" Resolved, that such arrangements of domestic nomination can be made among the clergy of Ireland, as will preclude that *foreign influence*, against which those securities, so destructive to religion, are called for by the parliament.

" We therefore most humbly and respectfully do hereby supplicate our venerable archbishop, and we hope that the Catholic clergy and laity of all Ireland, will join us in praying that he, and the other Irish prelates, will, without delay, *remonstrate* against this document, and represent to his holiness, and the sacred college of cardinals, now happily reinstated at Rome, the peculiar situation of the Catholic church in Ireland, and the tremendous evils which we apprehend would inevitably flow from the adoption of the principles laid down in said document.

" MICHAEL BLAKE, P. P. and President of the Meeting."

MR. GANDOLPHY AND INDAGATOR.

Observations on a Pamphlet published in 1813, entitled " Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Protestant Clergy of England, on the secret Causes of the Increase of Catholics, &c."

MR. EDITOR,—This pamphlet consists of some letters originally inserted in the newspaper called the British Press, written, as I have been

informed, by Mr. Gandolphy (formerly Gandolphi). The publication heaps a good deal of abuse on your miscellany, *THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE*.—You have not, I think, hitherto mentioned this farrago of impertinence;—perhaps you are of opinion that it is below your notice;—however that may be, I hope you will permit me to offer a few remarks upon it for your consideration. You did me the favour to insert my observations on Mr. Nightingale's Portraiture of the Roman Catholic Religion in your last number, and as Mr. Gandolphy's publication is an attempt to white-wash Popery, as Mr. Nightingale's was to put a new colour on its face, I flatter myself that I shall have the pleasure of reading this letter, concerning the Italian's abortive effort, in the monthly defence which you make of the Protestant religion against its Popish assailants.

If any thing could give us a proof of the liberty enjoyed by the Papists in this free country, it must be the impunity with which one of their priests libels the bishops and clergy of England, and belies the frame, constitution, and genius of the established religion. Such conduct in a Protestant residing in a Roman Catholic country, in all probability, would have subjected him to severe punishment; and, in some parts of the world, would have procured him a lodging in the cells of the inquisition, if not a taste of some or other of its graduated tortures. Mr. Gandolphy seems to possess a flippancy of spirit, and an exuberance of assurance, which impel him to write as he does; well knowing, at the same time, that the British lion is not apt to be roused to vengeance by the gambols of a pitiful animal.—Some years ago, in the tower of London, the keeper of the *menagerie* exhibited a puppy enclosed in the same cell with the monarch of the forests. The little creature snapped and snarled at the lordly beast. It yelped when the lion was disposed to slumber. It petulantly took the meat out of his mouth, and vented its contemptible passion in various ways. The lion never exhibited any signs of anger; deriving admiration from the noble forbearance which he manifested towards his insignificant adversary, and the dignified tranquillity with which he endured the petty annoyance of an *Italian greyhound*.

Mr. Gandolphy is injudicious enough to mention "the increase of [Roman] Catholics," in his title-page. I shall speak of what he calls *the secret causes* of that increase in the sequel.—And are the Papists increased in number? Mr. Gandolphy asserts that they are. The artifices of the priests have had some effect; they have not "compassed sea or land," then, without "making" some "proselytes." If you, Mr. Editor, had said so, we had probably been told that this is a weak invention of an enemy,—the paltry artifice of an alarmist. I advise all my brother Protestants, now that Mr. Gandolphy (the English Dromogole) has rashly con-

fessed, if not boasted of, this increase, to use more than ordinary diligence in counteracting the wiles of an adversary nurtured, schooled, and trained in "all the deceivableness of unrighteousness." If the number of the Papists be increased, I hope, Mr. Editor, that you will not discontinue your labours, until it shall suffer decided *diminution*, in defiance of the misrepresentations of Mr. Gandolphy.

This gentleman is misinformed, I conjecture, concerning the *fact*, as he calls it, (poor man, he has been too long hoodwinked by his dictatorial church to distinguish fact from fabrication!) that your work is conducted by two right reverend prelates, "assisted by two other clergymen." I have reason to believe that there is none other conductor, and none other editor of the Protestant Advocate than yourself.

The Papists are remarkable above all people for one thing, which is, that whensoever any doctrine has been disproved, or any individual of the Popish divines has been confuted, after a short period, they set up the reprobated doctrine anew, and quote the confuted author as a competent authority never so much as called in question. Bossuet's work is spoken of (p. 15) in the highest terms by Mr. Gandolphy, a thorough-paced practiser of all the tricks of his tribe; but he carefully abstains from saying or hinting a syllable about the irrefragable answer of Bishop Bull to the Bishop of Meaux, entitled "the Corruptions of the Church of Rome," &c. recommended to the notice of the public in the ninth number of your miscellany, p. 464; a new edition (the fourth) having been published by Mr. Stockdale, last year.

Mr. Gandolphy, judiciously, mentions the annual agitation of the Popish question in parliament, as one of the *secret causes* of the increase of Roman Catholics. Indeed we have to deplore the seemingly indecisive way in which that question has been held over from parliament to parliament, and from session to session; I by no means, however, attribute this apparent want of energy to any defection from the Protestant cause, but purely to the wish which many members of parliament may have to endeavour to obtain that settlement of the question, by the slow yet sure effect of reason and fair argument, which they would be sorry to attempt by an act of power, and the irresistible decision of an overwhelming majority. The weight of reason has been all along on the Protestant side; though I am free to confess that Messrs. Grant, jun. young Mr. Plunket, and, Mr. Editor, your eloquent friend Mr. Canning, have given some very fine specimens of parliamentary declamation. The furious proceedings of the Catholic Board, to which I am glad to see you pay such close attention, will in all probability hasten the conclusion of the legislature, put an end to the self-flatteries of such men as Mr. Gandolphy, and in-

cline the king's ministers to make this question an object of cabinet-discussion, and to shield from all dangers that constitution which is **FUNDAMENTALLY PROTESTANT.**

Mr. Gandolphy assigns the peculiarly "humble, grave, and retired" character of the Roman Catholic clergy, as another cause of what he calls (p. 48) the *success of Catholicity*. I know several Romish priests; some of them are decent quiet men enough, not gifted with a superabundance either of talent or learning; some of them are snuff-taking, card-playing, gossiping creatures, absurdly mysterious in their behaviour before Protestants, and fawningly supple towards people of their own sect, whom they at once flatter and lead by the nose. Assiduous many of them are in their attendance at their altars; and why?—the *hocus pocus* of the mass, and the *numbo jumbo* of prayers for the dead, furnish their chief means of subsistence. The iteration of services, and what has been called "the drudgery of prayer," is their very trade. I call it their *trade*, for there is nothing spiritual, neither can be, in their *opus operatum*.—Mr. G. speaks of their attendance on the sick, and the risk they run of catching infectious diseases. Every body knows the importance which they ascribe to that sacrament of their own making—*extreme unction*. It is the last turnpike where ecclesiastical *toll* is demanded; and, beside, the world can form a pretty accurate idea of the secular uses to which the terrors surrounding a dying-bed are convertible. The snivelling, superstitious observances, (*duties* I can hardly call them,) of the Romish priests are not to be placed in competition with the "reasonable service" of the Protestant clergy.—I speak not here of the zeal with which two or three of the *emigrant* priests have waited on their high calling. Gloriously have they executed the offices of humanity, during a season of unexampled distress—a "distress of nations, with perplexity." That period of sorrow has come to an end, and I hope that those good and faithful servants of their great Lord, will be rewarded by the dispensers of his bounties here on earth. The bulk of the *English* Popish priests are of another description. I knew in the north of England, in the centre of the Derwentwater estates, amongst the Riddells, the Swinburnes, the Erringtons, the Shaftoes, &c. &c. a Popish priest who matched any of those clerical sportsmen spoken of so jeeringly by Mr. Gandolphy. He was a foreigner, though of English extraction. He was for ever in the field, or in the mass-house. He knocked off his prayers, as he knocked down his birds,—rapidly beyond conception. He was supposed to be one of the best shots, and to be able to drink more port wine (which was wonderful in a foreigner) than any man for miles around the scene of his prowess, whether in the stubble or at the table. From such creatures I

turn with disgust,—resolved, however, to give Mr. Gandolphy one portrait, drawn after the life, in return for a sketch purely the offspring of a calumniating fancy.—And as to the way in which the generality of the Romish clergy perform their functions, and the dangers which they encounter, and the difficulties with which they grapple, I will venture, by way of contrast, to give you *another* picture, also after the life, of a Presbyterian of the church of England.—Like Samuel he was dedicated to his sacred calling from his mother's womb. He was educated at a great public school, and afterwards at an English university. When he was admitted into holy orders, the American war had just put on its most formidable appearance, France having, at the same period, recognized the colonies as an independent state. His first essays as a preacher, were directed to the keeping of his flock steady in their loyalty to the King, and in laying down the measures of submission to the law and civil government; neither has there been any great controversy, from that time to this, in which he has not taken an active part, proportioned to the sphere of life in which Providence ordained him to move. I well remember hearing him preach a sermon, in St. Paul's cathedral, (at the time when French principles were growing prevalent in England, and the United Irishmen, or their partizans, were disseminating civil poison throughout the land,) on the subject of *unlawful oaths*. At this very time, few people exert themselves more indefatigably in resisting the Popish claims than he does. For more than twenty-eight years he was sole curate of one of the largest parishes in the metropolis. No man ever attended his various duties with more punctuality, or performed them with more delight. A thousand times he has been placed in the very steam of infection. He has even entered into a contest with fever, and rooted it out of a close and poor neighbourhood, which was for several years infested with it;—pursuing Mr. Howard's plans of cleansing and white-washing; appropriating some of the money entrusted in his hands for charitable purposes to accomplish this end, and paying the poor whom he employed, for the work they did in rendering their own habitations wholesome. The friend and the advocate of the poor he ever was; and although nearly six years have elapsed since he quitted his curacy, the poor still continue to resort to their old adviser on many emergencies, and oftentimes excite those emotions of pity which continue to drain his pocket, now left nearly to his own resources for supply. In discharging his duties, he has alternately endured “the summer's fire,” and braved “the winter's cold.” Heated with exhausting labour, he has stepped from the font, where he was surrounded with stifling crowds of people, into the bitter blasts which awaited him

in the church-yard.—Interring one evening the body of a parishioner, he hastened to a grave at some distance, surrounded by a drunken mob * of Irish Papists, who in contempt of the ministry of a Protestant priest, had partly filled up the grave at the side of which, *for the sake of the living*, he was to perform the burial service over the deceased. Intrepid in the performance of the prescribed rites of his country's church, he harangued the brutalized multitude; he procured the earth to be thrown out of the grave, (though whilst the people were busied in doing so, the soles of his shoes were frozen to the plank on which he stood); and I participate in all his feelings, even now, at this distance of time, when he said to the crew of barbarians which surrounded him,—“the Papists in former days burnt our fathers at the stake, you shall witness that we can abide the frost as manfully as they endured the fire.” In the hands of a puling Popish priest, or with Mr. Gandolphy's management, a scene like this had been magnified into a martyrdom.—You may ask, perhaps, what compensation my friend (for I know him most intimately) received for all these exertions,—what reward for the dangers he underwent?—he had a *bare subsistence*; and unless he had possessed the fortitude to resist false shame, to regulate his expences by his means, and to incur no debts which he could not discharge, he must have fallen a victim to absolute poverty. Well, but now, at last, better fortune, you may suppose, has attended him—“not a jot, not a jot.” He has heretofore, in one day, married many couples in the morning; he has read prayers (always with peculiar deliberation and devotion) and preached three times, he has administered the sacrament to a numerous congregation, and again to a sick man in his chamber of death, he has churched women, christened infants, buried the dead, and gone home himself more dead than alive;—if he has now fewer of the occasional services to perform, there still remains more duty than enough to oppress him with bodily fatigue, though nothing can subdue his unconquerable spirit. Nothing can shake his attachment to the church,—the purest church under heaven—the church of England,—formed and framed by apostolic hands, before the church

* It is remarkable that what sobers a working English Protestant intoxicates a low Irish Papist. The latter rarely fails to get drunk, and generally is involved in a breach of the peace on a *Sunday*. The police offices abound with black eyes and the effects of bloody noses, on Mondays. The Scotch are rarely seen in such a predicament; the Welch, with all their irritability, but seldom; whereas the Irish are the pest of the offices. An Irish *burial* is almost always a scene of beastly drunkenness, as the Protestant clergy well know. The attendant mob enter the churchyard full of liquor, overflowing with insolence and contempt for the established religion.

of Rome was organized, and hundreds of years before the Pope usurped the title of universal bishop.*

For the present I have done with Mr. Gendolphy, whose pert illiberality, although you may disdain to chastise it, appeared to demand at least the notice of, Mr. Editor,

Your assured friend and humble servant,

May 2, 1814.

INDAGATOR.

SIR ADAM GORDON'S DISCOURSES.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—The venerable and worthy rector of West Tilbury, Essex, Sir Adam Gordon, Bart. has just published five sermons;—four of them (styled in the title-page “a Christmas present,”) on the Collects for the four Sundays in Advent. These discourses are exactly suited to the purpose stated in the title-page, that they are “published for the instruction of the inhabitants of his parish.” They contain plain and perspicuous remarks on some important points of doctrine.—The fifth is a sermon (printed separately,) preached at West Tilbury Church on the 13th of last January, the late general thanksgiving day. Mr. Stockdale of Pall-Mall, your own publisher, is also the publisher of Sir Adam Gordon's sermons. Under a perfect persuasion that the following passage, as it is of a piece with the genius and tenor of the PROTESTANT ADVOCATE, well deserves a place in your miscellany, I send it you, (without the privity of the author) for insertion. Speaking of the gracious acts of the Almighty, this exemplary parish priest says, that “HE appears disposed to continue to us the invaluable enjoyment of his *holy ordinances*, in their present power and purity. *This is the most desirable instance of a nation's happiness,—the greatest blessing which can be granted, and without presumption, we may build on these tokens of God's favour, that so it shall be, and that as he has kept us and our city from the power of the implacable foe, so he will still defend, and preserve it. This however would be but a slender*

* “Till the beginning of the seventh century the title of universal bishop was never arrogated by any. So far otherwise, that, about that very time, Pope Gregory I. commonly called the Great, grievously complained of John, patriarch of Constantinople, for assuming it; and pronounced him the forerunner of Antichrist, who should arrogate such a title to himself. Yet that Pope's next successor but one, Boniface III. laid claim to it, and had it conferred upon him by that monster of villainy Phocas, who from a plebeian made himself emperor, having murdered his master the Emperor Mauritius, with his wife and children. He it was who first gave the title of oecumenical [bishop of the habitable world], or universal bishop, to the Pope of Rome, as it is natural for one tyrant and usurper to countenance the pretensions of another.”—Our friend Indagator will pardon us for appending to his letter, by way of note, this apposite passage from Dr. Trapp's little work, which now lies before us.—*Edit.*

blessing, unless in his gracious providence, as just now observed, he had not done far *more* for us, since in the plenitude of his power and goodness, he hath evidenced his regard for the *SANCTUARY*, his love for that church he so wonderfully at first established in our land, and hath hitherto protected from the malignity and furiousness of her enemies. He hath put it into the hearts of those whom he appointed as instruments to accomplish his holy purposes; to check the ruinous designs of her subtle and malevolent adversaries; men who had courage to make a stand against the meditated encroachments upon her rights and reformed constitution. *This is a blessing indeed!* one which exceeds all praise!—to be saved from falling again under the dominion of *Papal rule*, and foreign authority. To be rescued from the infection of a religion, if *religion* that can be called which is replete with *error*, *superstition*, and *idolatry* of the *grossest* kind; an antisciptural, antichristian, a mere *political* system of worship, founded on false and delusive principles; which deprives mankind of the most consolatory resources, under the several afflictive conditions, to which their temporal trials may occasionally expose them; withholding that support which can only be found in the treasures of divine revelation:—in short, denying them the use of the *word of God*, from which alone, firm hope and substantial comfort can be derived. Surely, my brethren, *such* a deliverance must be granted as a favour of *inestimable* value. The plainness and purity of the gospel precepts, which the Redeemer of mankind through infinite love and condescension was pleased to publish to the world, at once reprobate and confound the ambitious secular motives of the popish church, and expose the absurdity and danger of her ensnaring tenets, so opposite to the vital spirit of *true* religion, and the eternal salvation of men's souls. The deep and insidious plots and contrivances, to reduce our reformed hierarchy to its *original* [*former*] unhappy bondage, from which, through divine mercy, she has been so long emancipated, had they not been well known and successfully opposed, must have inevitably effected the ruin of our admirable constitution, in *church* and *state*. *This*, therefore, I must once more repeat, my brethren, is a blessing of the highest consideration; the *very ground* work, without which, every *other* would have proved comparatively insignificant:—and which cannot be received, or ever fail to be remembered, but with the loudest tribute of praise, and most grateful thanksgiving; therefore, well does it behove us, to record it in the humble but joyful language of my text:—in this day, “*O lord we will praise thee; though thou wast angry with us, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortedst us.*”

March 24,

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

1814.

CLERICUS LONDINENSIS.

ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

If our readers will be pleased to refer to the Protestant Advocate for March last, p. 269, they will see an account of the School, in Bloomsbury, designed by Protestants for the instruction of poor Irish Children. We now present them with the following abbreviated report :—

“ A special general meeting of the subscribers and friends to the [Roman] Catholic Schools was held on Monday, the 16th instant, at the Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street; when 250 children, of both sexes, were assembled, and some of them publicly examined.—Lord Calthorpe took the chair, and was ably supported by Mr. Wilberforce, &c. &c.

“ The fundamental principle on which the schools are established is this:—To use no book for reading but the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, and a Spelling-book, leaving the children to attend what place of divine worship their parents prefer. At present, there are 230 scholars, who are making daily progress in useful knowledge; and whose advancement is not only satisfactory, but far exceeding the expectations that had been entertained. Of these, at least 100 have already learned to read the Holy Scriptures correctly, and many of them have even committed whole chapters to memory. In the Catholic schools the children, after the school-hours, return to their homes, to the enjoyment of parental kindness and protection. In these intervals, the children naturally mention the lessons, and repeat the passages of scripture which they have been taught: and it has been ascertained, that *several of the parents, until now unacquainted with the holy scriptures*, have been excited to attend earnestly to the instruction which such lessons have afforded.

“ By the expence of fitting up the school rooms, the institution has incurred a debt of nearly £100 to the treasurers. When, however, it is considered that the premises may, if necessary, be made to accommodate six hundred scholars, it is hoped this expence will not be thought to have been misapplied. It has long been the wish and intention of the committee, to establish other schools in those parts of the metropolis and its vicinity where poor Irish children reside, as soon as they shall be enabled by the public. But they must observe, that without an addition to the funds it will be impossible to support the increasing expenses even of the present establishment, much less to accomplish the more extended views which have been contemplated.—These increasing expences, occasioned as they are by the increasing number of scholars, present indeed a very gratifying reflection; inasmuch as they are

attended by a diffusion of the benefits of instruction, through this single institution, to a much larger extent than could have been expected. At the same time the society are thereby excited to appeal with greater animation to those who sympathize in the condition of the poor Irish, and especially to those ladies and gentlemen of our sister island who reside in England during some portion of the summer; and the society ardently hope that their known generosity will effectually augment the funds for promoting this Catholic design.

"A printed copy of the regulations, a list of subscribers, and a report of the provisional committee, containing an history of these schools, may be had by subscribers; on application to the Secretary, Mr. Charles Arrowsmith, No. 40, Devonshire Street, Queen Square. — *Subscriptions and donations* will be received by the joint-treasurers; Sir Digby Mackworth, Bart. at the banking-house of Messrs. Praed, Mackworth, and Co. 189, Fleet Street; and Thomas Clark, Esq. No. 1, Bury Place, Bloomsbury."

N. B. Several writers in the Popish miscellany (called *the Orthodox Journal*), among whom is BISHOP MILNER, have attacked the principle on which these schools are founded; but no opponent has been more violent or unremitting, whether in the pulpit or out of it, than the Rev. PETER GANDOLPHY! The grand topic of abuse is, that the children are taught to read a *Protestant Bible*, without note or comment! Like the dog in the manger, these priests will neither supply their poor with a Roman Catholic edition, nor suffer them to use a Protestant version: and yet Mr. Butler pretends that the Bible is not kept back from the laity of the Roman church!

MR. BELSHAM'S "RESTATEMENT, &c."

The Editor of the PROTESTANT ADVOCATE takes this opportunity to expose an artifice to which Mr. Belsham has had recourse, by which he would insinuate that the Prince Regent has given him leave to dedicate his attempt to maintain what he calls "the Claims of Dr. Priestly," &c. to his Royal Highness. The Rev. Heneage Horsley dedicated his learned father's (Bishop Horsley) Tracts to the Prince Regent *by permission*: but although Mr. Belsham has so worded his advertisement as to make it convey an idea that *his own* effort to uphold Socioianism is dedicated to the Prince,—the Editor of the Protestant Advocate thinks it but proper that the world should be informed that his Royal Highness is *no* *favourer of Unitarianism*, and *never gave leave to Mr. Belsham to dedicate his "Restatement and Vindication" to him.*

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For JULY 1814.

“ Time would fail me should I recount all the treasons of which the Pope and his Agents have been the authors and fomenters ; and yet these men (who make rebellion an article of their faith) have the impudence to speak and write of their loyalty to temporal kings and princes.”—*STOPFORD'S Ways and Methods of Rome's Advancement.*

SUPPRESSION OF THE UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY, AT DUBLIN, CALLING ITSELF THE CATHOLIC BOARD, &c.

BABYLON IS FALLEN ! The *soi-disant* CATHOLIC BOARD which has heretofore claimed so much of our attention, and against the tumultuous, seditious, and dangerous proceedings of which we have so often protested, is at length SUPPRESSED BY PROCLAMATION. The government of Ireland has manifested its patience and long-suffering in the eyes of all Europe. The Board has nosed the constituted authorities of the country. Together with a ridiculous use of the *forms*, it has usurped some of the *privileges* of parliament. It has done that which the jealousy of our constitution seems to allow only to the *House of Commons*—it has presumed to *levy money* on the Irish Roman Catholic subjects of this realm ; and, in so doing, it has ventured upon that supreme exercise of power which is not claimed by the Crown, and is cautiously abstained from by the House of Lords. The Catholic Board has insulted the established religion of this United Kingdom, and has listened, with loud plaudits, to the impudent ravings of a man who, in the teeth of history and fact, ventured to call Protestantism, which is, in fact, primitive Christianity, a *novelty* ;—well knowing, that, compared with the existence of Christianity in these Islands, *Papery* is but of *yesterday* ; that Britain received not its religion from Rome, but from the countries, the churches, and the Apostolic hands which transplanted the religion of JESUS CHRIST ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. *Αμήν.* to Rome itself. The Catholic Board has dared to appeal from the government of this

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realm to a foreign legislature—the *Cortes** of Spain. The Board has moreover, been foolish enough, in the plenitude of self-sufficiency, to quarrel with its selected friends and chosen agents in parliament. The policy of *Lord Donoughmore* and *Mr. Grattan*, was contemptible in the estimation of the heated enthusiasts who sat at the Board. They have lately goaded and *bored* the two statesmen in at least as great a degree, as they distressed that distinguished *orator*, *Mr. Canning*, who undertook their cause last year, contemned by them at that time, detested at present. Impatient of all control, the infuriated members of the Board, despising dominion, (like the murmurers and complainers of *St. Jude's days*,) were in a state of *rebellion* against the authority of *Rome itself*, at the very moment when the following PROCLAMATION was issued against them. We have long since been perfectly persuaded that *preparing a petition* was a mere *pretence*. The Board met for other purposes. The sentiments, the *mutual* sentiments (*see our last number*, p. 422,) of *Mr. Peel* and *Mr. Saurin* are now manifest. Those gentlemen view the proceedings of the Board in the same light, and concur in the adoption of one and the same method of putting an end to them. We contemplate with unspeakable delight, the benefit—the comfort which Ireland cannot but derive from this measure.

“ Proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

“ *WHITWORTH*.—Whereas an assembly, under the denomination of the *Catholic Board*, has, for a considerable time, existed in this part of the United Kingdom, under pretence of preparing petitions to parliament, on behalf of the Roman Catholics of Ireland :

“ And whereas, under the provisions of an act made in the parliament of Ireland, in the 38d year of his present Majesty, entitled, “ an act to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies, under the pretence of preparing public petitions or other addresses to his Majesty or the parliament,” the said assembly is an unlawful assembly :

“ And whereas great *artifice* has been employed, in order to persuade

* Sorry are we for the fall of the *Cortes*, for many reasons ; but particularly because to the *Cortes* is to be ascribed the abolition of that infernal tribunal, the Inquisition, in Spain. How hard is the task, to break the fetters of superstition ! Ferdinand VII. has re-united those galling chains which the *Cortes* and Cardinal Bourbon had nearly dissolved. May God's blessing attend that dignitary, the Archbishop of Toledo, that honour, that luminary of his church, in his retirement ! We hoped, we prayed for better results from his most meritorious endeavours to emancipate the Spanish people from the most terrible engine of Popish tyranny. To the will of God we humbly submit. In his own good time he will perform our petitions.

the public generally, and his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland in particular, that such an assemblage is lawful and necessary to the exercise of the right of petitioning :

“ And whereas the law hath hitherto not been enforced against the said assembly, in the expectation that those who had been *misled by said artifice*, would become sensible of their error, and in the hope that the said assembly would be discontinued without the necessity of legal interposition :

“ Now, we, the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice and consent of his Majesty's Privy Council, being satisfied that the permanence or the further continuance of the said assembly can only tend to serve the ends of *factions and seditious persons*, and to the violation of the public peace, do hereby strictly caution and forewarn all such of his Majesty's subjects, as are members of the said assembly, that they do henceforward abstain from any farther attendance at or in the said assembly : and do hereby give notice, that if, in defiance of this our promotion, the said assembly shall again meet after the date hereof, the said assembly, and all persons acting as members of the same, shall be proceeded against according to law.

“ Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, this 3d day of June, 1814.

“ MANNERS, C.

“ CHARLES CASHEL,

“ DROGHEDA,

“ WESTMEATH,

“ MAYO,

“ ERNE,

“ CHARLES KILDARE,

“ CASTLECOOTE,

FRANKFORT,

J. M'MAHON,

G. HEWETT,

G. KNOX,

G. ORMSBY VANDELEUR,

WILLIAM SAURIN,

S. HAMILTON.”

“ GOD SAVE THE KING.”

The voice of the people of Ireland, expressed by the grand Juries of counties and cities, and by other accredited assemblies, has been heard by the Lord Lieutenant and the Council of the country. The Board apprehensive of the effect which such representations must necessarily have on the government of Ireland, tried in vain to bring them into disrepute. The Board called them *calumnies*, but the government knew them to be *truths*. We here print the resolutions of the Board, passed May 19th, which we regard as the dying pangs of that many-headed monster ;—on the 3d of June, the proclamation put a period to its existence. The following resolutions shew the sense of the *aggregate meeting* concerning the

unfortunate. Signor [Quarantotti's Rescript, a document which pleases neither Papist nor Protestant;—but of that more below.

“ Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics of Ireland.

“ At a meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, held at the Farming Repository, in Stephen's-green, Dublin, on Thursday, the 19th of May, 1814, Thomas Wyse, Esq. in the chair,

“ Resolved, that Mr. Hay be requested to continue to act as secretary to the Catholics of Ireland.

“ Mr. O'Gorman reported the proceedings of the General Board of the Catholics of Ireland, since the Aggregate Meeting on the 15th of June, 1813.

“ Resolved, that we have seen without surprize, or even indignation, but with *great contempt*, resolutions and addresses published as from certain individuals of the grand juries of some counties in Ireland, containing *false and base calumnies* respecting the intentions, principles, and conduct of the General Board of the Catholics of Ireland. In these calumnies we easily recognise that spirit of bigotry and oppression, which, *in violation of the faith of treaties,** and in opposition to the plain dictates of justice, originally deprived the Catholic people of Ireland of their rights, and which spirit, now that more direct persecution is discontinued, exhibits itself in the propagation of false imputations.

“ Resolved, that we deem it a duty to ourselves and to our country, solemnly and distinctly to declare, that any *decree, mandate, rescript, or decision whatsoever of any foreign power or authority, religious or civil,* ought not, and cannot of right, assume any dominion or controul over the political concerns of the Catholics of Ireland.

“ Resolved, that the venerable and venerated the Catholic priests of the Archdiocese of Dublin† have deserved our most marked and cordial

* *Faith of Treaties.* We pledge ourselves to expose the nonsense of this once more repeated allusion to what has been called the *treaty of Limeric*. We must once again, in our turn, remind our readers of the old Popish trick, never to abandon an assertion, an assumed fact, or an argument how often soever, or however clearly they have been before refuted.

† *Dublin.* See our last number, p. 423. We contented ourselves with giving only the name of Michael Blake, P. P. and president of the meeting; we suppose Mr. Blake is the parish priest (P. P.) of Bridge Street chapel, where the Dublin Romish clergy assembled; for we conceived it a matter of small importance to print, here in England, the names of a number of obscure men, with uncouth additions attached to them;—but as we have received, from an invaluable, and indefatigable friend in Ireland, a note or two upon some of them; serving at least, to shew, to a certain degree, the leaning of Dr. [Cardinal] Troy, we have thought it right to print them here, enclosing in

gratitude, as well for the uniform tenor of their sanctified lives, as in particular for the holy zeal and alacrity with which, at the present period of

brackets our friend's observations. The letters following some of the names, remind us of those which Dr. Goldsmith (Essay xx,) places after the great names of Dr. Richard Rock, and Dr. Timothy Franks, the former designated F. U. N. and the latter F. O. C. H.

Michael Blake, P. P. and president of the meeting. Mich. Keogh, curate of Meath-street, chapel.

Miles Macpharlan, P. P.

John Fitzharris, Tawasend-street chapel.

Andrew Lube, P. P.

[Dr. Murray is P. P.]

Morgan D'Arcy, P. P.

John Grace, do.

John Joseph Smyth, P. P.

Simon M'Carthy, French-street chapel.

Joseph Ham, P. P.

Charles Boyle, curate, Clontarf.

Anthony Cahill, P. P. of Lucan.

Joseph Sheridan, Church-street chapel.

Patrick Brennan, P. P.

Michael Newlan, James's-street chapel.

James M'Keon, P. P. of Finagh.

Nicholas Malone, Church-street chapel.

Barnaby Murphy, Econome of Townsend-street parish. [Dr. Murray, P. P. of this chapel is coadjutor to Dr. Troy.]

James Campbell, Meath-street chapel.

Patrick Corcoran, superior of Church-street chapel.

Richard Fannin, John's-lane chapel.

E. G. O'Reilly, V. Prov. O. C. D. Clarendon-street chapel. [This chapel belongs to a Friary.]

John Martin O'Donovan, Arran-quay,

Peter Wade, Mary's-lane chapel.

John Madden, John's-lane chapel.

John Devereux, Church-street chapel.

James Oates, do.

Michael P. Kinsela, O. S. F.

Francis Joseph L'Estrange, do.

Daniel Costigan, Liffey-street chapel.

Joseph O'Hanlon, ditto, ditto.

[Dr. Troy himself is P. P.]

John Joseph Maher, do.

Joseph Glinn, ditto, ditto. [Dr. Troy, P. P.]

Christ. Boylan, O.S.A. prior of St. John's.

Edward Armstrong, ditto, ditto. [Dr. Troy, P. P.]

George Staunton, O.S.A. S.T.M. Ex. Prov.

Walter Mylee, ditto, ditto. [D. Troy, P. P.]

Denis Ferrall, O.S.D.

Laurence Sylvester Phelan, Curate of St. James's.

Patrick Doyle, do. [Dr. Troy, P. P.]

John C. Kearny, Francis-street chapel.

W. M. Prendergast, curate of St. Audeon.

Denis Gaban, O. S. A. curate of St. Catherine.

John James Callan, curate of St. James's.

Miles O'Connor, curate of St. Audeon.

Stephen Dowdall, O. S. F.

Joseph Joy Dean, principal of Blanchers-town academy.

Andrew Ennis, Liffey-street chapel. [Dr. Troy himself is P. P.]

William Yore, curate of St. James's.

Patrick Brady, Meath-street chapel.

James Kavanagh, curate of Francis-street chapel.

Hugh Daly, St. Michael and St. John's,

John Barret, Francis-street chapel.

James Reynolds, O. S. F.

B. J. M'Dermott, S. Ord. Prædm. curate of Francis-street chapel.

Patrick Purcell, curate of St. Audeon.

John Pearson, curate of St. Michael's and St. John's.

Michael Doyle, curate of St. Michael and St. John's.

Alexander Roche, ditto, ditto.

Patrick Callaghan, Church-street chapel.

Thomas Coleman, ditto, ditto.

Patrick Caffrey, do.

general alarm and consternation, they have consoled the people of Ireland, by the public declaration of their sentiments respecting the *mischievous document*, signed "*B. Quarantotti*," and disposed them to await with confidence the decision of our revered prelates at the approaching Synod.

"Resolved, that we do most earnestly and respectfully beseech our reverend prelates* to take into consideration at the approaching Synod the propriety of for ever precluding any possible danger either of *ministerial* or *foreign influence* in the appointment of our prelates.

" THOMAS WYSE, Chairman.

" Richard Sheil, Esq. in the chair.

" Resolved, that the thanks of the Catholics of Ireland, be given to Thomas Wyse, Esq. for his highly proper, *talented*, and dignified conduct in the chair.

" RICHARD SHEIL, Chairman.

" EDWARD HAY, Secretary."

We were prepared to have presented to our readers many copies of resolutions and addresses which the attention of our friends in Ireland, and elsewhere has sent us ; but we conceive that it is no longer necessary to print them in the Protestant Advocate. They all concur in characterizing the Board as a *dangerous, illegal assembly, incompatible with the public weal*, and finally a *public nuisance*. Under what new form *treason* is to be organized, *revolt* excited, and *separation* accomplished, we leave to the ingenuity of the *emphatical people*. We now revert to the consideration of Mr. Quarantotti's letter to Dr. Poynter.

THE RESCRIPT OF THE PROPAGANDA.

We have thought it but proper to record in our pages a copy of the *Latin original* of this document, very kindly sent us by one of our most honoured friends, a gentleman of consummate learning, ever alive to the preservation of true religion, and the maintenance of the PROTESTANT

Dennis M'Freely, Portmarnock.

John Francis Roche, Clarendon-street.

Patrick Corr, Mary's-lane.

Michael Bernard Corr, do.

James Quin, St. Michael and St. John's.

J. Leonard, O. Capm. Ecproolis, Church-street.

James Patrick Kenny, do.

L. Plunket, O. S. D.

James Carey, P. P. Swords.

John Murray, Swords.

Anthony Guilfoyle, O. S. A. Adam and Eve.

* Prelates. See below, p. 443.

ASCENDANCY. We lay the letter before our readers with which he favoured us, under the signature of CRITO.

Proceedings of the College de Propagandâ Fide at Rome.

The following *decretal* and *encyclical* letter, written in choice Romish Latin, from Monseignor Quarantotti, vice-president of the *Propaganda*, to Dr. Poynter, vicar apostolic of the London district, and through him to all the other prelates and vicars apostolic of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, dated February 16, 1814, applauding, with a few exceptions, the *Catholic Bill* proposed and rejected in the last session of Parliament; and recommending it, if proposed again, to their unanimous acceptance, deserves to be recorded in the archives of the PROTESTANT ADVOCATE, as well as in those of the ROMISH CHURCH; furnishing, indeed, a fresh and curious specimen of the *versatile policy* of the court of *Rome*, now bending to the times, and conceding long contested prerogatives, and hardily denying her intolerant principles and constant machinations against foreign, and especially heretical states, "*out of the bosom of her church*," in order to acquire and enlarge her *political power*.

CRITO.

EPISTOLA.

" Illme. ac Rme. Domine.—1. Non sine maximâ voluptate accepimus, facile esse futurum, ut lex quæ superiore anno rogata fuit pro Catholicorum istius florentissimi regni emancipatione a pœnalibus legibus, quæque ex modico suffragiorum defectu rejecta fuit, in novis hujus anni comitiis iterum proponatur. Utinam hæc tam optata lex aliquando feratur, et Catholici, qui præclara semper præbuerunt obedientiæ et fidelitatis suæ argumenta, a gravissimo quo jamdiu premuntur iugo tandem emergant, ut, absque ullo honorum et facultatum detrimento, ad ea possint alacrius incumbere quæ et religio, et patriæ bonum, ab iis expostulat: quod quidem sperare juvat a beneficentissimo rege, atque ab inclytâ natione, quæ æquitate, prudentiâ cæterisque virtutibus, tum antea tum maxime postremis hisce temporibus, tantam sibi apud omnes populos gloriam comparavit.

2. Et quoniam delatum est, aliquas inter episcopos abortas esse quæstiones atque discrimina circa conditiones quæ Catholicis appositæ sunt, ut cæteris æquiparentur; Nos, qui, summo absente pastore, sacris missionibus præfecti sumus, et pontificiis omnibus facultatibus ad id communiti, muneri nostri partis esse putavimus, omnem ambiguitatem atque obicem remove-re quæ optatæ conciliationi possit obstatere, et quo non pervenit epis-

coporum facultas, 8. Sedis auctoritate et consensione supplere: habito igitur doctissimorum præsulum ac theologorum concilio, perspectis literis, tum ab ampl. tuâ, tum ab archiepiscopo Dubliniensi, huc missis, ac re in peculiari congregatione mature perpensâ, DECRETUM EST, ut *Catholici legem quæ superiore anno rogata fuit pro illorum emancipatione, juxta formam quæ ab amplitydine tuâ relata est, æquo gratoque animo excipiant et amplectentur.*

“ 3. Unum est quod aliquâ declaratione egit, scilicet secunda jussurandi pars, quâ “ *Clerus obstringitur, nullam habere se posse cum summo pontifice ejusque ministris, communicationem quæ directe vel indirecte valeat Protestantium regimen sive ecclesiam subvertere, aut quomodo libet perturbare.*” Satis exploratum est, id jure Divino præcipuum esse ministrorum ecclesiæ munus, ut *Catholicam fidem, quæ una potest ad æternam felicitatem perducere, undique propagare curent, erroresque depellere: hoc evangelii præcepta docent, hoc apostolorum, eorumque successorum exempla.* Jam si Catholicus Protestantem aliquem ad orthodoxam religionem revocaverit, perjuri reus poterit judicari, *quia nempe, illo avocando Protestantem ecclesiam aliquo modo turbasse videretur*; si res ita intelligatur, juramentum hoc præstare non licet, utpote quod Catholico dogmati reluctatur: sin ea sit legislatorum mens, ut Catholicæ ecclesiæ ministris non interdicta sit prædicatio, suasio, consilium, sed tantum *ne liceat ipsi Protestantium ecclesiam seu regimen vi et armis, aut malis quibusque artibus, perturbare*, hoc rectum est, nostrisque principiis, apprime cohæret. — Tuum itaque erit, excelsum istud regimen omni animi demissione ac studio deprecari, ut, ad sedandas tutandasque Catholici cleri conscientias, modificationem aut declarationem ejusmodi juramenti formulæ dare velit; quæ, omni ambiguitate sublatâ, pacificæ prædicationi ac persuasioni locum relinquat: quod si vel lata jam fuerit rogata lex iisdem verbis, vel nihil in iis immutari voluerit, *clerus acquiescat*; ac satis erit, ut *palam ipse denunciât, eam esse suam jurandi mentem, ut orthodoxa in ejusmodi juramenti doctrina salva res maneat, ac non aliter*; atque, ut protestatio ista omnibus innotescat, et sit etiam posteris exemplo, in acta relata servabitur. Optandum quoque foret, ut ab aliquibus etiam publici concilii membris, si fieri posset, *declaratio ferret, hoc plane sensu, ac non alio, Britannicum regimen a Catholico clero juramentum exigere.* — Cætera vero, quæ in propositâ lege contineri scripsisti, ea quidem poterunt ex APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS INDULGENTIA tolerari.

“ 4. Quod “ *rex certior fieri velit de illorum fidelitate qui ad episcopatum vel decanatum promoventur, ac tutus esse, num iis dotibus instructi sint quæ bonum civem decent;*” quod ipse præterea, “ *ad hæc investiganda comitatum instituat, qui in eorum mores inquireat ac referat regi,*”

prout ampl. tua nobis significavit; quod demum, "eâ ipsa de causâ, rex ab his dignitatibus exclusos in posteram velit *alienigenas*, tum eos, qui a *quinquennio domicilium* in regno non habuerunt:" hæc omnia cum id tantum respiciant quod *civile est*, *omnem mereri tolerantiam* possunt: præstat quidem, ut nostri antistites grati acceptique sint regi, ut plenâ illius consensione suum ministerium exercéant; ut denique, de illorum probitate constet etiam apud eos *qui de ecclesiæ græmio non sunt*; *episcopum* epim (ut docet, apostolus, 1 Tim. 3, 7.) *oportet et testimonium habere bonum ab iis qui foris sunt*: hæc cum ita sint, ex traditâ nobis auctoritate, *indulgemus ut qui ad episcopatum vel decanatum designati ac propositi sunt a clero, admitti vel rejici possint a rege, juxta rogatam legem*. Postquam igitur clerus illos de more delegerit quos ad occupandas hujusmodi dignitates digniores in Domine judicaverit; metropolitanus provinciæ in Hiberniâ, vicarius vero apostolicus senior in Angliâ, et Scotiâ, illos comitatus denunciabunt, ut regia inde approbatio sive dissentio habeatur. Si candidati rejecti fuerint, alii proponentur qui regi placeant; si vero probati, metropolitanus aut vicarius apostolicus, ut supra, acta mittet ad sacram hanc congregationem, quæ singulorum meritis rite perpensis, canonicam a summo pontifice institutionem obtinendam curabit.

"5. Illud quoque video commissum esse eidem comitati munus, "ut nempe, *litteras examinare debeat, quæ alicui ex clero Britannico ab ecclesiasticâ potestate scribuntur, ac diligenter inquirere, an aliquod illæ contineant quod gubernio officere, aut publicam tranquillitatem aliquo modo perturbare possit*." Cum in *ecclesiasticis ac spiritualibus rebus* non interdicta sit cum capite ecclesiæ communicatio, sed comitatus inspectio ad *politicum* tantum referatur, erit etiam in hoc acquiescendum. Bonum est ut regimen istud nullam plane concipere possit de nostrâ communicatione suspicionem. Cunctis patere possunt ea quæ scribimus; non enim nos ullo pacto miscemus in iis quæ *civilia sunt*, sed ea tantum inquirimus, quæ *Divina et ecclesiastica lex, ac bonus ecclesiæ ordo postulare videntur*. Ea tantum secreto servanda erunt, quæ *internum conscientiæ forum afficiunt*; et in iis satis cautum esse video per regulas ab eadem lege traditas: satis nobis persuasum est sapiens istud regimen, dum publicæ securitati consulere vult, nunquam proinde exigere velle ut Catholicæ religioni desint suæ; imo potius gratum habere ut illam sedulo observent; hæc enim sancta et plane divina religio publicæ potestati favet, solia confirmat, subditosque facit obtemperantes, fideles, studiososque patriæ. Nihil propterea potest apostolicæ sedi gratius ac jucundius accidere, quam ut inter gubernium istud et Catholicos illi subiectos plena concordia, mutuaque fiducia servetur! ut reipublicæ moderatores de Catholicorum fidelitate, obedientiâ atque adhæsiione dubitare nunquam possint; ut de-

nlque Catholici ipsi omni plane studio, candore, alacritate, patriæ deserviant.

“ 6. Quapropter omnes in Domino hortamur, præsertim vero episcopos, ut, omni contentione sepositâ, ad cæterorum edificationem, omnes unanimiter id ipsum sapiant ac sentiant ut *nullus detur schismati locus, nec ullum rei Catholicæ damnum inferatur*; verûm si lata fuerit lex quâ Catholici a pœnis quibus obstricti sunt liberentur, eam non modo æque animo amplectantur, juxta ea quæ dicta sunt, sed etiam *majestati suæ et magnificentissimo ejus concilio maximas agant pro tanto beneficio gratias, eoque se dignos exhibeant*. Denique ampl^m. tuam rogamus, ut cunctis istius regni episcopis vicariisque apostolicis *epistolam hanc* communicari curet; ac fore sperantes, ut his, quæ ex tributâ nobis potestate *decreta sunt*, prompte, planeque sese conforment, Deum O. M. precor, ut ampl^m. tuam diutissime sospitet, atque interim omni cum observantiâ me tibi obstrictum profiteor.

“ Obsequentissimus famulus,

“ J. B. QUARANTOTTI, Vice Præf^{us}.

“ MICHAEL ADEODATUS GALEASSI, Subst^m.

“ Datum Romæ, ex Ædibus de Propagandâ Fide, 16 Februarii 1814.

“ Ill^{mo}. ac Rev^{mo}. D^{no}. GULIELMO POYNTER,

Epis^o. Haliensi, Vicario Londini Apostolico, Londinum.”

Our readers will find the English translation of the rescript in our last number, p. 391. The tumult which it has occasioned in Ireland is tremendous. In every part of that kingdom, meetings of the Romish clergy have been held, and resolutions have been formed, expressing, in the strongest terms, an abhorrence of *foreign influence*, meaning, principally, by this phrase, any interference of the English government, authorized by the British Parliament, in the choice, nomination, or final approbation of Roman Catholic prelates. If the Irish Papists abhor *foreign influence*,—what will they say to the influence which Rome claims and exercises in all these points and particulars? They talk, in some of their strings of resolutions, of giving to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's. They do not, and cannot render to their King his due, if they withhold a portion of that allegiance which God commands—“submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King as supreme, &c.” and in disobeying a clear precept of the New Testament, they condemn the authority of God. But why do we speak of the *New Testament*, knowing how little the voice of scripture is esteemed by the Papists? They seem almost to

detest the very name of the Bible. They call England, in derision, "the land of Bibles!" Would it were so, and Ireland too! There would soon be an end of Popery, in that case. On this subject, however, for the present, we must suppress what we long to say. Our heart is hot within us, and it is pain and grief to us to defer, for a moment, the laying before the public what has long occupied our attention.—Without loading our pages with the resolutions framed by the Romish clergy of Clonfert, of Meath, of Dromore, of Dublin (assembled at Rathdrum; where the language of their brethren at Bridge Street Chapel is adopted) &c. &c. we shall content ourselves with giving the resolutions of the Roman Catholic prelates, who act with less *precipitation* than their brethren, the inferior clergy. The rescript arises immediately out of letters addressed to the Propaganda by Dr. Poynter and by *Dr. Troy*. In all probability the last-named politician did not foresee the great fire which a little matter has kindled. He is probably alarmed, and very likely he may wish the Pope to disown, or to annul the egregious rescript of Quarantotti. A negotiation is therefore to be opened with his Holiness. We feel perfectly satisfied how that will terminate. The Pope is not prepared to yield up the ecclesiastical sovereignty which he exercises over Ireland. Sooner than let Ireland slip out of his grasp, his Holiness will draw a pen through M. Quarantotti's letter, or send M. Quarantotti himself to the castle of St. Angelo, with the whole college of Propaganda to keep him company. With all its claim to the possession of *universal* ecclesiastical power *jure divino*, with all its grandiloquence, there is not a more *timely* court, or one which can turn, twist, and wind with more facility than that of Rome; as we shall soon shew, in a pregnant instance. But let us not anticipate. We must first print the following document.

" CATHOLIC PRELATES.

" At a general meeting of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, held at Maynooth, on the 27th day of May, 1814, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :—

" Resolved, That a congratulatory letter be addressed to his Holiness Pius VII. on his happy liberation from captivity.

" Resolved, That having taken into our mature consideration the late Rescript of the Vice-Prefect of the Propaganda, we are fully convinced that it is not *mandatory*.

" Resolved, That we do now open a *communication* with the Holy See on the subject of this document; and that, for this purpose, two prelates be forthwith deputed to convey our unanimous and *well-known* sentiments to the Chief Pastor, from whose wisdom, zeal, and tried magna-

nimity we have reason to expect such decision as will give general satisfaction.

“Resolved, That the two last resolutions be respectfully communicated to the Right Hon. the Earl of Donoughmore, and to the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, with an earnest entreaty, that when the question of Catholic emancipation shall be discussed in Parliament they will exert their powerful talents in excluding from the bill, intended for our relief, those clauses which we have already deprecated as severely penal to us, and highly injurious to our religion.”

In this precious *morceau* we beg to notice, that, notwithstanding all that these *prelates*, and their adherents, have so bravely denied concerning the strange appellation of *Roman Catholic (particular, universal)*, these *titulars* of Maynooth make use of the term, and that (in order, one might think, to shew their contempt of precision) immediately after having called themselves, *pro solida humilitate sua, Catholic prelates*.—We ask leave, also, just to point out the sly kick which they give to Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, insulting them *respectfully*, with “an earnest entreaty” to endeavour to exclude from the bill lately introduced for the relief of the *Roman Catholics*, as they call themselves, those clauses which the advocates of the bill introduced into it, well aware that Parliament would not listen to their overtures unless they could offer something in the shape of *securitiss* for the preservation of the British constitution, which is *fundamentally PROTESTANT*. If Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan be not sick of their clients, their stomachs must be either the most *constant*, or the most callous stomachs in the world.

RESCRIPT OF THE PROPAGANDA IN 1805.

We must now call the attention of the public to another document, also from Rome, laying down, no doubt on *infallible principles*, doctrines just the reverse of those lately hazarded. This rescript transmitted from the then secretary of the Propaganda, the identical M. Quarantotti, to Dr. CONCANEN, one of the English vicars apostolic, was written no longer ago than 1805. Now this we lay our finger upon, as furnishing full proof of the *time-serving* genius of the court, the consistory, the church (let the *Roman Catholics* take the name best suited to their *present* purpose) of Rome. “O full of all subtilty and all mischief,” intent ever on forwarding thy wretched purpose; “savouring,” at all seasons, “the things that be of men;” ever seeking for temporal aggrandizement, under the shew of performing religious duty; thou corrupt, thou false church! to what artifice wilt thou next resort? The sagacity of man is hardly equal to

the tracing of thy serpentine mazes. Here, crafty as thou art, thou art taken in thine own williness. Here thou hast set forth manifest *contradiction*, if not *deceit*. Pro and con, for and against, now spurning a *veto*, then admitting the control of lay authority;—no matter, refuse or concede, anathematize or cherish, protest or admit,—thine artifices are manifest, and they must be “fools and slow of heart,” indeed. who can any longer be imposed upon by such paltry trickeries.—The following paper was printed, by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, in their gazette, the Dublin Evening Post, of May 12th last, and is vouched by them to be the rescript of 1805. In this, as in other instances, their zeal is greater than their wisdom; but it were folly in us not to use the arguments against Popery, supplied by the Papists themselves. Let but the public compare the following rescript with that of Quarantotti's late effusion,—Rome *versus* Rome,—and let common sense determine the controversy.

“*Copy of a Letter from the Secretary de Propagandâ Fide, to Dr. Concanen, 1805.*”

“The letter to [of] Dr. Milner, Vicar Apostolic of the Middle District of England, directed to you, the translation of which, by his desire, you have communicated to the secretary of the congregation *de propagandâ fide*, has filled the congregation with the same apprehensions manifested by that prelate, IN CONSIDERING THE TIME of deciding the fortune of the Catholics by parliament, *as the most dangerous for the purity and existence of our holy religion, that has occurred since the time of the Reformation in that kingdom*; nor is it any injustice to an *heterodox government*, if this very measure be suspected of having that tendency; for which reason, the *vicar apostolic* and the *bishops* of that empire, must lay aside every idea of their own advantage or temporal interest, that their hearts may not be weakened so far as to induce them to consent to any thing that may turn out prejudicial to religion.

“This spirit of *disinterestedness* is manifested in Dr. Milner, from the tenor of his letter; and, in consequence of it, he wisely desires of the sacred congregation instructions, by which he may be guided in the *treaty* in which he is engaged.

“The sacred congregation, however, finds all projects submitted to him, by those politicians, replete with most serious difficulties. In the first place, as to the project of allowing fixed pensions from the treasury to the bishops and clergy of the empire, his holiness has already expressed his sentiments on that head, by means of a note directed to you from the secretary, on the 7th of August, 1801, which, being communicated to the metropolitans and bishops of Ireland, they answered, that they would

cheerfully surrender every temporal advantage for the preservation of religion. A copy of that note is annexed, and to be sent to Dr. MILNER. And, in truth, by accepting such pensions, the clergy will lose many other means of support, which they now derive from the piety of the faithful, and those pensions would be their only support. Now, who does not perceive to what serious temptations the clergy would be exposed, by consenting to something prejudicial to religion, at the desire of a government of a different religion; which can, even without notice, reduce them to beggary, by withdrawing those pensions. For this, and many other reasons, when the National Assembly of France adopted the maxim of giving pensions to the clergy, Pius VI. of holy memory, condemned in his brief, of the 10th March, 1791, page 61, and seq.; and when the court of London obtained possession of Corsica, and made a similar proposal, the holy see opposed it, and that court gave up the project.

“ With regard to the influence demanded by the civil power, in the nomination of bishops, and the various proposals made to regulate that influence, it is to be observed, that a positive nomination cannot be allowed to an heterodox government; to shew this, it will be sufficient to recur to the sentiments of Pope Benedict XIV.—this pontiff, in a letter addressed to the Bishop of Breslau, 15th May, 1748, thus expresses himself, “ that, in the whole course of ecclesiastical history, there is not recorded a single example of allowing the appointment of a Catholic bishop or abbot to a sovereign of another religion! adding that, he would not, and could not introduce an example, that would scandalize the whole Catholic world; and that, besides the dreadful judgment inflicted on him in the next world, he would render his name odious and accursed during his life, and much more so after his death.”—The same difficulty would arise although the rights of appointment were limited to a class of clergymen to be first approved of by the bishops, as for example, in which two were to be appointed in each diocese or district. But besides this project (of vicars) involves the greatest difficulties on account of local circumstances; for, even abstracting from the possible ambition of clergymen to be appointed vicar-general by the bishops, and vicars-apostolic, when the candidates are selected from the labouring clergy, even the ambitious are induced to labour for the benefit of souls. It is also clear, that if in such a want of clergy to be selected for the post of vicar-general, missionaries will become scarce indeed. The simple right of excluding or rejecting would produce fewer inconveniences, were it properly limited; because otherwise, by continually excluding, a positive right might be indirectly obtained.

“ But this is entirely new, nor can the consequences of its introduction be calculated; but as all these projects are mentioned for the purpose

of giving security to the government, that no obnoxious person will be promoted, it should be sufficient to recur to the experience of so many ages, to assure the government of the anxiety of the holy see, not only that the persons elected should not be obnoxious, but even pleasing to it. Even you, sir, can attest the great industry, activity, and secrecy, used by the holy see, in excluding a person, some time ago, who was suspected would not be pleasing to the court, although he was most strongly and powerfully recommended, and appointing another, who would certainly be acceptable. Moreover, the sacred congregation, being always in the habit of paying attention to the recommendations and postulations of the metropolitans and other vicars apostolic, and even of the clergy of the respective dioceses, before it presents such persons to his holiness, it must readily know which persons are not acceptable to that government, so as to exclude them entirely. As to the wish of the nobility to have bishops instead of vicars apostolic in England, considered abstractedly, is most holy and consonant to the constitution of the church, and had ten long since spoken of in England, the object alone which they have in view is unpleasant, that of having prelates less attached to the holy see. But Rome would be under no apprehension from such change, from the conduct of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, with whom she is equally satisfied and pleased, as with the vicars apostolic of England and Scotland even with adventuring; that although, as to right, their condition is different still experience teaches that the consequences are the same. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE TIMES should alone be adverted to, and the inconveniencies which may probably be excited by the Cisalpine Club, to put out the propriety of wording any change. The most fatal of all projects would be (although Dr. Milner says it is entertained but by few) that of subjecting all communication with Rome to the examination of his Majesty's ministers. This right has never been acknowledged by the holy see, in a Catholic prince, and the example quoted of France is limited by concordats to the ecclesiastical appointments. But how much more dangerous would it be in an heretodox government of opposite religious maxim. It is to be hoped, that the few who proposed it will not have adherents, and that a government, which boasts of giving complete liberty to subjects, will not impose chains in those delicate concerns which regard conscience, on which alone the Catholics confer with the holy see, as appears from the questions sent by this sacred congregation to the bishops and vicars apostolic, to be a guide and rule in their relation of the state of their dioceses, the first article of which is, that it does not seek for political news. It has been matter of great comfort to the sacred congregation to find, that Doctor Milner has obtained great liberty of conscience for

Catholic soldiery, and that he has induced many personages to assent to a new validating marriages contracted before Catholic priests.—The sacred congregation desires you to return him their sincerest thanks; finally, the subscribing secretary assures you of his esteem, &c. &c. &c."

This, as the editor of the Dublin Evening Post says, was the opinion of the Propaganda when the Pope was free and on terms of friendship with the French Emperor. The other epistle was written when his holiness was the prisoner of Buonaparte. To harass England might be an object with Rome in 1805, and, again, to produce a conflagration in Ireland might be a fresh object in 1814. TIME-SERVING, (at Rome they call it *policy*) and not ruth, has ever swayed the councils and governed the pens of the Romanists. And here, we cannot but remark how easily the matter may be taken up, and the cat, not long since let out of the bag, (*see p. 282*), be turned in again once more;—if it be not something like carrying coals to Newcastle, to offer an expedient to Rome,—it is only for the Holy Father gravely to insist upon the preservation of consistency, and to say, that when he was a free man he declared against a *Veto*, and now that he is no longer in duress he must adhere to his former opinion; unless indeed Dr. Poynter and Dr. Troy may have assigned some good, some *weighty reasons*, in their letters to Rome, why Pius VII. should father the doctrine of M. Quarantotti. No doubt his *eminence*, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, is prepared to account for his conduct to his own people. It must be confessed, however, that Liffey Street Chapel, where St. Grace presides, sent a strong phalanx to support the *insurgents* in the chapel of Bridge Street. So much for Dr. Troy—let him cover his head with his red hat, if he has one; but as for DR. MILNER—the Bishop of Castabala—vicar apostolic of the middle district, from which he has been so long absent—what shall we say of DR. MILNER?

It has been asserted that he is gone to Rome. Master as he is in the art, he need not go thither to teach the craft and mystery of tergiversation.—1. He instructs a member of either House of Parliament to offer the King a *Veto*. 2. He refuses, in *spirited terms*, to make good his offer, and says he will *die first*. 3. The sober English Papists dislike such strange behaviour; the Doctor scolds them heartily, calls Mr. Butler every thing that is base, tears the unfortunate conveyancer's *blue book* to tatters, and throws himself into the arms of the Irish Roman Catholics, who give him a most cordial reception, and join with him in abusing every thing that is English. 4. M. Quarantotti's letter arrives, and Dr. Poynter gives a new direction to his principles, just as Dr. Concanen had whirled him about in 1805: Dr. Milner instantly cuts his Irish connexions, sends in (what our newspaper-writers call) his *adhesion*

to the last importation of Romish contradiction, makes his peace with his Engli. friends, (what has passed between him and Mr. Butler does not yet appear), and flies off,—some say to Rome;—but what may be his intention there, no one can guess; it may be to procure absolution for all his political sins; it may be to persuade the Pope to reestablish the former Rescript, or it may be to desire him to enforce the last;—we will not pretend to be better skilled in divination than Proteus himself, and therefore we must leave the Doctor's purpose in visiting Rome to the elucidation of *time*, and, time's fair daughter, *truth*. Thus much we will venture to say, that the Doctor is not gone to Rome to solicit a *viaticum* for *Castabala*; and we will also add, that, in our opinion, notwithstanding all the seeming peremptoriness, and all the boasted bravery of this Doctor militant, he will be of the Pope's mind whatever his Holiness may assert;—if his Holiness shall cry *mun*, the vicar apostolic of the middle district is prepared to cry *budget*. We intended presenting our readers with a great many points of evidence, to substantiate what we have asserted concerning Dr. Milner; we have a rich fund of materials, *prepared to our hands by the Doctor-himself*. He is an everlasting scribbler, and is ever in some squabble or other; he makes a practice of committing an account of all his brawls to paper, and, with unexampled generosity, he chronicles his battles, his temporary triumphs, alike, and his lasting disgraces. Our readers cannot but remember the mention formerly made in the Prot. Adv. of a monthly magazine called, modestly enough, *the Orthodox Journal*, which is understood to be patronised by Dr. Milner, and gives the world a full, true and particular account of his quarrels and pseudo-martyrdoms—his metaphorical

“Purgings, pumpings, blanketings and blows.”

There, those who feel an interest in such things, may read, on his own authority, how the Doctor was declared unworthy of the confidence of the English Catholic Board; how he went to Ireland; how he was feasted with flummery and fumigated with frankincense by the Irish Catholics, &c. &c. &c. and no doubt we shall read in due time an apology for turning his coat, an account of his painful pilgrimage to the falsely-called tomb of St. Peter, of his reception by the Pope, and his dalliance with his Holiness's pantoufle;—though, if we may presume to form a judgment concerning Pius VII, by his past noble conduct whilst a prisoner, and the lofty language of his state papers, the sovereign Pontiff will probably hold him in sovereign contempt, and consign him over to M. Quarantotti.

The length of this article, occasioned by the importance of the mea-
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surely now passing, must be our apology for leaving the Doctor to his fate, and letting the *Orthodox Journal* remain in obscurity for the present. We pledge ourselves to notice both shortly.

"AN AGGREGATE MEETING OF THE CATHOLICS was held Saturday, June 11th. The Hon. Thomas Ffrench in the chair. Mr. O'Connell moved certain resolutions which were passed, Mr. Phillips and Mr. O'Gorman made speeches. Mr. Curran was present.

"Among the resolutions we find the following:—

"Resolved, that we therefore utterly deny* that the Catholic Board is an unlawful assembly, either within the provisions of the convention act or otherwise; and more especially as the convention act contains a saving provision in the words following, viz.—“Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall be construed, in any manner, to prevent or impede the undoubted RIGHT of his Majesty's subjects of this realm, to petition his Majesty or both Houses, or either House of Parliament, for the redress of any public or private grievances.”

"Resolved, that his excellency the Lord Lieutenant having thought proper to forbid the meetings of said Board, at a moment when the discussion of our claims in Parliament is immediately to be expected, and when, of course, the most important and most necessary communications with our noble and honourable advocates in both Houses, may, from day to day, be indispensably called for, such a prohibition is, by its

* *Utterly deny.*] So the culprit at the bar stoutly says *not guilty*;—but no evidence was ever yet clearer against a felon, than that which notoriously presents itself against the late “Catholic Board.” That his Majesty's subjects have a *right* to petition the King, or both Houses, or either House, of Parliament, is an unquestionable truth; but no set of men have the shadow of a right to form themselves into a permanent society, association, or *Board*, as the Irish Romanists chose to call their assembly, just abolished; and, under *pretence* of petitioning, to make harangues intended to bring the established religion into contempt, to inflame the minds of the uninstructed multitude, to instigate them to acts of riot, to send counsel to the extremities of the country to defend the ringleaders of such riots,—counsel who have abused the privileges of the bar in such a way, as to involve the printer of their intemperate speeches in a charge, and to subject him to a conviction of the crime, of libel. The raising of money on the Roman Catholic people of Ireland was voted under the *pretence* of petitioning; and many other enormities and many illegalities have been perpetrated under the shadow of this convenient stalking-horse;—and can the orators of the Board hope to persuade us, that these palpable *abuses* of a right, amounted to nothing more than the legitimate exercise of the privileges enjoyed by the subjects of Great-Britain? This impudent *denial* of the assertion which appears in the proclamation, that the Board comes under the description of an unlawful assembly, will by no means legalize its revolting proceedings, and cannot impose upon any excepting the Popish multitude.

nature and unavoidable consequence (whatever may be the motives that dictated it), calculated to embarrass and obstruct, in various ways, the success of our humble application to the legislature, and to surround it with difficulties, not warranted by any circumstances that we can discover—and although adverse to the spirit of the British constitution—difficulties which seem likely to render the right and act of petitioning for a session ineffectual, and, of consequence, nugatory.*

“ Resolved, That this meeting do adjourn until the 24th of June, instant; then to take into consideration the form of a petition to Parliament, praying that the Catholics of Ireland may, during any further continuance of the penal and disabling laws, obtain the benefit of that principle of the constitution, *which gives to aliens a jury of one half foreigners.*”†

ADDRESS TO THE UNITARIANS BY THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

Mr. Editor,—A constant reader of the **PROTESTANT ADVOCATE** requests you to insert the following paper in your valuable publication, con-

* *Nugatory.*]—The putting down the Board will not delay the consideration of the Roman Catholic petition for a day, nor an hour. The very gentlemen who had undertaken to forward the discussion of the petition by Parliament, had declined attempting it during the present session, previously to the issuing of the salutary proclamation.—If any thing can render Parliament more likely to grant the prayer of the petition, it must be the putting an end to the violent proceedings of the Board. It really appears as if the success of the petition had been deemed only a *secondary* affair, whilst an opportunity and a pretext for abusing the government and the Protestant religion formed the *primary* object of the Board.

† *Foreigners.*]—This is intended as an insult to the juries of Ireland. The grand juries having lately expressed so generally, and so unequivocally, their opinion of the Board, this resolution is nothing less than an ebullition of revenge. It is meant, by implication, to insinuate that the juries, either grand or petty, have not manifested a due regard to the oath administered to them antecedent to offering them bills of indictment, reciprocally, or proceeding on the trials of criminals.—The Protestants indignantly reply—on this occasion, we presume to speak on their behalf—“ the established church of England and Ireland has no shops for granting absolution from the guilt of perjury.” Protestants abhor the jesuitical dogma that *the end sanctifies the means*. Protestants are not in the habit of “ *doing evil that good may come.*”

It appears, at last, that the Board is to assume a new name, and will meet under the title of “ Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty ;”—but how can a set of Popish bigots, who claim for themselves exclusive salvation, who never will be at rest till they shall have extinguished the very profession of Protestantism—how can they venture upon the ridicule of calling themselves “ friends of civil and religious liberty ?”

ceiving that whatever tends to vindicate the doctrines of the church of England is serviceable to the cause of Protestantism.

A. B.*

"An Address to Persons calling themselves Unitarians; on competency to judge of disputed Scripture Doctrines, and of Religious Controversies: occasioned by Mr. Belsham's Review of the Controversy between Bishop Horsley and Dr. Priestley."

"You have been lately told,† that the controverted questions respect-

* Most willingly do we assign a place in the Protestant Advocate to the Bishop of St. David's admirable paper. We beg to refer our readers to the concluding article of our last number, where the impudent advertisement of Mr. Belsham was noticed.—Unitarianism and Popery resemble each other strongly, in the way in which their partizans treat Scripture. The Socinian and the Papist make the Scriptures bend to their own fancies. The Socinian "with his desperate hook" cuts down the word of God to suit his anti-scriptural ideas. He hews away the introductory chapters of St. Luke's Gospel, for instance, and lops off every individual text that proves Jesus to be the Son of God.—As to the corner-stone of Christianity—the atonement,—he seems rather resolved obstinately to die in his sins, than to allow to the Saviour that divine nature without which the doctrine of the atonement cannot be supported.—The Papist, in fact, cares as little for the holy scriptures as the Socinian; only he goes more covertly to work. He endeavours to keep the word of God out of the hands of the people, and says that the priest can teach them more of religion than they can gain from the Bible; and, where a difficulty happens to occur, he either flies from the canonical scriptures to the apocryphal writings—or makes tradition the interpreter of the sacred volume. The novel Tridentine faith cannot be supported by scriptural proof; Pope Pius IV.'s creed cannot stand the test of the Bible. Whether the holy scriptures be mutilated, or whether they be distorted, the result is the same; and our faith must, in either event, repose on the vain assertions of men, instead of resting on the unalterable verity of that form of sound words, which can alone prescribe the doctrine to which we must give heed.—*Edit.*

† "Calm Inquiry, p. 5. Dr. Priestley's Claims, p. vi. vii.—In the newspapers of this month (May, 1814) appeared the following advertisement: "The Claims of Dr. Priestley in the controversy with Bishop Horsley, re-stated and vindicated, in reply to the animadversions of the Reverend Heneage Horsley, Prebendary of St. Asaph, annexed to the late re-publication of his Father's Tracts. Dedicated, by permission, to the Prince Regent. By Thomas Belsham, Author of a Calm Inquiry into the Scripture doctrines concerning the Person of Christ." Dedicated, by permission, to the PRINCE REGENT!!! Unitarianism under the patronage of the PRINCE!!! these must have been the painful exclamations of many readers when they first saw the advertisement, and connected it with the recollection of the late repeal of the act against blasphemy. The friends of truth, therefore, of Christianity, and of the church of England, cannot too soon be undeceived. Mr. Belsham's book is not dedicated to the PRINCE REGENT. The dedication which is so artfully (I had almost said fraudulently) introduced and pointed in the advertisement, does not belong to Mr. Belsham's book, but to Mr. Horsley's.

ing the divinity of Christ are "plain matters of fact, the decision of which depends upon the evidence of testimony, of the validity of which every reader of sound understanding is competent to judge." Be assured that you are greatly deceived in these attempts to shut your eyes against the *mysterious* character of the *revealed* truths of Christianity. If I can prove to you, that the person who has taken so much pains to persuade you that "scholarship and criticism" are not necessary for the discussion of controverted doctrines, is himself not a competent judge, you may be the more inclined to give credit to the long established doctrines of the Christian church.

"That the subjects at issue are not plain matters of fact, may be easily proved by the inability of the Jews to answer our Saviour's question, "What think ye of Christ? whose son is he?" And from Mr. Belsham's incompetency to decide correctly on a common matter of fact, which I will submit to you, I shall be able to shew that his judgment is not to be trusted when he undertakes to inform you what was, or what was not, the faith of the primitive church. I would by no means say of him, as he does of the established clergy, that "truth must necessarily be the object of his aversion and abhorrence;" (see the note on this address, p. 455) but, considering the Scriptures as the only standard of religious truth, and the *primitive church* as the surest guide in the interpretation of them, I maintain that *the religious liberty* which he contends for, is more likely to lead him from the truth than to it, by promoting unsteadfastness in religion, and disinclining him from established truth, *because it is established*.—But to return to our Saviour's discourse with the Pharisees.

"When the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them, saying, What think ye of Christ? whose son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord?—If David then call him Lord, how is he his son? And no man was able to answer him a word."* The question which our Saviour asked is the great subject at issue between the believers in Christ's divinity and the Unitarians. And you perceive by the silence of the Pharisees that the subject is not that plain matter of fact which Mr. Belsham would persuade you to think it. You will see, in some measure, *why* it is not so, by another discourse of our Saviour's, in which he says, "No man knoweth who the Son is but the Father; and who the Father is but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him."† As the Father is revealed by the Son, so the Son is revealed by the Father; as we learn

* Matth. xxii. 41—46.

† Luke, x. 22.

from another passage. When St. Peter said; "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God:" our Saviour said, "Blessed art thou Simon Bar-Jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father, which is in heaven." It is clear from these passages that the knowledge of the Father and the Son is *equally* undiscoverable by mere human reason. And is not this an indisputable proof of Christ's *divinity* and *equality with the Father*? I will endeavour, in another address, to explain the difficulties which embarrassed the unbelieving Pharisees, and will collect from the passages before quoted, and from others in our Saviour's discourses concerning himself, an answer to his question. The enquiry will shew you that a doctrine may be easy to believe, and yet may require some "scholarship and criticism" to vindicate it from objection, and may exceed all "scholarship and criticism" to explain or to understand. It will shew, also, that the question at issue is any thing but a plain matter of fact.

"I will now submit to your consideration the fact to which I before alluded, as a criterion of Mr. Belsham's competency to direct your judgment in so momentous a concern as your faith in Christ. He says, in his *Claims of Dr. Priestley*, that in the controversy between Bishop Horsley and Dr. Priestley, the Bishop *did not claim* the victory,—and that *he knew he could not claim it*. Whether he did or not, must be a matter of fact easily ascertainable from tracts, which betray no marks of indecision. If, therefore, Mr. Belsham mis-states or reverses the fact, what confidence can he be entitled to in his opinions concerning doctrines which are not plain matters of fact?

"I will give you his own words, and will then shew by passages from Bishop Horsley's tracts, how entirely the present champion of Unitarianism has *failed in all his assertions*. In speaking of his own review of the controversy, he says, "Nor does he know, that he should ever have published his thoughts on the subject, had it not been for the unblushing confidence of Bishop Horsley's partizans, in claiming for their chief that palm of victory which *he did not*, and which *he well knew he could not claim for himself*.*—In the points at issue between him and the learned prelate, the victory of the great advocate of the Divine Unity was decisive and complete. *This the Bishop well knew*."*

"If Bishop Horsley had conceded the victory, we might readily have admitted it to be decisive and complete. But no one can read a page in the Bishops's tracts without seeing how *contrary to the truth* Mr. Belsham's assertion is. In the second part of his Remarks, (p 376,) the Bishop

* Dr. Priestley's *Claims*, p. 8, 9, and p. 29.

says, "Upon these foundations, which a stronger arm than Dr. Priestley's shall not be able to tear up, stands the church of orthodox Jewish Christians at Jerusalem: to which the assertors of the Catholic faith will not scruple to appeal, in proof of the antiquity of their doctrine." Ibid. p. 499, he says, "the disturbed foundations of the church of *Ælia* are again settled: I could wish to trust them to their own solidity, to withstand any future attacks. I could wish to take my final leave of this unpleasant task of hunting an uninformed uncandid adversary, through the mazes of his blunders and the subterfuges of his sophistry." If Mr. Belsham can read these passages, (he must have often read them,) and yet can assert that Bishop Horsley *knew* himself to be defeated in argument by Dr. Priestley, he is not competent to judge of any fact of ecclesiastical history, or of the opinions of the ancient fathers, or the doctrines of the established church.*

"Mr. Belsham is not content with the false assertion that Bishop Horsley knew Dr. Priestley's victory to be decisive and complete, but adds that the Bishop would have laughed at the "*ignoramus*" who should seriously think that the advantage of the argument lay with him. "Though his lordship was, no doubt, gratified to see the effect produced by his pompous and imposing style upon the *unthinking crowd*; he would have been the first to laugh to scorn the *solemn ignoramus*, who should seriously profess to believe that the advantage of the argument remained with him."† I will confront the arrogance and injustice of this charge with two authorities, which of themselves are sufficient to shew that it is no mark of ignorance to approve and applaud the successful efforts of Bishop Horsley against the heresies of Dr. Priestley.

"Mr. Belsham himself quotes Lord Thurlow as an admirer of Bishop Horsley's tracts, in this controversy; and it cannot be denied that he was a good judge of what is sound reasoning, and not one of the "*unthinking crowd*." He expressed strongly the obligations which the church owed to her zealous and able advocate. To the approbation of Lord Thurlow, we may add the judgment of a writer who was certainly no

* "How incompetent he is to pass an impartial judgment on such subjects, (either from want of learning, or the force of prejudice, or from both) is evident from the following most uncandid and untrue character of the established church and clergy;— "Tied down in an enlightened and inquisitive æra to a system of theology, the wretched relic of a dark and barbarous æge, upon the profession and defence of which all his hopes are built, truth must necessarily be the object of his aversion and abhorrence." (The Claims of Dr. Priestley, p. 100.)—Grotius had a very different opinion of our church.

† Dr. Priestley's Claims, p. 29, 30.

ignoramus, but deeply conversant in profound and accurate investigation. "I publicly request you" (says Mr. Whitaker, in the dedication of his *Origin of Arianism* to the Bishop,) "to accept a copy of the present work, in order to shew your lordship, and the world, my strong sense of the service which you have done to the cause of Christianity by your late writings against a well known heretic. Your writings will continue to be serviceable to the cause, as long as the memory of that heretic continues in the church: the bane and the antidote will go on in a useful union together."

Yet Mr. Belsham calls Bishop Horsley a "baffled and defeated antagonist," and pronounces "the victory of Dr. Priestley to be decisive and complete." Mr. Belsham may say this, but he cannot believe it. He may wish his friends the Unitarians to believe it, but he will never persuade any impartial or competent reader to agree with him.

"The victories of Dr. Priestley on the subject of religion are like Buonaparte's in the neighbourhood of Leipsic, in the campaign of 1813, vaunted as confidently, and with just as much truth, by the Doctor and his successor. His character, as a chemical experimentalist, his incessant activity in publication, his vauntings and thrasonic challenges, and last words, had, no doubt, more influence on many persons than they ought to have had; considering his glaring insufficiency in ecclesiastical antiquities, and in the original languages of Scripture and of the primitive church. But this influence was, I believe, in the minds of almost all persons who were competent to judge of the subject, and with the public at large, effectually dissipated by the learning and acuteness, and powerful eloquence of Bishop Horsley.

"The attention of the public is, however, now called to a *review of the controversy* between Bishop Horsley and Dr. Priestley, by the *Calm Inquiry*, and the *Claims of Dr. Priestley*; in which we are most unexpectedly informed, that we were all mistaken in the supposed triumphs of Bishop Horsley;—and that victory was all on the side of Dr. Priestley. With what justice and truth this review of the controversy is conducted, is evident from the contents of this address; and will be seen more fully by what I shall communicate to you hereafter.

"We know how much, during the last twenty years, has been effected in the political world by dauntless assertion, audacious falsehoods, and artificial influence of all kinds. We know, indeed, how much such means are calculated to circumvent and intimidate. But we may now reasonably hope that, with the extinction of the French system, will cease the reign of abstract generalities, of revolutionary rights, of clamorous pre-emption and artful intimidation; and that at least in this country,

among a prosperous and grateful people, the cause of truth, of Protestantism, of temperate liberty, of constitutional rights and established order, will every where prevail.

"I cannot conclude this *first* address without informing *my* readers, that the objects which I have in view are, to undeceive the Unitarians in their opinions respecting Jesus Christ:—to defend the memory of Bishop Horsley against the calumnies of Mr. Belsham,—and to maintain the positions established by Bishop Horsley in his controversy with Dr. Priestley.

"*Durham, May 28, 1814.*"

"T. ST. DAVIDS."

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE RESCRIPT OF THE
PROPAGANDA, THE CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT POPE,
AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE PAPAL CHURCH.

At the closing of our last number we had put our readers in possession of the proceedings of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, as far as they had come to our knowledge: we closed with the resolutions of the *Romish* clergy of the *archdiocese* of Dublin; as they were announced in the *Dublin Evening Post* of the 12th of last month; the very day (it may be observed) in which the resolutions were passed: so important was it conceived to be that not an instant of time should be lost in communicating to the public this important enunciation of the sentiments of the inferior clergy. It has been followed by a similar enunciation of the judgment of the superior order, a document which we have printed above.

Whether the Pope will be persuaded by the intended deputation of two R. C. Prelates, to recall this rescript issued by the Propaganda; or indeed whether the Propaganda will submit to stand thus corrected, we have, as we expressed in our last number, great doubt. The Pope, absolute and infallible as he is, does nothing without the advice of the several congregations, in the respective departments: and, we believe, seldom or never takes upon himself to act in contradiction to the opinions of a majority. Whether therefore the rescript shall continue in force or not, whether the wishes of the Irish or of the English Roman Catholics shall finally prevail, must depend upon circumstances at present, as we have already said, not within our knowledge. But whatever is finally determined upon, we may be most sure, will be that which shall be thought by the Pope and his assistants most likely not only to maintain, but to extend the authority of the see of Rome and the paramount jurisdiction which it claims. This, and this only, will be the point contemplated. Neither the Pope nor his prelates will indulge in those visions of liberality which set the policy of prudence at defiance. Even if they

were disposed to run that race for popularity, which carries away so many of our great men in this country, they would find it not in relaxing, but in adhering to the maxims of their predecessors. The populace at Rome would not like a Pope at all the better, should they see him disposed to shew favour to *heretics*, or to conciliate *uncatholic sovereigns*, by abandoning to them any portion of his power. They like a Pope, such as they have been used to see him, in all the fullness of his prerogative, proclaiming himself rightful lord of the universe, and a sort of God upon earth.

Nor is the present Pope at all disposed of himself to think less highly of the situation in which he is placed: nor has he any very different opinion of his duties, from that under which even the most ambitious and arrogant of his predecessors acted. We have an opportunity of ascertaining this from the collection which has been published in this country of the various documents which relate to the conduct of the Pope and of the French at the time when the invasion of the papal territories took place. The editor is understood to be the Abbé de la Trappe, who was high in the confidence of the Pope, and is supposed to have been instrumental in "screwing his courage to the sticking-place," for which he became obnoxious to Buonaparte, and with great difficulty escaped his clutches: of course the authority of such a man must be undoubted. Now it appears from these papers under the Pope's own hand, that, *contrary to the repeated assertions of gentlemen on this side the Alps*, the doctrines of the see of Rome are *always the same*. Even the *fourth Lateran* is specifically quoted.*

One of the first documents in this collection is a circular letter, dated Feb. 8, 1808, addressed to the cardinals by Pius VII, in which he details the grievances which he is suffering, and protests against the occupation of his territories by the French. Among other things he states that "it had been required of him to allow *the entire freedom and public exercise of religious worship*; which article he had *rejected as contrary to the canons and the councils, and to the Catholic religion*; to quietness of living, and to the well being of the state, on account of the pernicious consequences which would flow from it.

"Fourthly," he goes on, "the reformation of the bishoprics is demanded, and that the bishops should be independent of us,—and this being contrary to the intention of our lawgiver and Lord Jesus Christ,

* The title of the book is "La Relation de ce qui est passé à Rome dans l'Envahissement des Etats du St. Siege, &c." Printed for Keating and Co. London, 1812. We give references to the passages quoted, that our readers may consult the work itself at their option.

who ordained for St. Peter an union with the apostles, represented at this day by that of the bishops with us, when he said that he was Peter, and as a foundation-stone on which he founded his church: and added afterwards that the same Peter should keep them united, and confirm them; *et tu, conversus, confirma fratres tuos*: consequently we protest that we are resolved to maintain for ourselves and our successors the fullness of our primacy, and the dependance of the bishops upon us, as established by the pontifical *bulls*, sacred *canons* and *councils*.*

We pass over his refusal to allow the liberty of marrying to the clergy; but we subjoin one short passage from the conclusion, because it shews how intimately and indissolubly, in the mind of every Pope, the Christian religion is presumed to be amalgamated, as it were, with the prerogatives which he claims. Preparing the cardinals whom he addresses for further troubles, he says,—

“ Let us always remember that the French are not the first who have persecuted the religion of Jesus Christ and of his vicar upon earth, &c.”

We have here the most solemn and express declaration that *liberty of conscience*, is “ *contrary to the religion of Christ* :” and the assertion that all bishops are of divine right and indefeasibly *dependant* on the Pope: and further a broad intimation that *the religion of Christ* and the religion of *the Pope* must be *one* and the same. This is further confirmed by the following extracts; the first of which, it must be observed, also contains a most direct contradiction to the assertions of our brethren, the *mitigated* Roman Catholics here, that the *spiritual* authority of the Pope, has no connection with the *temporal*. They are taken from what is called an “ *Insignis Epistola*” of Pius VII: a “ *remarkable*,” a “ *glorious*,” or an “ *excellent*” epistle, for we really are at loss how to render the word “ *insignis*” in this case. It bears date the 10th of June, 1809, from the Quirinal Palace.

“ We find ourselves under the most wretched pretences, and with so much the greater injustice, despoiled of our *temporal* sovereignty, with which our *spiritual* independence is closely bound together.” . . . †

“ If it be not allowed to any one who professes the Catholic religion to please men, and not to please God, much less can it be to him who is the *head*, and *promulgator* of it.” ‡

* Part I. p. 42.

† Ib. Part iii p. 4. By the bye, the very same sentiment is expressed in the late proclamation of this Pontiff issued at Cesenna, in his way to Rome. So that it is his most rooted persuasion.

‡ *Ide. u.*

In a subsequent letter to certain cardinals and bishops respecting certain oaths proposed to them, which he declares that they must not take, he thus expresses himself:

"Now can that have become lawful to-day which was unlawful yesterday, under circumstances identically the same? Can we in conscience judge differently, without a difference of reasons? Could we grant to ecclesiastics a dispensation from the law contained in the sacred canons prohibiting the oath of allegiance to any lay person, of whom they hold no temporal possessions? (Concil. Later. iv. de Juram.)*"

The reader will recollect that the situation of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy is precisely that which is here pointed out: they "hold no temporal possession" of the crown; at least, so they will or may interpret this canon; as indeed it is clear enough, that under it, (whatever it was, for we are not aware which of the canons is referred to) all oaths are, or were meant to be prohibited, except such as might be required from those who held strictly temporal fees: such as is the case with the bishops of the establishment. Under this declared judgment of the Pope, founded on the famous IVth Lateran, the Papists of Ireland may well object to the taking of any oath of allegiance to the temporal sovereign; much more to the taking of such oaths, as may be supposed to give sufficient security to the government, according to the ideas of those who think that such security can be given.

Indeed upon the reference to this curious document which we have been led to make upon the present occasion, it has appeared to us to be so material for the purpose of shewing the doctrine of the church of Rome upon the subject of oaths, that we shall probably return to it in some future number. In the mean time we think that we have given abundantly sufficient matter for our readers to "chew upon:" and to prepare them for the event which we think by no means impossible or improbable; that is, that the Pope may hearken to Dr. Troy, rather than to Dr. Poynter; that he will fall in with the views of the Irish Roman Catholics, rather than with those of the English; and that Quarantotti's rescript, guarded as it is, and as we have shewn it to be, will either be recalled, or so explained away as to be of no effect. (*See what we have said on this topic, p. 448.*)

Indeed, let any man read coolly these extracts which we have given of declarations the most solemn, issued from the papal chair on the most trying occasions, and let them judge who are most correct; we, who with Dr. Milner and Dr. Troy and Mr. Plowden, say that the church of

* Part iii. p. 28, and 29.

Rome is unchangeable and unchanged, "*temper eodem*;" or the Parnella and the Plunkets, the Grants and the Glovers, who, following Messrs. Lingard and Eustace and Mr. Berrington and Sir John Throckmorton, tell us that it has parted with all its dangerous maxims; that it is neither usurping nor persecuting; but the very model of good faith and Christian charity! And surely there cannot be a more unquestionable or fair proof of what are the existing doctrines of the Romish church, at least, as held by those who are members of that church and submit to its authority, than the opinions and judgments of him who fills that see, and is pronounced by them to the head, not of that church only, but of the universal church of Christ. From the character of the Pontiff it would be fair at any time to argue to the character of the religion. But this is most particularly the case, when we are speaking not of such monsters of wickedness and ambition as some of them confessedly have been, of such men as Innocent the IIIrd, Gregory the VIIth, or Alexander the Sixth; but of one who, like the present Pope, appears to be, in all that is personal to himself, of pure manners, and irreproachable conduct: who has not by any undue means procured to himself the situation in which he is placed; who has borne great persecution with as much meekness as firmness: and may well be presumed to have arrogated to himself no more than what he conscientiously believed to be the true and undoubted prerogatives of his office. What has come from such a man, we say again, may surely satisfy those who have refused to believe that the principles avowed and the doctrines maintained by Dr. Milner and Dr. Dromgole were really the principles and the doctrines of the church of Rome at this day. And even upon this plain statement we might venture to rest the question whether it be compatible with any degree of prudence or even common sense to entrust a Roman Catholic with the administration and government of a Protestant country.

But it may be said, and it may happen, with all this, that the Pope may yield to circumstances. He may believe that it will be for the interest of his church to depart from that strict unbending line of duty which he maintained towards Buonaparte; and to admit in this country such oaths to be taken as he would deem to be unlawful or inadmissible in other countries, and under other circumstances. What then, in such a case, should be our conduct; and what weight will the proposed regulations acquire from such a concession? We have often expressed our sentiments, both on Mr. Canning's bill and on all the other projects of a *Veto*; in whatever way qualified. It may therefore be some relief to our readers to give them, instead of any observations of our own, which might have the air of repetition, the following very sensible remarks by a gentleman,

whose name we do not mention, because they have come to us not directly from him, and we know not if he would choose to have it disclosed.

After the expression of some apprehension lest the rescript from the Propaganda should have gone far in reconciling the Protestant feeling in Ireland to the principles of Mr. Canning's bill; the following reasons are given, why a measure of this kind could not give content to the Roman Catholics and at the same time security to the established church.

“ The Veto would give a negative to our government in the appointment of the titular bishops and deans; while the grant of spiritual power, or real jurisdiction, what is called *investiture*, rests with the See of Rome, over which we possess no control to enforce submission. If the See of Rome should refuse investiture to the candidate approved of by the government, we may naturally ask, what will be the remedy? Will the titular bishops consecrate the clergyman approved of by the government without waiting for investiture from the See of Rome, while they teach and believe that See to be the source of episcopal jurisdiction? And should they refuse, what becomes of the diocese in the interregnum?—The usual practice is to put it under the care of a vicar capitular, a clergyman elected by the chapter of the diocese. He will of course favour the views of Rome, from which episcopal jurisdiction must come: and the very disagreement between Mr. Canning's veto-board and the See of Rome, will have a tendency to restore the present mode of appointing bishops: matters may go on quietly, until the Roman Catholics shall have acquired considerable power; the Papal authority will then be asserted, and the Protestant establishment may find a rival with feelings no less hostile than they are at present, and with increased means to injure.

“ The case indeed has actually occurred in a neighbouring state. Although by the concordat between the See of Rome, and the late French government, the Pope was bound to grant canonical investiture to the person named by government for episcopal jurisdiction within three months after his name was presented; when Buonaparte quarrelled with him, he refused to comply: the Sees remained vacant, and were of course governed by vicars; and this had no small effect upon the discontents occasioned by the quarrel and the imprisonment of the Pope.

“ The consequences to Ireland of the Pope, in a similar case, refusing and continuing to refuse investiture to the person approved of by Mr. Canning's board, must be obvious.

“ The next concession of Quarantotti's letter, and the next security of Mr. Canning's bill, is, to subject all correspondence with the See of Rome to the inspection of commissioners appointed by government.

On this head the prelate's letter contains a reserve : "*Ea tantum secreto servanda erunt quæ internum conscientię forum afficiunt.*" The discipline of the church of Rome requires that its members should from time to time confess to a clergyman, who grants them absolution ; by the canon law, the Pope reserves to himself the power of absolving from crimes which are reckoned of a more grievous nature ; and whenever these occur, the penitent applies through his confessor to the Pope for absolution. These are probably the cases which in the reserve of Quarantotti's letter are to be kept secret. But no sufficient cause is assigned for this reserve. Bishops are *jure divino* gifted with equal spiritual powers, according to the principles of every episcopal church ; and, in the doctrine of the church of Rome, all bishops have *jure ordinis* equal power to absolve from every manner of crime as the see of Rome.* Why not then, it may naturally be enquired, allow the titular bishops here the full exercise of their spiritual power ? Why not dispense with the canon law which restrains their power, and reserves so important a branch of spiritual jurisdiction for the exclusive exercise of the See of Rome ? It was equally easy for the Propaganda to allow the titular bishops power to absolve in all possible cases, which according to the doctrine of the church of Rome is their inherent right, as to allow a veto upon their appointment : this would render unnecessary all private intercourse with the See of Rome under the name of *internum forum conscientię*. But the following words copied from a rescript of the secretary of the Propaganda to one of the vicars apostolic in the year 1805 may serve to shew why that mode was not chosen : "*the most fatal of all projects would be that of subjecting all communication with Rome, to the examination of his Majesty's ministers.*" (See above, p. 447).

"The rescript thus explains the oath proposed by Mr. Canning's bill to be taken by the Roman Catholic clergy : "they will not by force, or arms, *aut malis quibusque† artibus*" disturb the established church. A Protestant may fairly enquire the meaning of *malis quibuscunque artibus* ; and the enquiry will not be deemed unwarranted, when it is recollected that the party using this expression, have maintained the lawfulness of *pious frauds* for the benefit of the church : and that not eighteen years ago, the See of Rome gave authenticity by public record to a fact grounded upon this doctrine : ‡ and that many of the Roman

* We have doubts how far this is admitted by *all* Papists. These were points, we believe, studiously and dextrously avoided by the see of Rome at the Council of Trent.—(Editor).

† *Qy.* If not *quibuscunque*.

‡ This refers to the "Official Memoirs of the Judicial Examination into the Au-

Catholic clergy in Ireland actually pretend to the gift of miraculous powers; the assuming of which has ever had considerable influence on the lower classes, and gives an unfair advantage, to those who uphold their doctrines by such unprincipled means, over the honest labours of the clergy of other churches.

"Such is the nature of the concessions made for the security of the established church by Monsignor Quarantotti's letter*: it approves of the late bill brought forward by Mr. Canning, but still, in the words of the letter, the Pope is to have power to "enquire into those matters which the divine ecclesiastical law, and the good order of the church seems to require." Here is a reserve of the doctrine of appeal to the see of Rome, according to the canon law: this clause leaves in force the canon law which allows the Pope or his legate to dispose of parishes in Ireland: it continues in the gift of Rome all those to which she nominates at present: it leaves her the right to command the ordinary to provide for whom she pleases: with many other privileges which it would require a thorough acquaintance with the canon law to state. While such a range of jurisdiction is left untouched with the see of Rome, any one may judge how far a veto can give security to the established church.

"The present ecclesiastical constitution of the church of Rome is radically favourable to the views of its supreme Pontiff; and hence may be justly inferred its radical hostility to a Protestant establishment; the power of law may restrain this hostility, but a fundamental change in that constitution must be effected; the power of the See of Rome must be *in toto* disavowed: the ancient independence of the Christian churches must be restored to the Irish Roman Catholics by their own clergy, before any arrangement giving content to them and security to the Protestant church can be final.

"There is reason to hope that there is a party among the Irish Roman Catholics favourable to reformation; but they have not emerged: perhaps the present struggle between political fury and received opinions may bring them into light, and produce a reform in their religion, which will be a better pledge for the tranquillity of Ireland than any of the objects visible in Mr. Canning's bill."†

thenticity of the miraculous Events which happened at Rome in the Years 1796-7." Still sold by Keating and Co. with twenty-four cuts, for six shillings and sixpence!

* It has been said that he is not a cardinal. Perhaps in the present dearth of that order, the functions of the Propaganda may have been entrusted to ordinary prelates.

† Connected, as the author of these remarks is, with one of our most valuable correspondents, we hope that he will not be offended at our having passed them

With the ingenious writer of the above we will not argue upon the probability or the extent of the reform which he contemplates. We shall rejoice to see even *any* real advances to a reform.

“ Est quoddam pradiire tenus.

But among the ways by which the provisions of such a bill as Mr. Canning's might be evaded, he has forgotten to point out one of the most effectual; to which however some reference has been made in our pages.* We mean the system of coadjutors; whom the Pope might, as he does, appoint without any observation or attention being paid to them: and then upon the death of any bishop, the substitute thus ready prepared and owing his existence to the papal power, would slip into the See as a matter of course. This has actually been the case with the see of Quebec, to which it will be recollected that our sovereign is entitled to nominate, as having succeeded in virtue of a capitulation and treaty to all the rights of the King of France. The instance having been mentioned as authorizing the veto, we had the curiosity to inquire what had actually taken place upon the death of the late Roman Catholic bishop of that province; and the answer, which came to us from such authority as we cannot doubt, was to the following effect. That in February 1806, upon the death of Mr. Denant, titular bishop of of Quebec, Mr. Plessis, the coadjutor, applied to the government of Quebec to be admitted to take the oaths previous to his entering on the functions of office as successor to Mr. Denant, and proposed Mr. B. Claude Panet to succeed him as coadjutor. The president of the council who was then administering the government, without any previous reference to this country, complied with these applications, finding, as he reported, that this mode had been uniformly pursued on prior occasions. No approbation of this proceeding was signified; of course, it had not been required.

To this we recommend the attention of Sir John Coxe Hippeley in particular, whom we believe we may rank in the number of our readers, and who, we will say further, seems to be going on redeeming his pledge; so that we do not despair of seeing him, at some future time, reclaimed from his errors, and feeling and acting like a true Protestant. Of all our readers we would earnestly beg that they would seriously consider the above statements, and especially the *facts* which they contain; and never, in

through the press. We shall ever hold ourselves in readiness to give any of his observations to the public, whenever he shall be pleased to favour us with a communication.

* See p. 325 of this volume.

the investigation of this momentous question, forget that it is on *facts* and not on *assumptions* that wise men found their opinions.

MELANCTHON'S THIRTEENTH LETTER.

Observations on the State and the Effects of the Election Franchise in Ireland.

As the fundamental principles of the Romish church are peculiarly hostile to a Protestant state, and are incompatible with the principles of liberty, as I proved in my third and fourth letters, (p. 304 and 365, of Vol. I.,) it was thought necessary to exclude its members from the enjoyment and exercise of political power under our constitution. This exclusion did not arise from prospective or visionary fear of Popish principles, but from woeful experience of their practical effects; for in my fifth letter, (p. 434, of Vol. I.,) I proved by the most authentic historic documents, that, for 300 years, the Irish Papists have been endeavouring to extirpate their Protestant fellow subjects as heretics, and to separate their country from England; for the accomplishment of which they have uniformly solicited aid from the enemy of the empire, in time of war. It is well worth observing, that previously to the introduction of the Reformation into Ireland, the support of the British government, and the maintenance of social order, within **THE PALE**, to which the former was limited for some centuries, depended entirely on the lords and chieftains of English blood; and in order to unite them, an honourable fraternity, called *the brotherhood of Saint George*, was created by act of parliament, in the 14th year of Edward IV. consisting of the most noble and worthy persons of English extraction, within the pale,* which contained but a few counties in the province of Leinster. They were allowed, by authority of parliament, wages for the men at arms, whom they employed to enforce the execution of the laws, and to suppress rebels and outlaws. From their well known fidelity and zealous exertions in support of the English interest, Henry VII. had such confidence in them, that he did not think it necessary to send any troops to Ireland, when the impostor Lambert Simnel landed there,† though he was supported by a strong party for some time. After the introduction of the reformation into Ireland, the lineal descendents of those lords and gentlemen, so noted for their loyalty, gradually deteriorated in principle, became determined re-

* Sir John Davis's Tracts, page 45, edition of 1785, Dublin; all the native Irish who live outside the pale, were regarded as aliens and enemies, and were in a state of hostility with those of English blood.

† Idem, p. 46.

bels, and finally conciliated with the aboriginal Irish; the Popish superstition having formed a common bond of union between them; though they had previously borne a deep-rooted antipathy towards each other!*

Their disaffection increased to such an alarming degree, that Lord Mountjoy, viceroy of Ireland in Elizabeth's reign, mentioned the names of some of the lords of English descent, who were in actual rebellion;† among them the great Earl of Desmond, who forfeited his life and his immense possessions;‡ for entering into a destructive rebellion, to which he was incited by Papal bells, and by the exhortations of Allen and Saunders, two Jesuits, who were his ghostly advisers. When Lord Mountjoy was in daily expectation of an invasion of the Spaniards, which the Irish Papists had invited, he said, that the lords of the Pale were wavering, and that their fidelity depended purely on the ultimate success of the English arms.|| James I. settled numerous English and Scotch Protestant colonies in the province of Ulster, on the extensive estates forfeited by Tyrone, Tironchel, and O'Dogherty, of Irish descent, for repeated acts of rebellion; and in this wise measure, he was opposed by a numerous party of lords and gentlemen of English blood, whom, as Sir Arthur Chichester observes, religion had united with the former against the British government.¶ When they went to England, to remonstrate against James's wise plan; Sir Arthur states, that many of them had been rebels, and that their estates were destroyed by money raised on the estates of the Irish Papists, by priests and Jesuits.¶ They were severely and justly rebuked by James I., who gave them audience at the Council Board.**

* Sir Arthur Chichester, the lord-deputy in the reign of James I., stated, that in a conference which he had with O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, and his associates during the late rebellion, in Elizabeth's reign, that chieftain declared, that they resolved to root out all those of English blood, who inhabited Ireland. (*Discourses and Letters*, p. 260.)

† *Mountjoy's History*, pages 25, 37, 44.

‡ *Idem*, p. 3. See this and the progress and effects of Popish Treason, at that period, in my fifth letter, p. 436, of Vol. I.

|| *Idem*, p. 26.

¶ *Discourses and Letters*, p. 260.

¶ *Idem*. Money was raised in the same manner, to purchase arms and ammunition, preparatory to the rebellion of 1798, (Report of the Select Committee of the Lords of 1798). The late Catholic Board did so; and the collection of the tenpenny poll-tax, lately ordered by that Board, has been enforced by the threatened disendowment of Popish priests &c. &c.

** See this in my fifth letter, p. 436. Among the remonstrants against James's plan, were the following persons of English blood. Barry, Viscount Dartmouth; Preston;

The first parliament in Ireland, in which all the counties and boroughs were represented, was convened by that monarch, in the year 1613; and as Sir Arthur observes, "they were all (the Popish members) elected by a general combination of Jesuits and priests, who charged all the people upon pain of excommunication, "not to vote for any of the king's religion."* Leland observes,† that promises, threats, and oaths of association, and all the devices of policy and faction were employed by the Popish party, to gain an influence in the elections; and that they had such success, that most of the privy counsellors, who stood for counties, were rejected for factious and turbulent Popish lawyers, their competitors.‡ The influence of the Popish clergy was used in the same manner, in the elections held in the year 1629, for the viceroy, Lord Strafford, tells us, in his state letters|| that the utmost pains were taken by Popish priests and Jesuits, to prevent any of their flocks from voting for Protestants, and that they administered extra-judicial oaths to them, upon the altars, for that purpose; threatened them with the terror of excommunication, and even denied the sacraments to those who would not comply.¶

Having at that time the dreadful rebellion of 1641 in contemplation, they were solicitous to strengthen their party in parliament. It appears that Popish members of parliament displayed as strong a spirit of disaffection, as their constituents. On the 22d of June 1643, the House of Commons, after reciting, that for as much as many members of this house, betraying the trust reposed in them, have shewed themselves priy conspirators, and actors in the horrid rebellion;¶ they therefore resolved, that no person who is now a knight, citizen or burgess of this present parliament, shall be deemed a member thereof, unless he shall take the oath of supremacy, viz. the 2d of Elizabeth; (Commons' Jour-

Wicount Germanstown; Roche, Viscount Fermoy; Plunket, Lord Killesno; Nugent, Lord Delsin; Barnwell, Lord Trimblestown; Plunket, Lord Louth; Butler, Lord Donboyne; Sir Walter Butler, Sir Christopher Nugent, Sir John Everast, Sir William Roper.

* *Deiderata curiosa Hibernica*, p. 280.

† Book IV., chap. 7.

‡ From this we may infer what scenes of strife, anarchy and bloodshed, would take place in Ireland, were Papists allowed to sit in parliament.

|| Letter VI. p. 262, 239.

¶ All these devices have been carried into practice in the two last general elections in Ireland, and have created the most alarming disturbances.

¶ What kind of senators would the demagogues of the Catholic Board make? And those most noted for disaffection, clamorous and vulgar animosity, would certainly be returned to parliament.

nals, Vol. I., p. 298;) and, at the same time, forty-one members were expelled, for being concerned in that conspiracy (Idem. p. 299).

In that rebellion, disaffection to the Protestant government had completely and cordially united all the Popish lords and gentlemen, of English blood, with those of Irish descent; which Lord Orrery observes, in his state letters; Vol. II. p. 482, the Pope had long, but in vain, endeavoured to accomplish; and it is well worth observing, that the greater part of the former, who had acquired the estates of the latter, which had been confiscated for their rebellious conduct, previously to the Reformation, forfeited them in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., for treason flowing from religious prejudices.*

I proved in my fifth letter, page 429, that the main object of the rebellion raised in 1641, was the total extirpation of the Protestants, and the separation of Ireland from England; and, in page 441, that the Popish convention in 1660, convoked by James II., strove to accomplish the same objects.

As the Protestant state had been so often endangered by the strong spirit of disaffection, which must ever be inseparable from Popery; the government, from motives of self preservation, found it absolutely necessary to lay penal restrictions on its votaries; which, though seldom enforced, kept them tolerably peaceable and obedient to the laws; but ever since their repeal, they have manifested the same treasonable designs and movements which they did previously to their enactment; and the historical events, which have occurred in Ireland during the last twenty-five years, correspond exactly with those which took place in the 16th and 17th centuries. If the British cabinet had recourse to history and experience, the only sure guides of statesmen, they would have derived unquestionable proofs from them, that *Papists will ever employ any portion of political power which they may obtain, for the destruction of a Protestant state.* In my tenth letter, p. 121, of Vol. II., I shewed the dreadful effects of

* It is observable, that the Irish Roman Catholics were not subject to any penal restriction at this time; nor for many years after. Doctor O'Connor, a Roman Catholic priest, as remarkable for canjour and ingenuosness, as for extensive erudition, observes,—“Now I maintain, that the forfeitures of Ulster were the consequences, and not the causes, of rebellions; that Tyrone, Tyrconnel, Maguire, and O'Dogherty, had repeatedly violated their oaths of allegiance; that they could no longer be credited; that those Irish who were not notoriously involved in their treasons, were not expelled; that the forfeited lands amounted, by Watson's, Chichester's, and Pynnar's Surveys, to two millions of acres, and that not more than 250,682, were disposed of to the new planters, of whom many thousands were Catholics.” (*Historical Address, on the Calamities occasioned by Foreign Influence*, p. 296. Sold by Payne, Pall-Mall, London.)

granting the elective franchise in 1798; and that instead of conciliating, it inspired them with a hope and a determination of extirpating the Protestants, and of separating their country from England, with the aid of the French government, which they solicited, when it was administered by Robespierre.*

Besides, by drawing the Popish multitude into the vortex of politics, it has excited in them a spirit of factional intrigue and licentious turbulence, which the existing laws are by no means sufficient to restrain. Mr. Hume justly observes, in his history, chap. 47, vol. 6, "that the religious spirit, when it mingles with faction, contains in it something supernatural and unaccountable, and that in its operations on society, effects correspond less to their known causes, than is found in any other circumstances of society." Soon after the elective franchise was conceded to Papists in the year 1798, a Popish banditti called *defenders*, in most parts of Ireland, began to commit the most barbarous outrages during the night, on the persons and property of Protestants, with a view of expelling them from the country; inasmuch, that they were under a necessity of seeking an asylum in the metropolis, or in garrison towns.† This was done to prevent any persons but Papists from being renters of the land, and consequently freeholders. Another consequence of it, was, that not only the Roman Catholic gentlemen, but even the petty farmers, who had a lease for life of a few acres, proceeded to manufacture freeholds in the following manner. They built wretched cabins, with mud walls, covered with rushes or straw, with a hole in the middle of the roof to let out the smoke; and they annexed to each a few perches of ground, to make a cabbage-garden. The occupier thereof is persuaded by his priest to swear, that his tenement is worth 40s. a year over and above the rent which he has agreed to pay.‡ He includes in this calculation, his wages as a daily labourer; and in the same manner the beggar, who occupies a wretched hovel by the road side, may take the same oath, because his collections as a mendicant exceed 40s. per annum. By such infamous artifices, six or eight freeholds are made out of one acre of ground. It

* I proved all this in my fifth letter, p. 441, of vol. I.; and in my tenth letter from page 124 to 130 of vol. II.

† Report of the secret committee of the Lords, of 1793. Report of the same of 1798, p. 16, and of the House of Commons of 1798, p. 4 and 22.

I proved in my tenth letter that this banditti called *Defenders* were encouraged and protected by the Popish convention, a representative body, similar to the Catholic Board, who have been for five years promoting anarchy and fomenting discord.

‡ It is an established principle in the Romish church, that *the end justifies the means*, which satisfies the conscience of the swearer in this case.

will be found on examining the registry, that nine tenths of the freeholds in Ireland are of this description; for when the Roman Catholics began to fabricate them in this manner, the Protestant nobility and gentry found themselves under a necessity of adopting the same practice, to maintain their interest; and they possess ninety nine parts of a hundred of the fee simple and freehold estates in Ireland. In consequence of this, the Papish multitude vote almost to a man; and as they are completely under the dominion of their clergy, a candidate for a county, or a large popular borough, has no chance of success, unless he gives a most solemn assurance, to support the Papish claims in the most unqualified manner.

This has occasioned a most material obstruction to the administration of justice, by creating a subservience to the Papish clergy and their flock in Protestant noblemen and gentlemen, who are ambitious of popular favour, and in their retainers and dependents also. In consequence of this, they, as magistrates, are often guilty of the grossest perversion of justice, in screening malefactors of the Papish persuasion from the vengeance of the law.* Hence it has arisen, that in some counties in Ireland there are two parties, one of whom, actuated by false and sinister ambitions, espouses the cause of Popery and anarchy; the other, consisting of conscientious independent gentlemen, are often deterred from doing their duty as magistrates, lest they should be assassinated, their houses should be burnt, or their cattle hanged, by a Papish banditti, who, for many years, have made a practice of roaming the country during the night, under the denomination of Defenders, White-boys, Threshers, Carders, Caravats, or Shanavats, inflicting vengeance on those who take an active part in the administration of justice, or refuse to obey their mandates, which they post up in the night on the doors of their chapels; or even on the post-offices, in country towns.†

When the bill for granting the elective franchise to Papists was in progress through the House of Lords, that great statesman Lord Clare found out all the evils which would arise from it, and that if it passed into a law, *England would have again to win Ireland with the sword*; and all his predictions were verified.

Time, the greatest of all innovators, has gradually infused into and

* The Papish magistrates are compelled to do so, for the reasons which I have stated.

† I proved this in my tenth letter, p. 126, 7, 8, 9, and 130 of Vol. II. and in my eleventh letter, p. 256. These practices prevail more in the county of Tipperary than in any other part of Ireland. The reader will find that I have given unambiguous proofs of these practices in p. 127 and 128 of Vol. II.

constitution a degree of popular influence which the legislature did not intend. For a long time previous to the reign of Henry VI. a freeholder whose tenement was not worth more than 1s. or 6d. a year, enjoyed a right of voting for a county member. The riots and disturbances which arose from numerous bodies of the lower class of people attending elections became so great and alarming, that Parliament passed a law, in the reign of Henry VI. and in the year 1429, to prevent those evils, which are thus described in its preamble: "Whereas the elections of knights of the shire have now of late been made by very great and outrageous numbers of people, dwelling within the same counties, of which the most part was of people of small substance and no value, whereof many of them pretended to a voice equivalent, as to such elections to be made, with the most worthy knights and esquires dwelling within the same counties, whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same county shall very likely rise and be, unless convenient and due remedy be provided in this behalf." It then enacts, "that no person shall vote at any county election, who was not seized of a freehold of 40s. a year, and resided in such county." As this law did not effectually remedy the evils complained of, it was found necessary, two years after, to provide that the freehold of 40s. should be within the same county.

I shall now examine the relative value of the precious metals, and the necessaries of life, between the reign of Henry VI. and the present time. Bishop Fleetwood wrote his *Chronicon pretiosum* in the time of Charles II. ascertaining their value in every reign, from a very remote period to that in which he lived; and from his statement it appears, that the price of the necessaries of life had increased in a six-fold proportion, from the year 1429, to the end of Charles II.'s reign; and we may fairly conclude, that the prodigious increase of the precious metals, joined to the great quantity of bills and bank-notes in circulation, has, since that period, enhanced the price of them in a twelve-fold proportion. Mr. Carte, a learned historian, was of opinion, that according to the most accurate calculation, 40s. in the reign of Henry VI. would be equal to £40 in his time, and he died above fifty years ago. Sir William Blackstone justly observes, "that the true reason of requiring any qualification, with regard to property, in voters, is to exclude such persons as are in so mean a situation, as to have no will of their own, and would therefore be tempted to dispose of them under some undue influence or other. This would give a powerful, an artful, or a wealthy man a larger share in elections than is consistent with liberty." This is actually the case at present, from the causes which I have stated; as the

elective franchise has fallen into the hands of persons who are incompetent to exercise it. As it tends to corrupt the morals of the people, by creating venality, idleness, perjury, ebriety, riots, and disturbances, the legislature should interfere, and raise the elective franchise to at least £10.* This is absolutely necessary in Ireland, where party zeal, inflamed by religious fanaticism, produces the most baneful effects. In some counties, elections are attended with strife and bloodshed; and a person who should vote for a candidate supposed to be attached to the Protestant interest would run a risk of being assassinated.† It is a matter of general notoriety, that the Catholic Board, lately sitting in Dublin, have persecuted some of their members, not only for having done so, but even for having supported a candidate who was supposed to be attached to the government. In short, the elective franchise in Ireland, in its present state, is productive of incalculable evils, particularly as it is employed by the Roman Catholics, as an engine to accomplish two favourite objects, the total abolition of the Protestant establishment, and the separation of their native country from England. I shall conclude with the following observations, founded in undeniable truth, that the Popish superstition made the lords of British descent unite with those of Irish blood, for the destruction of the English interest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and that the elective franchise, granted to the Irish Papists in 1793, has induced many Protestant gentlemen to join with them for the same purpose.

MELANCTHON.

* It may be proper to state, that the qualification of an elector under the new constitution of France, is the payment of taxes to the amount of three hundred francs, equal to £12. 10s. English per annum. Hence we may infer that an elector must possess a yearly income of at least £100.

† During the general election of 1807, at that held for the county of Tipperary, at Clonmell, dreadful scenes of strife and sedition prevailed. As it was well known that Mr. Bagnall was as strongly attached to the Protestant as his antagonist was to the Popish interest, his voters were grossly insulted, the chaises which conveyed them to Clonmell were broken to pieces, and their lives were endangered, by a Popish banditti, who beset all the roads leading to that town. In the town of Tipperary, a great thoroughfare to Clonmell, green flags, the standard of rebellion, were seen flying. A Popish mob, with green boughs in their hats, perambulated the streets, denounced Protestants in a revengeful tone; they broke their windows, and pasted labels on their doors, threatening with destruction any person who should have any dealings, even in the way of trade, with them.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—I beg leave to submit to our brethren in Great Britain, through the medium of your valuable publication, a concise review of the state of Popery from the revolution to the present day ; by which it will, I am convinced, distinctly appear, that the Popish clergy and their adherents have never since relaxed in their endeavours to traduce, misrepresent, and exterminate, the reformed faith in Ireland ; that their religion is *one continued plot* against all who oppose them ; and finally, that there is no alternative between a Protestant and Popish ascendancy, and in either case no hope for the future safety of Ireland, but in the conversion of the body of the people from the deplorable errors of the Popish religion.

For a short time after the overthrow of the Popish armies in Ireland, in 1690 and 1691, the Irish Romanists, for evident reasons, gave but little trouble to the government of the country, or their Protestant fellow subjects. The most violent of them had gone off either by permission or by stealth, to join the French and Spanish armies ; twenty thousand of them sailed out of the Shannon with Lord Clare after the surrender of Limerick, whilst a few adventurers remained in the country under the name of *wild geese*, secretly raising recruits to emigrate with them and entitle them to promotion abroad.

A few years before the rebellion of 1715, the hopes of resuming the lost reins of power, revived in the breasts not only of the Scottish but the Irish and English Papists. The insolence of the latter was so great that in the year 1706, an address from several of the gentry and clergy of Lancashire was presented to the House of Peers by the Bishop of Chester (Sir William Dawes, afterwards Archbishop of York), complaining of the intolerable boldness of the Romish priests and the Papists. On the consideration of this petition their lordships represented to Queen Anne, —“ That it was absolutely necessary for the safety of her Majesty’s royal person and government, that a more watchful eye should be had over them for the future, and that particular account should be taken of all Papists and reputed Papists in the kingdom, with their respective qualities, estates, and places of abode.”

Accordingly the necessary orders were given by her Majesty for taking a strict survey of Popery, in the several counties of the kingdom ; and at the same time a proclamation was issued, for a vigorous execution of the laws against Papists.

In conformity with these resolutions, and to prove the reasonableness of them, Doctor Edmund Gibson, rector of Lambeth, afterwards bishop of London, preached an assize sermon, which his lordship annexed to

his fifth and last pastoral letter, printed in the **PROTESTANT ADVOCATE** for January last, p. 169. It concludes thus:—"As long as the priests of the church of Rome are so very busy and active in their work, it can never be an unbecoming part in the ministers of a Protestant church, to lay to heart the visible increase of Popery, and to warn the people how zealous they are in promoting it; that so we may raise an equal zeal and concern for the true Protestant religion established amongst us."

Such was the opinion of the eminent prelate, and so thought the bishops of Ferns and Clogher, who republished the letter in Dublin in the year 1755, among some other excellent tracts which were dispersed through Ireland, and sold at a reduced price.

The suppression of the rebellion in Scotland in the year 1715, kept the Irish Papists quiet for some little time; but in the year 1726 they began the old work again,—*ecclesia Romana semper eadem*—"great numbers of them enlisted during that and the preceding year for the service either of France or Spain; unusual fastings and devotions were observed amongst them, with seditious sermons, strong apprehensions were entertained of an insurrection in Dublin; and an attempt at it was made in Stephen's Green upon the 10th of June."

Foiled in this attempt by the vigilance of the government, a great number of recruits were in the following year, 1727, clandestinely raised and sent off to France or Spain.

The state of the church of Ireland was at that time but too favourable to the growth of Popery. The Roman Catholics were in the proportion of five to one compared with the Protestants. The incumbents and curates of the establishment amounted only to eight hundred, whilst there were nearly three thousand Popish priests opposed to them, many of them, it may be presumed, as is the case at present, diligently attending the duties of two or more parishes, and regularly celebrating mass on Sundays and holidays in two different chapels.

A great part of the Protestant clergy were without parsonage houses, most of which, together with the bishops' palaces, had been destroyed in 1641 and 1688; many parishes stretching eight or ten or twelve miles, with only one church and that often at one end of the parish. Few of the incumbents had glebes, and in many places, from the distance of the market towns and the poverty of the country, they found it very difficult to procure the common necessities of life; insomuch that Archbishop Boulter, upon whose authority I state the foregoing particulars, tells us, that many of the descendants of Cromwell's officers and soldiers, had in the year 1727 gone off to Popery; for want of Protestant churches and resident clergy.

Whether this description be in any degree applicable to the present state of the established church in Ireland I do not presume to say. The general improvement of land, and the increase of commerce since the days of Primate Boulter, have scattered plenty with a liberal hand over almost every part of the country; and much has been done, particularly in the province of Ulster, by a succession of able and zealous prelates to set the church establishment upon a respectable and efficient footing. But, Sir, it is to be feared that much has been left undone in this respect throughout a considerable proportion of the south and west of Ireland,—I mean the provinces of Munster and Connaught,—arising from difficulties formidable enough to defeat the most active efforts that could have been, or perhaps may hereafter be made to establish the Protestant religion as it ought to be sustained in all parts of the country.

The attention of the English government was always more particularly directed to the northern and eastern parts of Ireland, than to the more distant and uncultivated provinces of Munster and Connaught. The former desolated frequently by rebellions, and holding constant intercourse with France and Spain,—whilst the latter being divided from the rest of Ireland by the river Shannon, was not only neglected as to its improvement and the establishment of the Protestant religion, but actually used as a place of transportation for rebels and suspicious persons from the other parts of the island. Every one has heard of Cromwell's transporting the Papists to Connaught.

The consequence has been, that whilst the Protestant cause was attended to with great care in other places, it was utterly neglected in these two provinces, (with the exception, perhaps, of the dioceses of Cashel, Cork, and Cloyne in Munster); so that whilst, in the space of four years, Primate Bramhall recovered to the church lands and tythes which had been withheld from it, to the amount of forty thousand pounds per annum; and whilst Bishop King, who was the fifth successor of Dr. Bramhall in the see of Derry, was strenuously imitating the excellent example which had been left him, the property of the church in the south and west of Ireland, which had been but too much intrenched on before, was going rapidly to ruin; the glebes usurped,—the rectorial tythes impropriated,—so that at this very day the effects of sacrilege in these provinces is evidently visible in the universal prevalence of Popery, and the vices inseparably connected with it, from Bantry Bay to the harbour of Killala—and this, as I stated in a letter to a statistical surveyor of the county of Clare, in 1808, may in a great degree be attributed to the operation of that great evil the *impropriation of tythes, which takes from the church the ability of compensating a body of clergy sufficient to effect a*

salutary change in the opinions and principles of an ignorant, irreligious, and immoral peasantry.

In one of the parishes in the south of Ireland, for instance, (I should rather say benefices, for five united parishes compose it) the extent of country under the care of a resident rector and curate is twenty-five miles, reaching from Dunbeg or Koskerry, in the barony of Moyarta, and county of Clare, to Loop's-head light-house,—a narrow neck of land indeed, in general, but in many places of considerable width, and thickly inhabited. There are three ruined churches in it; and it is but lately that a parsonage-house was erected, upon a glebe of three acres. There are here five Popish chapels, diligently attended by four priests; and though more than one of these houses of worship has been lately rebuilt and enlarged, they are all insufficient to contain those who resort to them, whilst one of the churches in the same place is empty for half the year. To account for this, I need only say that a noble brother-in-law of his lordship the Bishop of Norwich inherits from his ancestors the rectorial tythes of a considerable proportion of these five parishes,—whilst the rectory of one of them is a sinecure in the gift of the Marquis of Thomond.

I remain, Sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

Maghera, C. of Londonderry.

JOHN GRAHAM.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR,—Unforeseen circumstances have for a long time prevented me from communicating my ideas, on the continued exertions of the Roman Catholics to obtain complete emancipation from the restraints which were, and are (and God grant they ever may be) laid upon them, for the preservation of the Protestant religion in the British empire. But my attention has been aroused afresh, upon reading your congratulatory remarks,* on the change of affairs which has just taken place in France. No one, Sir, can more participate in the general joy occasioned by that glorious event than myself. But I hope that event (glorious as it certainly is) will not lull us into a fatal security. We must not be dazzled by the glare of prosperity which now surrounds us. The friends of Popery are secretly at work, more industriously than ever; especially since the receipt of that double-faced epistle from M. Quarantotti.

Let any well-informed Protestant peruse that curious document, and

then see if there is not more meant "than meets the eye." There is a vast deal said about securities, the *velo*, and a great heap of verbiage into the bargain. What a sure passport to the human heart is specious flattery. I trust, Mr. Editor, that you will divest of all its danger this flatteringunction. Coming from Rome, it flows from a suspected source; and whatever be its intents, "be they wicked or charitable," we must equally stand upon our guard. It would take up too much room were I to attempt an analysis of this imposing communication. I shall therefore leave it for the present, and offer for your consideration a few words upon the conduct of those who, ostensible members, or even ministers of the established church, are advocating the cause of the Papists, as if it were fit, or prudent, to grant them full liberty of action, and to abolish all restraints on their machinations, without any security whatever for the Protestant religion. I particularly allude to the visitation sermon preached at North Walsham, in the diocese of Norwich, in June 1813, by the Rev. George Glover, M. A. noticed in your last number. Is it not a strange thing, Sir, that they who ought to be the main pillars of the Protestant religion, maintained and supported by the establishment, should plead the cause of another form of religion, which aims incessantly at the subversion of their own? But the chief view of the rev. gentleman was, perhaps, directed to something *more* than smoothing the way to concession. He was "acting the pioneer" in presence of a prelate, his liberal diocesan, whose zeal for Catholic emancipation is well-known. But Mr. Glover's efforts will not avail. His deleterious ebullition must receive a counteracting antidote. You have already administered one dose. I know him to be a warm admirer of the Rev. Mr. I. C. Eustace. "Happy, happy, happy pair," whose union of principle cannot fail to produce powerful effects! The latter gentleman has published some bulky volumes respecting Italy, prefaced by professions of candour, but full of erroneous descriptions, superstitious, and sentimental nonsense. In what he calls an "answer" to the Bishop of Lincoln's charge, he confesses that he owes "honour and jurisdiction to the *Pope*" bold expressions for a Briton;—are they legal? He is outraged when the term *Papist* is applied to him; although he thus professes that degree of obedience to the *Pope*, which the reformed only yield to Christ. I must adopt the words of an elegant writer, who says, that this pretended "answer is a tissue of vulgar scurrility, malicious abuse, impudent assertions, of what is virtually untrue, false morality, and worse logic, fully proving the propriety of the term *Papist* as we here use it; and also the deplorable state of moral and intellectual degradation in which Papists still continue." The Irish Romanists themselves, now, at last legitimate the use of the

word: *Papist*. Rejecting the authority of the rescript, they say, that "the time is come to, *hew they are, not* [that is, no longer] *Papists*." Since the advocates for Catholic emancipation continue their warfare, we must oppose them inch by inch. The cause we are contending for must not be given up without a virtuous struggle;—must never be deserted. Thank God, that in the depôts of Protestantism there are plenty of stores to supply our warfare. Let us not suffer ourselves to be taken by surprise by any artifices of Rome, or lulled by any deceits of Rome's friends. Our adversaries are wary and active. Let us keep a constant watch, and we need not fear the utmost efforts of Catholic endeavours to gain an ascendancy over our Protestant establishment.

I am, with great sincerity, your humble servant,

Warley, 13th May, 1814.

G. B.

P. S. Since my last communication I have read every succeeding number of the *Protestant Advocate* with increased satisfaction. *Est mihi animus in literis*.

Extract of a Letter from Dublin, dated May 16th.

"Nothing could equal the vexation and disappointment of the Popish multitude in Ireland at the overthrow of their idol Buonaparte. This cannot be a matter of surprise, as they were universally united in treasonable combinations; cemented by oaths, to rise, to join him, and to avail themselves of his assistance for the attainment of two objects; the extirpation of heretics and the separation of their native country from England. When Buonaparte's fall was announced here, the lower class of people in great numbers assembled every evening in their porter-houses and whisky-shops, where some of their wise men and orators read and explained the newspapers to them. Some trusty officers of the police, who constantly attend them, assured me, that they could not be persuaded for some days that Buonaparte was overthrown; and they frequently said that he was under the protection of the Almighty; but when the illuminations convinced them of the contrary, they expressed the greatest concern, and uttered the most bitter curses against the Allied Powers. The same incidents occurred in many Popish chapels in the vicinity of Dublin, where some demagogue makes a constant practice of reading and explaining the newspapers to the congregation, after the celebration of mass. A county of Galway gentleman communicated to me the following incident, which recently occurred, at Laughneugh, a small village in that county. He met there one Finerty, a tailor, who is father to the famous Peter Finerty. Finerty asked him whether Buonaparte was dethroned, and having as-

wered him in the affirmative, Fiperty seemed incredulous; but when he shewed him an English newspaper in which it was unequivocally announced, he exclaimed, 'oh! then it is all over with us, we are undone.' Some Popish barristers who are clamorous orators in that *august assembly*, the late Catholic Board, expressed the same sentiments on hearing of the disasters which befel Buonaparte in Russia.

"Some Protestant clergymen arrived here lately, with their families, not conceiving it safe to remain in some parts of the country which are dreadfully disturbed by a Popish banditti. May a decided and firm government calm these disquiets!"*

Extract of a Letter dated Dublin, June 7th.

"You may rest assured that a civil war and a massacre of Protestants would have taken place in Ireland, had not Buonaparte been dethroned. The Irish Papists were intent on it; and to accomplish it, they have been plundering Protestants of arms and ammunition, ever since the year 1803. That vile Popish bigot *Plowden* fled from his creditors in England, some years since; and ever since he has been employed by the Catholic committee and Board to libel all the Protestants of active and distinguished loyalty in this country; by which he has earned a subsistence. In his history of Orangeism, he has calumniated in the grossest manner many gentlemen, who shewed distinguished valour in putting down the rebellion of 1798. Mr. Hunt of the county of Donegal, whom he slandered in an infamous manner, obtained a verdict for £5000 against him in a civil action; and in consequence of it, he has fled from Ireland, and I believe is gone to France. A pamphlet in defence of the Rev. Philip Johnson, of Lisburn's, character against the calumnious falsehoods of that Drawcansir, is now in the press;—I hope soon to send you either a copy or an abridgment of it. The principles of Orangemen are set in a true light."

ADVERTISEMENT TO OUR READERS.

In our next we hope to give extracts from the masterly observations on Dr. Dromgole's speech, by that revered and genuine patriot, Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart. to whom we are proud to acknowledge many most important obligations.

We purpose presenting our readers with a survey of the state of religion in Scotland (nearly applicable to all Christendom) at the era of the Reformation; very ably drawn by Dr. M'Rie, in his life of John Knox, just published.

* We trust that all this will be effectuated by Mr. Peel's bill. — Edit.

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For AUGUST 1814.

“ The things that are Caesar’s are to be rendered to Caesar, by persons of all orders and degrees amongst us, and in every capacity wherein they can be considered ; unto Caesar the chief government of all estates of his realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes, doth appertain. He is the defender of the ecclesiastical as well as the civil rights of his subjects; and is the head of the church as well as of the state, and equally supreme in both.”—DR. IBROT.

REFLECTIONS BY ROMAN CATHOLICS, THEMSELVES, ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE LATE “ CATHOLIC BOARD.”

IN our last number, p. 433, we announced the suppression of the Catholic Board, and published the proclamation of LORD WHITWORTH, which wrought that good deed. We have been not a little amused by the way in which this decisive act of the Irish government has been received by the Members of the Board. It came upon them very unexpectedly. Consorting with one another ; some of them haranguing their mock Parliament, and others applauding the speakers ; some making motions, others seconding them ; encouraging one another in audacity ; breathing a heated atmosphere of their own ; and perfectly intoxicated with Popish gas, they began to conceive that the Board, whilst it presumed to *dictate* the terms of those concessions for which it *petitioned*, over-awed the government :—“ but they, measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves amongst themselves,” became exposed to, and at length felt the shock which rarely fails to overtake those who are “ wise in their own conceit.” The proclamation was inserted in a *third edition* of the Popish gazette, the Dublin Evening-Post, and was hardly looked for during the setting out of the two prior editions, as the Editor himself tells us. We shall here lay his own words before our readers, taking the liberty to accompany them with notes, exposing the weakness of some of his assertions, and reprehending the insolence of others.

The Dublin Evening-Post;—June 7th—The observations are headed, in the way of a motto, by the following—

“ Extract of a Letter from the late Right Hon Edmund Burke, to the Rev. Dr. Hussey, dated June 9, 1795.

“ As to the Committee of Lay Catholics, I am sorry for a tone of jacobinism that has been adopted by some of its principal members, but still more so that it has been dissolved—the bad principle might have been kept under. Nothing can save you without some Committee of the kind—I wish something of the sort re-established; your enemies are embodied—what becomes of you if you are individuals? ” *

“ We commenced our last article on this subject by observing, that the affairs of the Catholics were much embroiled, at a period in which the Nations of Europe were recovering from a state of embarrassment and slavery.† We could have scarcely imagined, that in a third edition of our paper on that day, we should be forced to insert a Proclamation from the Government of Ireland, which tends to render “ the confusion worse confounded.”

“ First, let us briefly say, what the state of the question is.

“ The Catholics of Ireland, in County Meetings, in Aggregate Assemblies, and by their Boards, had come to an unanimous resolution to petition Parliament during the present session, and had requested Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan to present and support their claims, in the respective branches of the legislature to which those distinguished personages belong.

* *Individuals.*—It appears from the observations here printed, that the Committee came within the provisions of the Convention Act; and it is evident that the crafty Catholics followed Mr. Burke's advice in substituting the Board for the illegal Committee. “ *The bad principle,*” however was not “ *kept under.*” If jacobinism distinguished the Committee, a spirit of insubordination characterized the Board. The constitution of the country, (for the established church is an integral part of it,) was never so insulted by the former, as it was the latter, particularly when it applauded Dr. Dromgole's intemperate speech. The green flags of the Irish jacobins were not hoisted with a heartier spirit of defiance, than the oriflamme of the Doctor.

† *Slavery.*—The bigots of Ireland hug the chains of Popery, as eagerly as those of Spain contend for the tortures of the inquisition. It is, indeed, a most melancholy fact that the Irish Roman Catholics, living under the mild sway of the British government, should have been so far worked upon by the artifices of a set of dangerous agitators, as to make it necessary to provide the coercion of Mr. Peel's Bill, to save them from the desolation which must ensue from actual rebellion. Long have we been convinced that the removal of the few remaining restrictions which the wisdom of our fathers ordained against Popery, is but a secondary, a mere ostensible object with the demagogues of Ireland. The Roman Catholics have themselves embroiled and embarrassed their own affairs.

“ Mr. Grattan and my Lord Donoughmore, though they read some lectures to the Board on the violence and folly of part of its proceedings, complied apparently with the request.*

“ In the mean time the famous Rescript arrived in Ireland, claiming the exercise, on the part of a Foreign Priest, of interference in the discipline of the Catholic Church of Ireland—or, in other words, claiming the privilege of advising—of commanding—*decretum est*—the acceptance of a legislative measure, on the part of the Catholics of Ireland—*æquo gratoque animo*.—The intervention of the Pope's Vice-Prefect was universally and indignantly rejected by people, prelates, and priests; and a practical illustration was given against the validity of that argument, upon which the securities were grounded, namely, that a political controul might be practised over the people of Ireland through the medium of Papal influence.†

“ Just after this, when the great argument was removed, Mr. Grat-

* *Request.*—Mr. Grattan and Lord Donoughmore have been pestered beyond all endurance by their clients. We trust that the spirit which rules those violent men, and has defeated the views of the right honourable Gentleman and the noble Lord, in their behalf; is now so manifest as to convince the legislature, that to grant the claim of their petitions would be a most unwise and a most unsafe measure. This is what we have urged ever since we presumed to advocate the cause of Protestantism; and this we conceive must be evident to all men of common sense.

† *Papal influence.*—The combustion occasioned by the rescript is notorious enough. It shews how ungovernable the Irish Papists are. Their minds have been stimulated into a febrile state. They are irritable in a most dangerous degree. As we have already observed, they have quarrelled with Rome, in spite of all their prejudices; but we beg to demur concurring in the assertion relative to Papal influence. Here is the *salvo* for the holy father, and for the people, priests, and prelates of Ireland,—that the rescript comes from *Mr. Quarantotti*, and not from the Pope. Let the Pope enjoin the Veto, and we shall be the better enabled to decide upon the effect of Papal influence in Ireland. The Pope, however, will never risk such an injunction. Should he do so, he must formally consent to the diminution of his own prerogative, and at the same he must put the obedience of an infuriated people in hazard. The positive authority of the Pope we admit to be very powerful; but it cannot always be safe to exert it. The Papal power resembles the *entire adamant* of which Gulliver tells us the bottom of the *flying island* was composed. If that profound thinker, the King of *Laputa*, was minded to destroy a rebellious town in his continental dominions, he needed only to let the island drop, souse upon it, and crush men and houses to atoms;—but for fear of damaging the under surface, by the shocks it might receive from any rocks, spires, or pillars of stone, this mode of punishment was seldom, if ever, resorted to. *Pius VII.* is at least as wise a sovereign as the sage monarch of *Laputa*. He is moreover too fond of his authority to place it in jeopardy. No, good Mr. Magee, Signor Quarantotti's letter affords no criterion of the readiness or the impatience with which the Roman Catholics of Ireland will submit to Papal influence.

tan declares, not to the petitioners who had entrusted to him the custody and the care of their claim—not to the noble lord, who had transmitted to him the petition for presentation, but to the House of Commons, on handing in the Cork petition, that he should not press the question. Lord Donoughmore appears, as far as can be judged by his public speeches, undecided: but it is not difficult to see that he inclines to the opinion delivered by Mr. Grattan in the House of Commons. It is, moreover, manifest, that the opinion entertained upon the inexpediency of any discussion, at present, on the Catholic claims, is that which generally prevails among those gentlemen who are called the friends of the measure.*

“ The Board was called, and it resolved that a correspondence should be opened with the Parliamentary advocates, to ascertain their sentiments precisely, when, if they declined, an Aggregate Assembly should be convened for the purpose of taking the novel circumstances in which the Catholic community were placed, into *consideration*.†

“ Such was the state of things, when the Proclamation, which we re-insert this day, was issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland.

“ Was this Proclamation necessary? This is the first question. We are to presume, of course, that the Privy Council did not act without adequate consideration; and we feel no disposition to carp at their motives. We have never, the public will do us the justice to recollect, impugned the conduct of Lord Whitworth or his administration; nor do we feel any disposition to do so now. We trust that we shall not be misunderstood when we discuss the propriety and policy of the Proclamation just issued.

“ It is clear, that this Proclamation is grounded on the Convention

* *The measure.*—The conduct of the members of the late board, and of their adherents, has, of itself, rendered the discussion of their claims *inexpedient*.

† *Consideration.*—Observe the madness of these people. It might have been supposed that the coolness and self-possession of Mr. Grattan and Lord Donoughmore would have checked the fermentation excited by this impolitic Board;—no such thing; there can be no doubt but that the *consideration* here intended would have ended in votes of censure; that disgust would have succeeded disinclination in the bosoms of Mr. G. and Lord D. that the promotion of the petition would have been confided to persons of a less wary disposition, and that the flames of civil war, with difficulty repressed, would have burst out and desolated the island. At this very crisis the proclamation was issued—well timed! It has saved the Protestants from massacre, and has shielded the Papists from the horrible effects of their political frenzy.

Act; and that the law-advisers of his Excellency have advised him that the Catholic Board comes within the meaning of that Act.

“ We have already laboured so hard upon the Convention Act, that we shall not repeat ourselves in this place. The Court of King’s Bench has decided, that the *Committee* came within the intention of the Legislature, and, though the same persons were continued, the *Committee* underwent a change in its constitution; it became a *Board*.

“ Now the question is, whether the *Board* is an illegal assembly. Its members maintain that it is not. Administration has expressed a contrary opinion, in terms the most emphatic.

“ This is, however, a question that we shall not attempt to discuss; not that we think the press an improper vehicle for such discussion, but because we hold, that to entertain the question would be inexpedient at present.*

“ But there is another question which we may ask. If, in the opinion of the law advisers of the Lord Lieutenant, the Board is *now* an illegal Assembly, it was illegal two years ago, when it was formed; if it is mischievous now, it was mischievous then. Why, therefore, should it be allowed to continue?

“ In the hope that it would amend its manners, we shall be told—in the expectation that it would see its errors, and reform, or dissolve itself.

“ We beg leave to observe, that any one acquainted with human nature, or the nature of public assemblies, could not expect any such consummation. It is a fact, that the Board became more violent—that speeches were published of an inflammatory nature—that the paroxysm was suffered to pass away without the intervention of the executive—and that, when the newspapers have almost ceased to publish the proceedings of that Assembly—when a subdued and moderate tone began to be used, even by the most determined of the speakers—when every appearance promised peace and tranquillity—just, too, at the eve of the long vacation, when the functions of the Board were necessarily to be suspended—a Proclamation issues, calling on them to disperse, or abide

* *At present.*—The six preceding paragraphs savour not a little of the parading precision of *Polonius* in *Hamlet*. They give us a string of truisms;—and Mr. Magee, like the parliamentary friends of the Papists, most prudently concludes it to be *inexpedient at present* to discuss the question whether the Board was, or was not, an illegal assembly. That question, *entertained* by Mr. Magee, were *coram non judice*, a higher authority has decided it—the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council of Ireland, who have declared the late Board an *unlawful assembly*.

the penal consequences which should inevitably follow their non-compliance with the mandate of the Government.*

"But this is not all. What was the time chosen for this Proclamation?—The Board was engaged in a correspondence with the Parliamentary Advocates of the Catholic question. The Catholics were placed in a most critical and embarrassing condition—nay, the day was the birth-day of the King—and the very day on which an account arrived in this City, of the signature of a Treaty of Peace between the British Empire and the rest of Europe.†

"It may be said, that the administration wish to give Peace to Ireland, by abolishing the Catholic Board. It may be so. We cannot, however, but think, that just at this time, the exercise of the right, on the part of the executive, is not very gracious. We are persuaded, that very many among those whose signatures appear to the Proclamation, draw a strong line of distinction between the Catholic Board and the Catholic People; and we have heard, and believe, that Lord Whitworth himself is among the number. Of course we shall not impugn their motives, but we do think, admitting, for argument, the right, that the time chosen for its exercise was most unhappy and ungracious.‡

* *The government.*—Nothing can be clearer than the reason why the Board was not suppressed *two years ago*. Unquestionably, as is tauntingly asserted here, "in the hope that it would amend its manners." Nothing can be truer than the admission "that the Board became more violent," and "that speeches were published of a most inflammatory nature." Is it to be supposed that its violence had surceased, and that no more inflammatory speeches were to be made, applauded, and published? Did poor Mr. Magee forget; in this passage, what he told us above, that an *aggregate assembly was about to be convened, for the purpose of taking the novel circumstances in which the Catholic community were placed into consideration?* And was that likely to prove a *placid, silent meeting?*

† *Europe.*—The day seems to have been fitly chosen; if, after all, the propriety of any particular day was ever a question with the government. As if the Lord Lieutenant had said—"here is the King's birth-day; if you respect your aged, your suffering monarch, if the remainder of his reign is not to be disgraced by such insults, and such tumultuary proceedings as no government, except that liberal one of which he is the head, could endure for a day—"peace; be still;" put an end to your illegal assembly, and let your neighbours live in quiet. Peace is signed between the British empire and the rest of Europe;—in the hope of restoring and maintaining peace at home, I can no longer suffer the Board to molest or to endanger the tranquillity of Ireland."

‡ *Ungracious.*—We cannot permit an insinuation against the consistency and integrity of the Lord Lieutenant and his Privy Council to pass without reprehension. They would never sign with their hands any instrument of which their hearts disapproved.—*A strong line of distinction between the Catholic Board and the Catholic people!* The Board had nearly plunged the people into the extremes of distress. The Catholic people

" Upon this point we do not feel it any longer necessary to dilate. Upon the next point, namely, the alleged intention of some Members of the Catholic Board to put the Catholic people again in hostile contact with the Government of the Country, by resisting, as far as they can, the Proclamation, we shall offer some remarks in our next.

" In the mean time we beg leave to recommend the motto, taken from a letter of Edmund Burke's to Dr. Hussey, to the perusal of Protestant and Catholic, of the Government and the People."*

LIVERPOOL CATHOLIC BOARD.

No sooner was the mouth of the volcano, which had so long vomited forth, smoke, ashes, and fire at Dublin, closed, than another was opened at Liverpool, and began to spit and sputter in its turn. The Papists at Liverpool, outrageous (though not so powerful) as those at Dublin, have set up a Catholic Board—" *an Orthodox Catholic Board*"—they choose to call it, to be supported by " *an Orthodox Subscription.*" They set themselves in array against " *persons styling themselves the Catholic Board of England,*" and seemed disposed to adopt the language and imitate the proceedings of the parent assembly. Are we to suppose the furious spirit of Popery, like some dreadful *Genie* of oriental fable, to have sunk in Dublin,—"*occultas egisse vias, subter mare*"—and to have appeared in St. Anthony's Chapel, at Liverpool;—

..... " *Black as night,
Fierce as ten furies, terrible as Hell?*"

Naturalists have conceived that there is a submarine communication, in

were safer under the protection of a Protestant government, than exposed to the dangerous machinations of the Catholic Board. If, however, the Board had been allowed to sit, and to continue, and mature all its schemes,—the strong line of distinction between the Board and the people had soon become obliterated, and they had shortly become blended one with the other; the people had become willing instruments in the hands of the Board, and had shared in their destruction.

* *People.*—We have already given our sentiments on the advice of Mr. Burke. If it be pointed to *as a hint still to be followed*—we must expect (as we are free to confess we do) the Board to start up and revive under some new name; again to resume its labours; to abuse the Protestants; to libel the government; to instigate its partizans to offend the law, and then to leave them to languish in prison; again to applaud Dr. Dromgole, to despise Mr. Canning, to tease Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, again to work upon the feelings of the multitude, to endanger the very existence of their country, and again to suffer the merited disgrace of being suppressed by proclamation.

the line of the *Lipari Islands*, between *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, and that they glow with kindred fires. Certain it is that the Lancashire Board betrays its Hibernian origin. A Mr. J. J. G. Hamilton is authorised, by a formal resolution, to act as *Vice-President*, whilst "a gratifying expectation is cherished," that a president may be found. So Mr. Hamilton acts *vice neminis*—the shadow of a shade. Expectations may cheer indeed, but they are not generally gratifying. Already the Anglo-Hibernian Board has reached the sublimity of nonsense. *O imitatores, servum pecus!*

It is resolved, that if Mr. Hamilton shall persist in refusing indemnity for the expenses he has incurred, he be presented with some appropriate token of CATHOLIC gratitude. We see in this resolution an embryo side-board of plate, like Mr. O'Connell's, of a thousand guineas value, though not yet developed beyond the tenuity of a silver tooth-pick; and, as ways and means, we foresee the probability, hereafter, of a tenpenny-levy.

Another feature of resemblance;—petitions have been meditated and prepared, and the Earl of Donoughmore and the Right Hon. Henry Grattan are to be requested to present them;—we begin to pity these two patriots—rudely treated as they have been by the Irish Board, who could not endure their caution, and spurned at their advice—are they to undergo the persecution of the *English Orthodox Catholic Board*, to boot? It is some consolation to us to reflect that these movers of mischief have not deemed any Englishman fit for their purpose—not even the eloquent member for Liverpool—Mr. Canning himself.

The many resolutions of thanks, which appear in the Liverpool document, we regard as so many baits for gudgeons. The new Board is enticing recruits, and endeavouring to gain adherents. We hope that the mitigated Catholics of England are not to be seduced by the artifices of a party disgraced in Ireland. We trust that Dr. Poynter is on the alert, as well as Dr. Gibson; for it seems pretty clear that all this rage has been kindled by Mr. Quarantotti's Rescript—if any meaning can be gathered from Mr. Hamilton's puffed and swoln letter which closes the paper;—he says—"I saw, (not "a peacock with a fiery tail," but) a sacrilegious and ambitious gang, offering your eternal interests at the shrine of power,"—we conceive this gang to be those who are now called the *Vetoists*; and the shrine of power, we imagine, is the authority of the King, which the vice president of the Propaganda advises the British Papists to respect in a certain degree, and with certain reservations.—But let our readers form their own opinion. We subjoin the document, which was sent to us from Ireland; and at the same time, we beg the favour of

our friends at Liverpool, at Manchester, and the neighbourhood of the *Monte Nuovo*, to watch the progress of the eruption, and send us specimens of the *Lava*, which we shall carefully analyze.

“ Catholic Meeting—Liverpool.

“ At a meeting of Roman Catholics, held in St. Anthony's Chapel, Liverpool, May 29th, 1814, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

“ Resolved, that we cannot describe our feelings of indignation and horror at the unwarrantable dominion which those persons, *styling themselves the Catholic Board of England*, have dared to assume over our political rights and spiritual interests.

“ Resolved, that, confiding in the zeal, integrity, and disinterestedness which conceived, prepared, and so prosperously conducted our unequivocal petitions to the legislature, (which we hereby fully approve of) we indulge gratitude, repel hostility, and promote the dearest interests of our holy faith, by requesting that Mr. J. J. G. Hamilton do continue the management of our petitions, as *vice-president* in conjunction with such of our communion as he may conscientiously conceive to be most eligible to assist him; and we cherish the gratifying expectation, that amongst our venerated prelates, he may prevail upon one of their number to become our *president*.

“ Resolved, that a subscription be opened for defraying the expenses of these petitions; and that if Mr. Hamilton *shall persist in refusing indemnity for the expenses he has already incurred, he be presented with some appropriate tokens of our Catholic gratitude*.

“ Resolved, that Mr. Christopher Dugdale be requested to act as treasurer.

“ Resolved, that *an Orthodox Subscription* be opened to support the wishes of our respected prelate, who calls for our assistance to complete the college at Ushaw, and to educate clergymen competent to the mission.

“ Resolved, that the powerful advocates of our cause, the *Right Hon. the Earl of Donoughmore*, and the *Right Hon. Henry Grattan*, be requested to present our petitions to their respective houses of parliament, and to accept our grateful acknowledgment for the information they have so politely communicated.

“ Resolved, that the thanks of the Orthodox Catholics of Lancashire are eminently due to Mr. J. J. G. Hamilton, for first *meditating and preparing* the Catholic petitions, now lying for signatures, at No. 9, in the Old Haymarket, and that the active, energetic, and laudable zeal he has

since manifested for the success of the same, deserves our most cordial approbation.

“ Resolved, that the expression of our warmest gratitude and esteem is hereby offered to the Rev. John B. A. Gerardot, for his eloquent and useful sermon on Sunday the 15th inst. as well as the polite offer he has made to us of the use of his chapel, and that he be requested to act as chaplain to our Board.

“ Resolved, that our grateful thanks are justly due, and hereby given to Mr. F. G. Hamilton, Mr. John Wright, Mr. Christopher Dugdale, and the other Catholic gentlemen in Liverpool, Manchester, and other places, who have assisted in the management of our petitions.

“ Resolved, that our grateful thanks are due and hereby given, to Mr. J. Baines, for his early and disinterested offer of the use of his rooms, as well as his marked attention to our petition.

“ Resolved, that our thanks are justly due, and hereby given, to the proprietors of a liberal press, Messrs. Egerton Smith and T. B. Johnson, for their honourable resistance to that undue influence which would close a public press against a public body.”

“ *Roman Catholics who have signed the Orthodox Petitions, —*

“ *I saw a sacrilegious and ambitious gang offering your eternal interests at the shrine of power, and impudently pretending they had your sanction for the sacrifice. I consulted your feelings; I found them honest, warm, indignant. Under every disadvantage which earth or hell could suggest, I established another rallying point for your fidelity to God and your beleagured church; thousands of you have confided your dearest interests to my care; my guardianship has been as prosperous as it was disinterested. If I have not the power of a Cincinnatus, or a Washington, at least I possess some of their feelings.—I have no ambition for uncontrollable power, when it ceases to produce a public good. The same integrity which withstood persuasion, calumny, personal danger, threat, and corruption, bids me inform you, that your Christian cause has acquired too much importance to be conducted any longer by an individual. You will, therefore, oblige me, and promote the endangered interests of Catholicity, by meeting me at seven o'clock on Friday evening, May 27th, at No. 9, in the Old Haymarket, to choose an Orthodox Catholic Board, for the future management of petitions from this county.*

“ J. J. G. HAMILTON.”

FRAGMENT OF AN ADDRESS TO DR. MILNER:

A friend in Ireland has sent us the following fragment of an address from the Lancashire Papists to Dr. Milner. We know not the date of this elegant composition, which much resembles Mr. Hamilton's affected style. *St. Paul* was content to say "though we, or an angel from heaven," &c.—but this simplicity did not satisfy the refined and semi-poetic taste of the learned scribe who indited the address—"though the seductive tongue of an angelic being," &c.—this is irrecaistible!—and it is hard to say what the effect of this celestial language might have been, were it not that the word "*jockeyship*" lets us down from the clouds, and places us on the green-sward.—If it be true, as we have been informed, that Dr. Milner has made his peace with Dr. Poynter, this address must have annoyed the Doctor not a little. He no longer "*opes in zeal with the most emulous of the Irish*," but has sunk into a mere Saxon, and cannot approve of the way in which the high-flyers of Lancashire talk to him. However this may be, the address sufficiently exemplifies the zeal which distinguishes "the aspiring blood of Lancaster."

ADDRESS to the Right Rev. Doctor Milner, &c. &c.

"We, the Roman Catholics of the county of Lancaster, beg leave to approach you with esteem and reverence, as the zealous and uncompromising champion of our faith.

"Our silence has been unbroken, because we wished to avoid the semblance of division, but our wishes have been with you, and we have not slumbered before those altars where our prayers could serve.

"With disgust and sorrow we beheld that boasted *jockeyship*, which deceived the shepherd to divide the flock; and though the *seductive tongue of an angelic being* could command a change of *antient doctrine*, we will not hear him, but believe him curst.

"We have arrived at the afflicting period where silence is a crime, and clinging to the *faith which you defend*,* we shall preserve communion with our Irish brethren, and *cope in zeal with the most emulous*."

* We shall refer our readers to Melancthon's Third Letter, p. 304 of Vol. I. and particularly to p. 309 of the same, to shew what faith Dr. Milner professes. He extols the general councils and canon law of his church, says they are infallible and binding on his fellow-votaries, and among them the fourth Lateran council, which enjoins the extirpation of heretics and the nullity of oaths to a Protestant state as a religious duty.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE REFORMED
RELIGION, RECOMMENDED BY THE EDITOR OF THE
PROTESTANT ADVOCATE.

(Continued from p. 412.)

32. *An Address to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland on the Subject of Catholic Emancipation, presenting Facts and Documents illustrative of the real Object of the Irish Roman Catholic Leaders. By the Rev. William Thorpe, A. B. one of the Chaplains of Bethesda, and of the Lock Penitentiary, Dublin. 8vo. pp. 62.*

ON reference to p. 466, in our last number, our readers will find that we earnestly beg of them to attend to the *facts* which appeared in certain statements, and never to forget "that it is on *facts* and not on *assumptions* that wise men found their opinions." *Mr. Thorpe* in his excellent pamphlet seems to have entertained similar sentiments. "He has (as the preface informs us) presented *facts and documents*, by which others shall be enabled to form a judgment, without expressing any of his own;"—and (p. 62) in conclusion he says, "what should be done in this momentous crisis, it is for the *legislature* in its wisdom to determine. That prompt and decisive measures are absolutely necessary—these *facts and documents* most clearly evince." He commences with the petition of the Irish Roman Catholics, which we printed, *with notes*, in our number for December last (p. 106); he then proceeds, giving extracts from the speeches of *Mr. O'Connell*, *Mr. O'Gorman*, *Mr. Finlay*, &c. with appropriate remarks upon them. He then quotes several passages from the "*Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland, with a Commentary*;" and toward the close of the address, *Mr. Thorpe* examines the celebrated speech of *Dr. Dromgole*. Throughout the whole of the publication, the author manifest great ability, and a consummate knowledge of Irish affairs, as connected with the Catholic question. We earnestly recommend the pamphlet to the serious perusal of our readers and the public in general. We shall select passages from the leading parts of the address;—leaving *Dr. Dromgole* to the looking after of *Sir Richard Musgrave*, whose "*Observations*" form the succeeding article of this month's PROTESTANT ADVOCATE.

Mr. Thorpe (p. 8) makes manifest the malignity of *Mr. O'Connell's* *

* " *Mr. O'Connell* is a Roman Catholic barrister, and a leading member of the Catholic Board. The speech, from which this and some of the following extracts have been taken, was published in Dublin, along with one said to have been spoken by *Mr. Finlay*, at an aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholics, held in Dublin. *Mr. Finlay*

heart, by the following extract from a speech of that lawyer, said to have been delivered at a meeting of the Roman Catholics of Limerick.

“ In the latter periods of the present reign, every administration has had a distinct principle, upon which it was formed, and which serves the historian to explain all its movements. Thus, the principle of the *Pitt* administration was to deprive the people of all share in the government, and to vest all power and authority in the crown. In short, Pitt's views amounted to unqualified despotism. This great object he steadily pursued through his ill-starred career. It is true, he encouraged commerce; but it was for the purposes of taxation; and he used taxation for the purposes of corruption. He assisted the merchants, as long as he could, to grow rich, and they lauded him; he bought the people with their own money, and they praised him. Each succeeding day produced some new inroad on the constitution; and the alarm which he excited by reason of the bloody workings of the French revolution, enabled him to rule the land with uncontrolled sway. He has bequeathed to his successors the accumulated power of the crown; a power which is so great, as to sustain the nonentities of the present administration. The principle of Pitt's administration was despotism: the principle of *Perceval's* administration was *peculating bigotry*—*bigoted peculation*! In the name of the Lord, he plundered the people. Pious and enlightened statesman! he would take their money only for the good of their souls! The principle of the present administration is still more obvious. It has unequivocally disclosed itself in all their movements. It is simple and single—it consists in *falsehood*! *Falsehood* is the bond and link which connects this ministry in office. Some of them pretend to be our friends: *you know it is not true*. They are only our worse enemies for the hypocrisy.”

“ Here is a foul attack not only on the living but on the dead. To offer any vindication of the illustrious dead would be an insult on their memory. Too deeply engraven on the hearts of a grateful country are the services of these lamented statesmen, to be affected by the malignant aspersions of calumny and faction. Long as the British constitution shall be dear to Britons, long as they shall know how to appreciate splendid talents and inflexible integrity displayed in its support, so long shall the

is also a barrister. It is reported he is a Protestant. His friends in the Catholic Board call him, sometimes, “the liberal Protestant,” but more frequently “the agitator.” The latter name is, of course, given to him in jest. The motto of the pamphlet which contains these speeches is remarkable. It is, *Magnus uterque timor latronibus*.—Hor. 1 Lib. 4 Sat.”—[Mr. Thorpe might have added what follows—

———“ *At bene si quis*

Et puris vivat manibus, contemnat utrumque.”]

names of Pitt and Perceval be loved and honoured. But there is here not only vile calumny, but such malignant and deliberate cruelty, as we might suppose human nature incapable of, but for this disgraceful proof to the contrary. This calumny was uttered almost before Mr. Perceval was cold in his grave. While his bloody corse was yet, almost, before the eyes of his wretched widow, while her heart was torn with anguish, while the tears of his orphan children yet bedewed his grave, while every feeling heart beat responsive to the widow's and orphan's groan; such was the time chosen by this cold-hearted and cruel (what shall I call him? I leave it to others to give him his appropriate appellation)—such was the time he chose to assassinate the reputation, all that remained, of one whom a murderous hand and bloody deed had consigned to an untimely grave. The indignant reader is perhaps ready to exclaim, "Surely this cruel outrage has no parallel!" The reader is mistaken. The pamphlet before us furnishes a parallel, in the speech attributed to Mr. Finlay. He is described as having expressed himself as follows, in an aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholics, held in Dublin, within a month after Mr. Perceval's funeral.

" But two obstacles impeded its advancement (*i. e.* Catholic emancipation), which neither moral nor political causes could remove—the principles of a minister, and the conscience of a King. The minister said it was resisted by his reason—the King declared it was resisted by his morality. The King was religious—the bigots were obstinate. Bigotry, in this case, as in all cases, adopted the pretences of religion to counteract the purposes of religion. The bigots of the day beset the monarch—they said to themselves, in the language of the great poet,

" — The oath, the oath's the thing
" In which we'll catch the conscience of the King.

In this way they succeeded in convincing the sovereign, that concession to you must be perjury to him. Thus the semblance of religion, and the substance of bigotry, united to oppose the free worship of God. Against these two uncommon obstacles, moral and political causes worked in vain—in vain would reason expostulate with bigotry; in vain would it argue with religious conscientiousness. Reason could do nothing with the one or the other—secondary causes must fail to remove such obstacles—*human* causes could not remove them—*man* could not remove them—none but God could remove them. God has removed them. By the two severest visitations with which man can be afflicted, by the loss of reason and by the loss of life, these two impediments to your emancipation have been dislodged—your King no longer ranks with the rational,

and the minister of that King is now numbered with the dead. As a subject and a man, I must, in common with you all, sincerely deplore this twofold affliction; but as a *moralist* and a *Christian*, it may be permitted to infer that these awful signs of the times may appear to the eye of the unborn historian but as the distinct evidence of a controlling Providence; that, for the future, man's free worship of his Creator is, as it were, written by the finger of God; and that it now stands a record in heaven, that the time is past, and never can return, when any man, or any set of men, can presume to rebuke, by any system of social or civil vilification, that great majority of the Christian church which bend the knee at the name of Jesus."

"Here is a *moralist* and a *Christian* for you! In the assassination of Mr. Perceval, and in the affliction of our venerable Monarch, he sees what will appear to the future historian as "the finger of God;" "distinct evidence of a controlling Providence," removing the impediments to Catholic emancipation! It is impossible to read such language, without feeling at once astonishment and indignation at the unblushing assurance and daring impiety which dictated it. With great propriety has this speech been published in the same pamphlet with that attributed to Mr. O'Connell. Their authors, *par nobile fratrum*, should never be separated.

"We have not yet done with this speech of Mr. O'Connell. It is rich in invective. He deals his blows about him at a furious rate, as the following specimens will shew:

"There remains," he says, "another delusion: it is the darling deception of the ministry—that which has reconciled the toleration of Lord Castlereagh with the intolerance of Lord Liverpool: it is that which has sanctified the connection between both and the place-procuring, prayer-mumbling Wilberforce: it consists in *sanctions* and *securities*. The Catholics may be emancipated, say the ministers in public, but they must give *securities*. By *securities*, say the same ministers, in private, to their supporting bigots, we mean nothing definite; but something that shall certainly be inconsistent with the *POPISH* religion. Nothing shall be a security which they can possibly concede; and we shall deceive them and secure you, whilst we carry the air of liberality and toleration."

"And again, speaking of Lord Wellesley's motion on the Catholic question, in the House of Peers, he says, "It was lost by the petty majority of *one*. It was lost by a majority, not of those who listened to the absurd prosings of Lord Eldon, to the turbid and bigoted declamation of that English chief justice, whose sentiments so forcibly recall the memory of the star chamber; nor of those who were able to compare the vapid

or violent folly of the one party with the statesman-like sentiments, the profound arguments, the splendid eloquence of the Marquis Wellesley; not of those who heard the reasonings of our other illustrious advocates; but by a majority of men who acted upon preconceived opinions; or from a distance carried into effect their bigotry, or perhaps worse propensities; who availed themselves of that absurd privilege of the peerage, which enables them to decide who have not heard, which permits them to pronounce upon subjects they have not discussed, and allows a final determination to precede argument."

" Were it not that calumny is no less blind and indiscriminating than cruel, holding sacred neither private worth nor public virtue, Mr. Wilberforce would have been spared. That amiable friend of the human race, in every clime and of every complexion, that intrepid advocate of the rights of man, that patriot supporter at once of the prerogative of the crown and of the liberty of the people, distinguished alike for his talents and for the mild and unassuming exercise of them—in vain shall even malignity itself seek, in his character or conduct, for the grounds of accusation. As for the imputation thrown out against him, the disreputable part of it is as notoriously false as the other part is notoriously true. Yes. It is conceded on his behalf, that he reverences religion and practises its duties. Would to heaven that all Great Britain's legislators were such! she might then despise the threats of her foreign enemies, and, with the magnanimity which she loves to exercise, pity and forgive her factious sons."

We have often pointed out the way in which the Irish Papists treat the friends who have espoused and pleaded their cause. *Mr. Thorpe* says, (p. 16.) " Among the most zealous and distinguished advocates for their emancipation we may reckon the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Hardwicke, the Earl of Moira, the Earl of Donoughmore, and Mr. Grattan. Now let us attend to Mr. O'Connell's language concerning the Duke of Bedford and Lord Hardwicke. In his speech in the court of King's Bench, in defence of the proprietor of the Dublin Evening Post, who had been indicted for a libel against the Duke of Richmond, he expressed himself thus:

" You must all have seen, a short time since, an account of a public dinner in London, given by persons styling themselves " Friends to Religious Liberty." At that dinner, at which two of the royal dukes were present, there were, I think, no less than four or five noblemen who had filled the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. At this dinner they were ardent in their professions of kindness towards the Catholics of Ireland, in their declarations of the obvious policy and justice of conciliation and

concession, and they bore ample testimony to our sufferings and to our merits. But I appeal from their present declarations to their past conduct. They are now full of liberality and justice to us; yet I speak only the truth of history when I say, that, during their government of this country, no practical benefits resulted from all this wisdom and kindness of sentiment. With the single exception of Lord Fitzwilliam, not one of them ever attempted to do any good to the Catholics or to Ireland. What did the Duke of Bedford do for us? Just nothing. Some civility, indeed, in words; some playing on public credulity; but in act and deed, nothing. What did Lord Hardwicke do for us? Oh! nothing, or rather less than nothing. His administration here, was in that respect a kind of negative quality; it was cold, harsh, and forbidding to the Catholics."

"With still less ceremony has Lord Moira been treated by Mr. O'Gorman. In an aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholics, held in Dublin in June 1812, at which the Earl of Fingal presided, Mr. O'Gorman (as the Freeman's Journal reports) used the following expressions with respect to Lord Moira:

"There is an illustrious Irishman in whom a lamentable *recreancy* is observable. From him we eternally withdraw our confidence with bursting hearts."

"What was the crime of the noble lord, by which he had forfeited the confidence, and burst the hearts of the Roman Catholics? It was this. He had shewed respect for the feelings, and guarded the honour of his Prince.

"Mr. Grattan has grown grey in the service of the Roman Catholics. During a long political life, the powers and resources of his great mind have been devoted to their cause. With all the privileges they have obtained he is identified: he fought the battle, and his were, confessedly, the brightest honours of the triumph. With an ardour and eloquence which the approaches of old age have not been able to extinguish, he is still their advocate. Their respect and gratitude are the only recompense they can offer. To these he is surely entitled. Has he obtained this recompense? Let a judgment be formed from the language of Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Scully in the Catholic Board, on the 26th of June 1813. According to the report of the Freeman's Journal, Mr. O'Connell expressed himself thus:

"At the time Mr. Grattan was communicating with the heads of different parties in England, and with English lawyers, upon the affairs of the Irish Catholics, he refused to have any communication with the Catholic delegates in London; and at the very time he wrote to Mr. Charles

Butler to prepare a bill for the emancipating the Irish Catholics, he declined consulting a single Irish Catholic advocate. Mr. Grattan shall never again, with my consent, present the Catholic petition."

"Mr. Scully appeared to be of the same mind. He said that "Mr. Grattan's conduct to the delegates in London, had given general dissatisfaction. He had latterly behaved to the Catholics with a superciliousness, which was not only excessively disagreeable to the feelings of Irishmen, but extremely prejudicial to the cause." What was Mr. Grattan's crime? It was this. He refused to be dictated to by the Roman Catholic delegates. He disdained the idea of being the bearer of their commands to the imperial parliament.

"Lord Donoughmore, though not guilty of a greater crime than Mr. Grattan, has received more severe chastisement. Because he refused to surrender his judgment to the lawyers of the Catholic Board, or to be a party in their violent measures; because, with the spirit becoming his rank and character, he repelled the insult, which, by their presumptuous attempt to dictate, they had offered to him, and to the legislature, he was denounced at the Board as "ungrateful for the notice and popularity to which he had been raised on the shoulders of the Catholic question," and his conduct reprobated in terms of such low and vulgar abuse, as, without the appearance of disrespect to the noble lord, it would be impossible to repeat.

The author, speaking of the Popish orators, says, (p. 19,) "they embrace every opportunity of representing the English people, the nation at large, as contemptible on account of their ignorance and folly, and as execrable on account of their wickedness. In an aggregate meeting held in Dublin in June 1813, Mr. Scully, after ridiculing the idea, that the Irish people wanted education, proceeded to descant on the ignorance of the English, and asserted that two thirds of the labouring poor in England could neither read nor write. At the same meeting Mr. O'Connell gave the following description of the English nation :

"Our enemies have long duped the people of England. Indeed that was not difficult. So *dishonest* and so *besotted* a people as the English never lived. Yes, they are *dishonest* and *besotted*.—As a nation I must say, and I can prove, that they are the most profligate, and quite lost in folly.—As to English *stupidity*, it is really become proverbial.—To descend from a nation to an individual....."

What follows is so outrageously shocking, in an impotent attempt to heap abuse on one of the worthiest and most amiable noblemen in England, a distinguished and most able supporter of the Protestant cause, that we cannot consent to defile our pages by inserting the passage which has excited both our disgust and indignation.

"Such (continues *Mr. O'Connell*,) is the state of England—they are ready to sanction every crime, or to credit any delusion. We enrich the *bigots* of England, and we leave our manufacturers starving: in fact, the clothing districts of England are the most bigotted parts of it. The "No Popery" cry commenced in the very centre of the cloth manufactory; it commenced at Pontefract, in Yorkshire. Are there not, perhaps, hundreds that have been clothed in the fabric of these dullest of all malignant bigots? Let us teach these drawlers and dotards, that they cannot insult us with impunity."

"This is only a specimen of the language used by these gentlemen, concerning England. "Besotted" and "profligate," are their usual designations for the people of that country.

"Is this the way to obtain the suffrages of the English in favour of emancipation? No: the obvious tendency of such language is, to excite in the people of both countries mutual dislike and animosity: to disgust and irritate the English on the one hand, and on the other hand to beget in the Irish a contempt and abhorrence of the English. Do these gentlemen imagine, that a bill for Catholic emancipation can receive the sanction of the imperial parliament, in despite of the opposition of the English people? No: they must be well aware that if once the people of England shall be aroused to express a decided disapprobation of the measure, it must necessarily be rejected by the legislature. And what so likely to create this hostile spirit in England, as calumny and insult? The Roman Catholic leaders are too well acquainted with human nature to be ignorant of this; and, therefore, from their language and conduct, it is but natural to conclude, *that emancipation is not their object.*"

Mr. Thorpe (p. 24) makes the following quotation from that false and scandalous libel called "*A Statement of the Penal Laws*,"* &c.

"We feel that we have underrated the real extent of Catholic complaint against the present principle of administering justice in Ireland. Instances are innumerable, and proofs conclusive, in support of a statement far more aggravated. Verdicts have been frequently procured, wholly con-

* "Although this publication is anonymous, the author of it is well known. He is too proud of his production to conceal his name, though he has taken special care to protect himself from the punishment to which its seditious pages would have exposed him. He has sheltered himself behind his printer, a poor wretched man, of seventy years of age. It is notorious that this work was written by a Roman Catholic barrister, who is a member of the Catholic Board. *Mr. Scally* is a Roman Catholic barrister, and a member of the Board. He, no doubt, can tell the author's name, since he declared publicly, in the court of King's Bench, that he would produce him, provided the Attorney General would agree to certain conditions, which he proposed."

tradictory to evidence; reprobated even by the sitting judge, and not to be accounted for, otherwise than upon the marked principle of religious prejudice. Catholic prisoners are brought to trial upon charges affecting their lives; the evidence failing, the crown lawyers abandon the prosecution as untenable; the judge directs an acquittal; and yet the jury finds a verdict of guilty. Again, Protestant prisoners are prosecuted for gross outrages against the property and persons of Catholics; for robbery and murder. The evidence is clear and connected; the judge charges unfavourably; and yet, to the amazement of unreflecting spectators, the jury acquits instantly. In cases where the Protestant murderer or robber has been convicted, his *Protestantism* secures his pardon. All the local so-disant loyalists fall to work: memorials and petitions are prepared and signed; vouchers of excellent character are easily procured; even Catholics dare not withhold their signatures, lest they should be stigmatized as sanguinary and merciless. Thus the testimony appears unanimous, and the Lord Lieutenant readily pardons, perhaps *promotes the convict*; who, in some instances, becomes thenceforth a cherished object of favour. On the other hand, when the prisoner is a Catholic, he is generally destitute of this powerful agency and interference. His witnesses, as may be expected, are usually persons of his own condition and family. It is true, they may swear positively to an effectual and legal defence, wholly uncontradicted; but not being Protestants (i. e. *respectable*, the epithet affectedly attached to every thing Protestant), they commonly fail to meet with credit. Should he be convicted, a thousand rumours are immediately circulated to the prejudice of his general character: he is proscribed as a dangerous man, a leader of a faction: no grand jury interposes in his behalf; and he suffers death, publicly protesting his innocence*, fortified by the testimony of his confessor's belief of his veracity, and exciting the sympathy and regrets of the people."

* "It is an extraordinary circumstance, that a very large proportion of the convicts of the Roman Catholic persuasion, who are executed in Ireland, die protesting their innocence. No matter how notorious their character, for dishonesty and outrage, may have been; no matter how fully their guilt may have been proved on their trial; at the place of execution, they almost protest their innocence, or refuse to say any thing with respect to the crime for which they have been condemned. In general they protest their innocence. The author of this Address to the Protestants of the Empire had frequent opportunities of observing this, during an attendance of three years on the prisoners in Kilmainham gaol, the prison of the county of Dublin. In very many instances, prisoners, who, after their trial and conviction, had confessed their guilt to him, having been subsequently visited by their priest, from that time forward changed their story; protested their innocence, and persisted to do so to their last moments. On expressing his surprise at this, to persons more conversant with such matters than

“ To illustrate and confirm this statement, the author annexes, in a note at the bottom of the page, the following tragical case: “ at the summer assizes of Kilkenny, in 1810, one Barry was convicted of a capital offence, for which he was afterwards executed. This man's case was truly tragical. He was wholly innocent; was a respectable Catholic farmer, in the county of Waterford, in great circumstances. His innocence was clearly established, in the interval between his conviction and execution; yet he was hanged, publicly avowing his innocence!!! There were some shocking circumstances attending his case, which the Duke of Richmond's administration may yet be invited to explain to parliament.”

“ This is a very shocking account. It is impossible to read it without feeling pity for the unfortunate sufferer, and indignation against the government which neglected to interpose. If it be true, that government is awfully responsible, it will find it no easy matter to give such an explanation of it as shall prove satisfactory to the country, or honourable to itself. But if it be false, what does he deserve, who has published it to the world as matter of fact? It is false from beginning to end, with the single exception of the circumstance that Barry was convicted and executed. The documents by which the falsehood of this statement has been established, were produced by the Attorney General, on the trial of Fitzpatrick, the printer of “ *The Statement of the Penal Laws.*” Barry, it appeared, had been twice tried for two different robberies; first at the assizes at Clonmel, before Baron George. From the judge's notes of the trial it appeared, that he had fired a pistol at, and attempted to rob a gentleman, in the open day, in the county of Tipperary; that he had been taken on the spot, being in a struggle disarmed of his pistol; that he had been directly brought before a magistrate, and committed; and that the jury by which he had been tried, had, from a merciful principle, found him guilty only on the transportable count of the indictment: but that as he had committed another robbery in the county of Kilkenny, he was ordered to that place for trial. He was next tried at Kilkenny, convicted of the second robbery, and hanged for it. But before his trial he had confessed his guilt to Mr. Elliott, the magistrate before whom he had

himself, it was suggested to him, that *there was reason to think, that, having received absolution from the priest, the wretched criminal was instructed to consider himself as innocent.* Whatever may be the cause, the effect of such protestations is very injurious. The common people, who crowd in great numbers to every execution, go away with the impression that the unfortunate sufferer was innocent; and, of course, that the laws afford no security to the innocent. Where such an impression has been made, it will be no difficult matter to persuade the party that the existing government is not worth supporting.” [This accounts for the way in which some of the murderers who have lately been executed in England, have gone out of the world asserting their innocence.]

been originally taken. As for his religion, it appeared it was unknown till the publication of "The Statement of the Penal Laws."

We must here, reluctantly, close our account of this very interesting work. *Mr. Thorpe* merits highly the thanks of every man to whom the British constitution, the administration of British law, and the Protestant ascendancy are dear.

33. *Observations on Doctor Dromgoole's Speech, delivered in the Catholic Board, on the 8th of December 1813.*

"What wise and valiant man could hope to free
 "These, thus degenerate, by themselves enslaved,
 "Or could of inward slaves make outward free."

MILTON.

"Superstitione qui est imbutus, quietus esse non potest."

CIC.

These observations are detailed in *four letters*, and the pamphlet which contains them comprizes thirty pages, closely printed. The signature of CRANMER appears at the close of the last letter; but a judicious friend of the author, in Ireland, (as we have been credibly informed) caused the writer's real name to be inserted in the Dublin Journal, where the observations are advertised; willing, as it should seem, that the attention of the public should be excited, and due consequence given to the tract, by an avowal of the revered name of SIR RICHARD MUSGRAVE, BART. the historian of the late Irish rebellion, author of one of the most authentic books that ever was written. This gentleman is deeply versed in every species of reading that can possibly elucidate the Popish question, he knows familiarly, as our readers shall presently judge, the entire history of the Church of Rome; he has marked its gradual deviation from the simplicity of primitive Christianity, and is fully competent to expose the artifices, and inventions made use of by the Popes, either to promote the views of their ambition, or to augment the receipts of their exchequer. Nor is he less thoroughly acquainted with the conduct of the Papists in modern times, and especially in Ireland; he is perfectly aware of their ultimate projects,—the separation of the sister island from this country, and the dissolution of the union. He appreciates justly the crooked "politics" of the Popish leaders, and abhors the "knavish tricks" by which they gain the adherence of the deluded multitude—by which they operate upon, and inflame their worst passions, and convert their lamentable prejudices and wretched superstitions into engines suited to effectuate their desolating purposes. We mean to put our readers in possession of the *whole* of Sir Richard Musgrave's observations. In our present num-

ber we shall give the first letter, and the others shall follow in their order. In the mean time, we take the liberty of recommending the observations to the notice and the attentive study of every one. The learned baronet is singularly particular in giving references to the authors whom he quotes. They are very numerous. He must save to any one a world of laborious reading; and the condensation, as well as the judicious distribution, of matter contained in the compass of six and thirty pages is truly surprising. The copy which now lies before us was transmitted to us from Dublin; we make no doubt, however, that Mr. Stockdale can supply, amply, the demands of the public. As long as the "Observations" shall be at hand, no man can be duped by the bold assertions of Dr. Dromgoole.

Observations, &c.

"For some years the Irish Roman Catholics, not only in their Committees and Board, sitting in Dublin, but in their provincial conventions, have been complaining of the want of religious liberty, under our excellent constitution, which they grossly libel, by untruly representing it as calculated rather to oppress than protect them; and, under this pretext, they have frequently reflected, in opprobrious language, on the highest and most dignified members of the state, not only in the aggregate, but individually, and by name. But the mildness and forbearance of government, notwithstanding such provocation, afford a complete refutation of their calumnious assertions; for I will venture to assert, that the gross scurrility and venomous abuse, little short of treason, uttered against both, in these assemblies, would not be suffered to pass with impunity, in any other civilized nation.*

"Emboldened by this, Dr. Dromgoole, on the 8th of December last, delivered in the Catholic Board, a virulent libel against the established church; in which, however, he had the candour to acknowledge, that the fundamental principles of his religion are radically hostile to it, and that the Popish clergy are conscientiously bound to use the most zealous exertions for its subversion; and he infers from this, that it would be absurd, presumptuous, and insulting to them, to require securities from them for its protection. He predicts the speedy fall of the established church, because it is a *novelty*, and therefore schismatic; and he asserts, "that already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it, and that *the efforts of statesmen and parliaments, to make it permanent and inviolate, will be vain, and in mockery of omnipotence*: that on the contrary the Ro-

* "They have praised various delinquents, but particularly all libellers of the government, and have even voted sums of money, to be raised by subscription, to compensate them for their sufferings; identifying thereby their cause with that of the Roman Catholics.

man Catholic church, being *coeval with the first birth of Christianity*, maintains the only true faith, and that its votaries, therefore, *challenge possession of the ark*;—which obviously means an ascendancy. Now I hope to be able to prove, that the Protestant religion is consonant to the pure principles of the primitive church, and that Popery, which emanated from the avarice and ambition of the Roman Pontiffs, did not begin till the year 1073, when Pope Gregory VII. usurped that supremacy in it, which the emperors had previously enjoyed. I challenge the Popish clergy of England and Ireland to refute any position which I shall make in the course of this disquisition. In the early ages of the church, bishops were elected by the clergy and people, and were afterwards consecrated by some neighbouring prelate, who could not require a stronger test of the purity of their moral conduct and religious principles, than the approbation of their flock, whom they had instructed, and with whom they had lived; besides, their subsistence depended on the free will offerings of the faithful.

“ Saint Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who died in the year 325, A.D. declared in his epistles, that in all the ordinations which he made, he consulted with the presbyters, deacons, and people, and that by their common advice he used to weigh every person's merits.—(Epist. 38, 40, 52.)

“ In his epistle addressed to the people of Carthage, he asks them, whether he was not chosen by their suffrages, and the judgment of God.—(Idem. Epist. 40.)—In his 52d epistle, he says, that Novatian was made a bishop by the testimony of the clergy and people; and Origen, Bishop of Alexandria, says the same of himself, and he died in the year 254.—(Hom. 6. in Levit.)

“ Eusebius tells us, that Saint Fabianus, Bishop of Rome, was elected by the clergy and people there, in the year 236. This mode of electing bishops is mentioned in the 2d and 6th canons of the council of Nice, A.D. 325. In this manner were persons raised to the prelacy in the first ages of Christianity; but when the Emperor Constantine the Great embraced it, in the year 312, and gave peace and protection to the church, which had been previously under the frowns of the imperial government, and was often persecuted by it, he and his successors obtained a complete supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs.—(Spanheim's Ecclesiastical History, page 1102.)—In like manner, the government of every state which embraced Christianity acquired the same power.

“ This is stated in the 5th council of Orleans, held in the year 549, A.D. “ Let a bishop be chosen by the clergy and people, *with the con-*

sent of the king, as it is declared by the ancient canons.—(Natali, Alexander, Ecclesiastical History, vol. v. p. 434.)*

“ It appears by the 12th and 16th canons of the council of Toledo, A.D. 684, that the Kings of Spain appointed their own bishops. Gregory the venerable Bishop of Tours, who died in the year 591, informs us in his history, that the French monarchs appointed their own bishops. Thuanus tells us, that they not only nominated but deposed bishops, during the reigns of the Merovingian and Carlovingian kings; and the last continued till the year 985.—(Hist. lib. 1. sec. 8.)—The reader may learn from the best antiquaries and ecclesiastical historians, such as Holinshed, Spelman, Lambert, and Parker, that the Saxon monarchs enjoyed a complete supremacy in the church; and, for that reason, they were often called in their laws, either the vicar of Christ, or the vicar of the Almighty. The office and duty of an English king is thus described in a law of Edward the Confessor—“ The king, because he is the vicar of the Most High King, is appointed for this, that he may rule his earthly kingdom, and God’s people, and *above all his holy church*, and govern and defend it from all enemies and wrong doers.”—(Spelman, Concil. vol. i. p. 161.)

“ Pope Gregory VII. attempted for the first time to usurp a supremacy in England during the reign of William I, but as Mr. Carte observes, that wise monarch had too much spirit to submit to his pretensions.—(History of England, vol. i. p. 419.)—He would not suffer his clergy to acknowledge any Pope without his permission, nor to receive letters or any other instruments, from the Holy See, unless they were previously shewn to him.—(Idem.)—He would not allow the Archbishop of Canterbury, nor any of the synods in which he presided, to pass any canons or constitutions, unless they were previously approved of by him.—(Idem.)—It was high treason at common law to acknowledge any foreign jurisdiction whatsoever. In the reign of Edward I a person was adjudged guilty of high treason, for having produced a Papal bull of excommunication against another, and was sentenced to be hanged; and this, as Sir Edward Coke observes, was *by the ancient common law of England*.—(5th Report, p. 12.)

In the 19th year of his reign, the Archbishop of York presented a clerk to a benefice, under a Papal bull; for which high contempt of the king’s crown and dignity, the entire lands of his bishoprick were seized into the king’s hands, and lost during his life; and Sir Edward Coke

* “Episcopus eligatur, cum voluntate regis, juxta electionem cleri et plebis, sicut in antiquis canonibus scriptum.

observes, "*this was by judgment of common law, before any statute or act of parliament was made in that case*"—(Idem, p. 13.)*

"The Emperor Constantine the Great, soon after his conversion, convened at Nice in Bythinia, in the year 325, the first general council, consisting of a numerous assembly of bishops, whom he ordered to compose a creed, explanatory of the Christian faith, and they framed the Nicene creed, which continued to be the only one recognised in the church, till Pope Pius IV. by order of the council of Trent, in the year 1545, added twelve new articles to it, never heard of before, which makes the Romish to be a new church, though its votaries untruly represent it as ancient, catholic, and apostolic.† Eusebius, Bishop of Cesarea, who

* "Papal encroachments and usurpations were afterwards so often attempted, and were productive of such serious evils, that various acts of parliament, in affirmance of the common law were enacted against them, from the reign of Edward I. to that of Henry VII. inclusive, which the reader will find in Coke's 3d Institute, p. 126, 127. The first was the 35th of Edward I. called the Statute of Carlisle. The next was the 25th of Edward III. *de provisoribus*. In the course of the debate in the House of Commons on the last, "the Pope, for divers usurpations, was called the common enemy of the king and the realm," (2d Institute, p. 585,) and it was said, "that the Pope's avarice was altogether without bounds, and might justly be looked upon as the plague or bane of the nation."—(Idem.) "The Commons therefore required of the King and the Lords some remedy, for that they neither could, nor would bear such strange oppressions, or else to help them to expel out of this realm the Pope's power, by force."—(Idem. p. 583.) The answer of the king was, that he understood well those mischiefs, and willeth, that between the Lords and Commons some remedy might be found, whereunto he might assent."—(Idem.)

"As Papal encroachments, on the independence of the state, and the king's regality, continued to be attempted, Sir William Blackstone observes, that it was found necessary to sharpen and strengthen the penal laws against them; and therefore, by different laws of Richard II. it was enacted, that any person who accepted a benefice by any foreign provision, should be imprisoned, forfeit his goods and lands, and moreover suffer pain of life and member. But the most important of these was the 16th of Richard II, cap. 5, which enacts, "that whoever procures at Rome, or elsewhere, any translations, processes, excommunications, bulls, instruments, or other things, which touch the king, against him, his crown and realm, and all persons aiding and assisting therein, shall be put out of the king's protection, their lands and goods forfeited to the king's use, and they shall be attached by their bodies, to answer to the king and his council."

"These laws, passed by Popish parliaments, are equal in severity to any enacted since the establishment of the reformation; and they are constantly violated with impunity by the Romish hierarchy. What reason then have the Irish Papists to accuse the Protestant state of bigotry or tyranny?

† "Pope Celestine, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 428, defended the Nicene creed in a letter to Nestorius, in which he said, "who is not judged worthy of

wrote the Life of Constantine, tells us, that, in person he presided in that council, and that the canons which they framed were confirmed by him, as they were invalid without his sanction. In the same manner the emperors, his successors, presided in general councils, set aside the election of bishops, deposed such as were lapsed in heresy, made laws for the regulation of the church, and appointed judges for religious causes.—(Giannone's History of Naples, lib. i. cap. 2. Code, lib. 30, de episcopis et clericis, and 23d Novel of Justinian.)

“ Thus Theodosius presided in the 2d general council convened by him at Constantinople, in the year 380, which we learn from Socrates ; and the Emperor Marcian had the same controul over the 3d and 4th general councils, convened by him at Ephesus in the year 431, and at Chalcedon in the year 451. The same procedures took place in the 5th general council, convoked at Constantinople, in the year 553, by the Emperor Justinian ; who, in his code, regulated the doctrines and discipline of the church, and the conduct of the clergy ; and he said of himself, “ that his greatest care was about the true doctrines of the church, and the good conduct of the clergy.”—(Novel, 123. c. 10.)—“ *Maximam se habere sollicitudinem, circa dei dogmata, et sacerdotum honestatem.*” The reader will find all the same articles treated of, and regulated, in the Theodosian and Justinian codes, the capitulars of the French monarchs, and by the laws of all Christian princes, during the first ten centuries, without any Papal interference whatsoever. Guicciardini informs us, in his history, lib. iv. that while the Emperors of the East reigned over Italy, no person dared to assume the Papacy, without the consent of them or their Exarchs, who resided at Ravenna : and Platina, the biographer of the Popes, makes the same acknowledgment, in *Vita Sylverii*. In the *Liber Diurnus*, a book of great antiquity, and high authority in the Romish church, the manner of appointing a Pope is minutely described ; and it is stated therein, that after the election, the Emperor and his Exarch, who resided at Ravenna, were solicited to confirm it.* All schisms in the church were settled by the Emperors. Thus, in the beginning of the 5th century, there was a violent contest for the Papedom between Boniface I. and Eulalius, who were elected by two oppo-

anathema, that either adds to [as Pius IV. did] or takes away from it ; for that faith which was declared by the apostles, requires neither addition nor diminution.” This Pope is said to have sent St. Patrick to Ireland to convert the Irish ; and it must have been to pure Christianity, for none of the tenets of Popery had any existence till 600 years after, which will be proved in the sequel.

* “ *De electione mox referebatur ad principem, postulabaturque electionis approbatio. Referebatur etiam ad Exarcham Ravennæ, cum precibus, ut confirmandam curaret.*”

site factions; and on an appeal to the Emperor Honorius, he decided in favour of the former, at whose instance he passed a law, declaring that when two persons were elected, neither should fill the Pontifical chair, but that a new election should be held by the clergy and the people. (Rescript. Honor. ad Bonif. Concil. tom. 2. p. 1583). In the same manner Theodoric, the gothic King of Italy, put an end to the schism between Laurentius and Symmachus, competitors for the Popedom, on the close of the 6th century.—(Giannone's History of Naples, lib. iii. cap. 6, sec. 3.)

"Pope Gregory I. raised to the Pontificate in the year 590, was so distinguished for his piety and learning, that he was designated by the epithet of Gregory *the Great*.—So conscious was he, that no person could be raised to the Pontificate, without the imperial sanction, that after his election, he wrote to the Emperor Mauritius, and besought him to annul it, as he wished to enjoy a private life; but having a very favourable opinion of that Pontiff, he confirmed it.—(Jo. Diacon. in vitâ Sanct. Greg. lib. i. cap. 39).

"The emperors enjoyed so complete a supremacy in the church, that Pope Gelasius tells us, they would not confirm the election of any Pontiff, till he had given a public profession of his faith, in order to prevent schism from taking place in the church.—(Epist. 2. ad Laurentium episcopum).—That justly admired Pontiff, Gregory I. in giving an exposition of his faith, praised in a very high strain the four first general councils, and declared that he revered them as much as the four books of the Holy Gospel, and he assigned the following reasons for it—"Because on these, as on a square stone, *the standard of the holy faith ariseth*, and the rule of every man's life and actions consists, so that whosoever does not hold this solid ground, although he appears a stone, yet still lies out of the building."—(Greg. Epist. lib. i. Epist. 24).

"Pope Agatho sent a synodical epistle from himself and 125 bishops, assembled at Rome, to the 6th general council, sitting at Constantinople, in the year 680, in which they extolled the four first general councils, as much as Gregory I. did; which epistle is to be found in the acts of that council, session iv. The last of these four general councils was convened at Chalcedon, by the Emperor Marcian, in the year 451; and it was decreed by the 28th canon thereof, "that the Bishop of Constantinople should enjoy equal privileges with the Bishop of Rome, there being the same reason for one as the other, Constantinople being then the imperial seat, as Rome had been."* It was enacted by the 1st

* "Guicciardini tells us, in his history, that the seat of religion followed the seat of empire, and that the precedence of the Bishop of Rome arose from his residence in the

of Queen Elizabeth, that the four first general councils should be *the standard of the Christian faith in England*; and, therefore, Sir Edward Coke observes, (in 3d institute, p. 40,) that since the enactment of that law, nothing could be considered as heresy, but what was adjudged to be so by the said councils, or the canonical scriptures—an *irrefragable proof that the doctrines of the established religion are consonant to the pure principles of the primitive church*; and yet Doctor Dromgoole has had the hardihood to represent it as a *novelty*. So far were the Bishops of Rome from claiming a supremacy in the 6th century, that Gregory I. condemned the Bishop of Constantinople, for usurping the title of first or general bishop. In a letter to the Emperor Mauritius, he said, “*that it was a blasphemous title, and that none of the Roman Pontiffs dared to assume so singular a one.*”—(Greg. Epist. lib. 4. ind. 13. p. 127). In a letter to the Bishop of Constantinople, he said, “*what wilt thou say to Christ, the head of the universal church, in the day of judgment, who thus endeavourest to subject his members to thyself? Who, I ask thee, dost thou imitate in this but the devil?*”—Idem, Epist. 38).

“In a letter to the empress, he said, “his pride in assuming this title, shewed that the days of Antichrist were at hand.”—(Idem, Epist. 36.) Such were the sentiments of one of the most pious and learned Popes, on the title of first or universal bishop, in the year 600; though the Bishop of Constantinople claimed no more than a precedence and a primacy of honour under it, without any pretensions to jurisdiction out of his own diocese: for, by the 8th canon of the 3d general council, held at Ephesus, in the year 431, it was ordained, that no bishop should invade or seize upon the bishoprick of another, *which was not of old and from the beginning under his power.*

“When the Grecian Emperors lost the sovereignty of Italy, by the treason of the Bishop of Rome, who procured Charlemagne to be elected Emperor of the West, in the year 800,* Guicciardini informs us, in his History, chap. 4. that he and his successors enjoyed the same supremacy which the Roman and Eastern Emperors did. Soon after the election of Charlemagne, the power of ratifying or annulling the elec-

imperial city, *lib. iv.*—The fable of his having obtained a supremacy from St. Peter was not invented till long after.

* “Machiavel observed on this transfer of the imperial crown: “Rome began to have an Emperor of the West; and though the Popes used to be confirmed by the emperors, before that time, the emperor now, on the contrary, was obliged to be beholden to the Pope for his election; by which the empire began to lose its dignity, and the church to advance itself, and extend its authority, more and more, over temporal princes.”—(Hist. of Florence, lib. 1.)

tion of popes or bishops was confirmed to them, by a council held at the Lateran, by Pope Adrian —(Gratian in decret. dist. 63. C. Adrianus, 22.) When Otho I. was raised to the imperial throne, in the year 964, he was empowered to do the like, by a council held by Pope John XXII. This council is to be found at large in Luitprandus and Gratian. —(Luitp lib. 6. cap. 21. Gratian, c. 23. dist. 63.)

“ The learned Cardinal Cusanus, who lived in the 15th century, informs us, that the emperors enjoyed a supremacy in the first eight general councils; and the last of them was in the year 869.—(De Concordiâ, lib. 3. c. 16.)—He also said, “ it becomes not any man to say, that the most sacred emperors, who, for the good of the state, did make many constitutions concerning the election of bishops, the collation of benefices, and regulations of religion, could err.”—(Idem, lib. 2. c. 46.)

“ I beseech the reader to compare these well authenticated statements, with the following observations of Dr. Dromgoole on the papal supremacy, contained in his speech :—“ No layman, no protestant, but, above all, no English parliaments, ought to be allowed profanely to interfere with the church: that right belongs to an authority (viz. the Pope) where it was placed at the first birth of Christianity—where only it can safely rest, or be legitimately exercised.”

“ All matters of a religious nature were regulated by the civil law, particularly by the first book of Justinian's code, by the authentics, the capitulars of the French princes, the laws of the Goths and Vandals, and, indeed, of all Christian princes, for above one thousand years after the incarnation. The first titles of the code are, *de summa Trinitate et fide Catholicâ, de sacrosanctis ecclesiis, de episcopis et clericis, de episcopali audentiâ, de hæreticis, &c.*”

THE FABULOUS FOUNDATION OF THE POPEDOM.

We have been favoured by a correspondent with the subjoined tract. We give it, not as warranting every individual assertion which it contains; but as containing much that is undeniable, and may fairly be put as decisive of the main point in controversy between us and the Papists. It appears to have been printed at York, in 1810; but is clearly the production of an earlier age; and possibly may exist in some printed book. A great part is but an amplification of what was stated in one of our earliest numbers (vol. i. p. 125) that “ it does not appear from Scripture that St. Peter was ever at Rome.” We do not however say, nor does it appear to us that the writer of this Tract meant to be un-

derstood as saying absolutely, that Peter never was at Rome. Our opinion is, according to what will be found in the page referred to, that St. Peter was at Rome with St. Paul in the year 69; and probably suffered martyrdom at that time and place. But undoubtedly what the Papists build their Popedom upon, is fabulous: that is, that Peter ever was Bishop at Rome, in the sense now affixed to the word "Bishop;" or in any sense in which it did not equally or more forcibly apply to St. Paul than to him;—still more is it a gross fable that he was bishop there for twenty-four or twenty-five years, as they are obliged to assert, in order to make the case of St. Peter distinct from that of St. Paul; and to give to the former an authority at Rome superior to that which might be claimed for the latter.*

But the reader, we have no doubt, will be particularly amused with that part where a argument is drawn from the story of *Pope Joan*; † which the Papists have endeavoured to put down and discredit precisely on the same grounds as would shew the vanity of the supposition—that Peter was Bishop of Rome. The Protestants as well as Papists, for there have been writers on that side among the former as well as the latter, in opposing the popular belief of this story, urged and rested upon the silence of all the contemporary historians, and of all others for two centuries. But this is neither more nor less than what is urged with respect to Peter.

Moreover, we are not sorry to have an opportunity of calling the attention of our readers to this subject on another account. For we find in that monstrous *farrago* of abuse and misrepresentation intitled "Letters addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Protestant Clergy of England," of which some notice has been taken in our last number, (p. 423) this story of Pope Joan brought forward as one of the "scare-crow weapons" with which Protestants "fight their cause," as this clever ‡ writer elegantly terms it. He thinks it indeed of so much im-

* It is amusing to see the various ways in which this jurisdiction is sought to be established. For example Platina begins his lives of the Popes by a summary or table of contents, at the head of which is

"Series et successio Romanorum Pontificum sic est," and then goes on,

"1. *Primus* Jesus Christus summus Pontifex," &c. thus making, to all appearance, and according to fair construction, Jesus Christ Bishop of Rome, and his own vicar too; though he certainly never visited that city in person.

"2. *Petrus secundus* Pontifex, Christi vicarius," &c. who perhaps, as may be said, never was there any more than Jesus himself.

† Concerning this personage we shall probably offer some remarks at a future time.

‡ This is his own epithet applied to Bossuet: from whence some judgment may be formed of his taste and style. "Bossuet the Great, Bishop of Meaux, the most

portance that he casts it in our teeth, as if it had been a lie of our own inventing, no less than four times in the compass of a few pages. We have thought it therefore rather a desirable circumstance to be able to shew this gentleman in what way it was that the fable of Pope Joan was made use of by the Protestants. We may perhaps for his further satisfaction, and for the relief of our readers, amidst this interminable, yet never to be abandoned controversy, in some future number give an account of this story in its progress, whilst in full possession of credit, as well as in its decline: more especially as it will prove the liberality and honesty of Protestants, contrasted with the bigotry and blindness, ever obstinate and multifarious, of the Papists.

“ The Fabulous Foundation of the Popedom ; shewing that it cannot be proved that St. Peter was ever at Rome.

Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.

1 Thess. v. 21.

“ Peter, before Christ’s passion and death, did not depart from Jewry, but was either with Christ, or the other Apostles, or laboured in his vocation as a fisherman. See Matt. iv. 18.—viii. 14.—x. 2.—xiv. 28.—xv. 15.—xvi. 16, 17, 22.—xvii. 1, 26.—xviii. 21.—xix. 27.—xxvi. 33, 35, 37, 69, 75.—Mark i. 16.—iii. 16.—v. 37.—viii. 29.—xi. 21.—xiii. 3.—xiv. 29, 33, 37, 54, 66.—xvi. 7.—Luke v. 3, 4, 5, 8, 10.—vi. 14.—viii. 51.—ix. 28, 32.—xii. 41.—xxii. 31, 34, 55, 60.—John i. 42.—xviii. 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 25.—xx. 3, 6.—xxi. 2, 7.

“ Where was Peter the *first* year after Christ’s ascension ?

“ He was with the rest of the Apostles on Mount Olivet, beholding Christ’s ascension, and then he returned to Jerusalem, looking for the descent of the Holy Ghost, and there, with the rest, did choose Matthias in the place of Judas—Acts i. and Acts ii. from the 14th to the 41st; and he tarried at Jerusalem, and cured a lame man, and, in the temple, made an oration. Then was he, with the rest of the Apostles, laid in prison, and released the next day, to be examined by what power the lame man was cured, which Peter fully answered. Neither did he leave Judæa the

clever and successful champion that ever entered the lists in defence of Catholicity against the Reformation.” Bossuet certainly was *clever*; nay, he was a man of very superior talents, and learning, and of quite as great ambition. But his *success* certainly was owing to his *cleverness* in *dissembling*, or *varnishing over*, all the great points in dispute between Protestants and the see of Rome. In this sort of *cleverness* Mr. Gandolphy, (the author of these letters, as we understand) follows him, “ non passibus sequis,” though he will not escape a correction somewhat similar to that which Bossuet met with at the hand of Archbishop Wake.

first year after Christ's ascension, as manifestly appears. From Jerusalem the Apostles sent Peter and John to Samaria, where Philip the deacon had laid the foundation of Christ's religion, and had converted the Samaritans. Peter and John obtained by prayer, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. Peter and John, after they had preached in Samaria, as it is expressly said, Acts viii. 25, returned to Jerusalem; and there Peter remained till the second year after Christ's ascension. See Acts 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 8th. In this year Paul was converted in his way to Damascus, where he preached and in Arabia, three years; after which, he returned to Jerusalem, where Peter was with the rest of the Apostles. See Galatians i. 16, 17, 18, and with these, Acts ix. 23, 24, 25. Peter had not yet been out of Judæa, but went about that country, and coming to Lydda, he cured Eneas, who had been afflicted with the palsy eight years; and at Joppa, in Jewry, he restored Tabitha to life. Acts ix. 32, 33, to the end. Peter tarried many days in Joppa with one Simon a tanner, till he was sent for to Cornelius, a centurion of Cesarea in Jewry. When he had instructed and baptized Cornelius and his household, Peter returned to Jerusalem where those of the circumcision contended with him. This was the sixth year after Christ's passion. Acts x. and xi. All the time that Paul was absent from Jerusalem, in Tarsus and Antioch, Peter was at Jerusalem. From thence he went to Antioch where Paul was. This was seven years from Paul's conversion; and the eighth from the death of Christ. Gal. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14. Acts xiii. 2. All that time that Paul and Barnabas were with the Gentiles, Peter remained at Jerusalem till their return. Peter was then laid in prison by Herod Agrippa. Acts xii. This was the twelfth year from the passion of our Saviour. After Easter, Herod returned to Cesarea, where he died miserably. Judæa then falling under the government of Festus, Lysias, Felix, and such Roman deputies as pressed more upon the Jews than Christians, Peter had less to apprehend, and remained in Judea, during those seven years, when Paul and Barnabas departed from Antioch to the Gentiles. He was at Jerusalem the sixteenth year after Christ's passion, where he made an oration to the brethren, Acts xv. After this Peter went to Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia. These he instructed in the truths of the gospel, exhorting them to the faith, obedience, and good works, till a substantial foundation was laid for his successors to build upon; and what time must necessarily be occupied in so laborious a task, may be conjectured by any, who are but moderately informed of the geography and extent of those countries, or the population of so many capital and renowned cities. In the seventeenth year after Christ's passion, and in the 9th of Claudius, all Jews were banished Rome, as

Orosius,* testifies, and *Baronius*, a Popish annalist grants. Peter, therefore, was not there at that time; nor had he been there in the 12th of *Claudius*, for Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans; and, undoubtedly, had Peter been the founder or bishop of that church then, or on any previous occasion, Paul would in so large a letter, have commended his zealous endeavours, and would have exhorted the Romans to continue in the doctrines recommended to them by the Prince of the Apostles. But, on the contrary, he concludes with particular salutations to twenty-four persons, male and female, by name, besides several households, without so much as naming Peter. This epistle was evidently written just before Saint Paul's last coming to Jerusalem; which agrees with Acts 19, 20, compare with Rom. 15, 23. The 12th of *Claudius* agrees with the 20th of Christ's passion. When Paul was at the council in Jerusalem, Peter was there. Acts xv. 7. When Paul went to Antioch, after the council, Peter went there, for the first time. Gal. ii. 11. When Paul departed from Barnabas, and took with him Silas to visit the churches; Peter was not at Rome, but in other countries eastward and northward of Judea; in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. 1 Peter i. 1. In these countries he must have spent many years on account of the multitude of Jews there, he being apostle to the circumcision, and not to the Gentiles, as St. Paul was appointed, and accordingly amongst other gentile nations, paid his attention to the Romans. In all these places, if we allow but seven or eight years in all for the sojournment of St. Peter, we shall now find ourselves about twenty-four years from Christ's ascension. After this, St. Peter departed into Egypt, to promulgate the Gospel there in like manner. After having been at Alexandria, according to Nicephorus, lib. 14, cap. 39, where he appointed Mark an overseer and teacher; he went to Babylon in Egypt, from whence he wrote his first epistle, as he expressly says in the close of it. 1 Peter v. 13.

" St. Peter neither was nor had been bishop of Rome in the second year of Nero (twenty-four of the passion, and fifty-seven of the incarnation) for then Paul came thither, as is testified by Eusebins, Urspergensis, and others; on whose arrival St. Luke, who was then with him, saith, Acts xxviii. 15, *The brethren hearing of us, came forth to meet us, &c.* But we hear nothing of Peter's either coming or sending to Paul, which, undoubtedly, if he had been bishop there, he would have done; nor would St. Luke have neglected to record it. But the third day after, Paul sending for the chief of the Jews, and reasoning with them about

* "*Orosius* only repeats after *Suetonius* and *Josephus*, and is himself no authority in this case.

the faith, they answered him thus, *We will hear what thou dost think, for, touching this sect (the Christians) it is every where spoken against;* and when, at a day appointed, Paul had preached unto them, *the Jews fell at variance about it, for some believed and some believed not;* all which shews that the Jews at Rome had heard very little of *Christ* before *Paul's* arrival, which could not have been if Peter, the peculiar Apostle of the circumcision, had then, or for about fourteen years ever since the second of *Claudius*, or, indeed, for any time before, been at Rome, and bishop there.

"In the third and fourth years of Nero, twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of Christ's passion, *two whole years*, says the text, Acts xxviii. 30, Paul continued a prisoner at large in Rome. That Peter was not there any part of that time we rationally conclude, not only because Nicephorus, lib. 2, cap. 3, saith, that, during all that time, St. Paul lived by the labour of his hands; whereas, if Peter had been there in pontifical dignity, he would have caused him to be better provided for; but especially for that, in the several epistles written by St. Paul from thence, during that time, and possibly some time after, (for no certain account is given of his continuance at Rome after the *two years* aforesaid) he no where makes mention of Peter; which could never have been, had Peter been sovereign of the church, and there resident; especially as he had frequently just occasion to take notice of that circumstance. Thus, to the *Galatians*, St. Paul, finding it necessary to assert the authority of his doctrine and apostleship, speaks much of his former acquaintance with Peter, but not a word of seeing him at this time, when Peter's testimony would readily have satisfied those who doubted; or Paul, instead of other arguments, might have said, "Here is *Peter*, the prince of the Apostles, bishop of this imperial city (which he has chosen to be the fountain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and infallible judge of controversies to the world's end) who does, at this instant, own and allow my apostleship, and gives me the right hand of fellowship." In these epistles it is further observable, not only that St. Paul makes no mention of St. Peter, but uses expressions which in effect deny his being then at Rome.

"In the epistle to the Colossians (which must be written about this time, Demas being therein mentioned as being then with Paul, whom he afterwards forsook, see 2. Tim.) having said that Aristarchus his fellow-prisoner, and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, and Jesus, called Justus, (who are of the circumcision) saluted them, Coloss. iv. 10, 11, he adds, *these ONLY are my fellow helpers*. To Philemon he sends salutations from the same persons, and calls them again his fellow labourers. Was Peter then, though long before bishop of Rome, inferior to these? Was he

not worthy to be named? Were the salutations, the benedictions of the Apostles not to be expected? *At my first defence*, most probably before Nero at this time, saith the same Apostle, *no man stood with me, but all men forsook me.* 2 Tim. iv. 16. Who will suppose that *Peter* was then at Rome? It is agreed that Paul suffered near the end of Nero's reign; but, at that time, *Peter* was not at Rome, for thus saith the Apostle, 2d Tim. iv. 10, 11, "*Demas hath forsaken me, and is departed into Thessalonica, Crescens to Galatia, Titus into Dalmatia, ONLY Luke is with me; therefore, do thy diligence to come shortly,*" &c. If *only Luke* were with him at Rome, then *Peter* was not there; nor do we hear a syllable of his pretended suffragans, Linus and Cletus. If *Peter* were there at that time, what need of such earnest sending so far as Ephesus for Timothy? nor, had *Peter* been at Rome in any of the intermediate years after Paul's first arrival, as may be collected from that passage in Tacitus, where relating how *Nero* endeavoured to cast the odium of burning Rome (which happened near the end of his reign) upon the Christians, he observes, that about that time *that sect* began to revive, as if in consequence of Paul's return: but if *Peter* in that ten years' space of Paul's absence had been at Rome exercising his episcopal function, there could have been no place for that remark, that the Christian religion began to revive (which must imply a decline for some antecedent time) at that juncture. If, then, the story of St. Peter's having suffered death at Rome be, at the same time, an untruth, where is it supposed that he died? We answer, at Jerusalem. He was appointed a teacher to the Jews. "Behold," said Jesus to the multitude and to his disciples at Jerusalem, "Behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes, and some of them ye shall kill and crucify." Matt. xxiii. Wherefore Hierom and Lyra, upon this, affirm that Peter was crucified by the Jews at Jerusalem.*

"To state the matter more briefly: if St. Peter being bishop of Rome, or so much as ever there, is not to be proved from scripture, or by any convincing arguments; if the pretended vouchers for the story are at continual variance in their representations, whilst at the same time the most skilful advocates of the party labour in vain for a semblance of reconciliation; if from scripture and history, and an adequate comparison of circumstances and known events, it is improbable in the highest degree that Peter ever was at Rome, much more so that he was the diocesan of that place and district; if the certainty of the narrative is to depend on the

* We do not think that this is quite correct as to Jerom; and Lyra only says that Peter and Andrew were crucified, without specifying any place.

credit of uncertain and even counterfeit authors, as the Pontifical, attributed to Pope Damasus, and some nameless writers is found to do; if it be derogatory to the honour of St. Peter's memory to assert this, it may then readily be conceived, that the old outcry as of "*Great is Diana of the Ephesians*," the noise of St. Peter's *chair*, (on which, by the bye, it was accidentally discovered that the labours of Hercules were the subject of the carved work) and the boast of St. Peter's *successors*, will henceforth abate much of its influence, or, indeed, signify very little, unless to expose the confidence of those that use it. But should it be urged that the belief of this has continued for ages, common fame has, long since, been branded for none of the best of evidences; moreover, it is plain what important pretensions are grounded upon this supposed event, and therefore more convincing proofs of the fact should be adduced, that vulgar rumour or public credulity, ever more ready to swallow groundless fables and fabrications than solid and salutary truths; nor, in this case, should the ladies and gentlemen of that persuasion take it amiss that the story of *Pope Joan* is, in point of authenticity, placed in competition with that of *St. Peter*.

"In the Pontifical (*liber pontificalis*), a work fathered on Damasus, a Romish bishop of no very notrious though doubtful fame, which work is continued to the pontificate of Nicholas the First, containing the lives of above one hundred popes, from Peter to the year 860, the acts of the first popes are said to be described by Damasus, that his name might give some semblance of authority; and as it could not well be supposed that Damasus should anticipate the acts of those who succeeded, himself being dead and gone, the remaining part of that precious performance is ascribed to *other ancient men, and worthy of credit*; naming *nobody*, for the greater reverence and shew of authority, and the more pious estimation of unknown persons. But though the elder compilers of the councils, *Caranza*, *Surius*, and *Nicolinus*, not forgetting *Peter Crah*, use this fabrication without allowing it to be a forgery, still *Binius*, and the last compilers are compelled to do this upon irretrageable conviction. They are detected by their own confession; and he that is once taken, is ever suspected; but enough having been said of St. Peter as primate of all the christian world, we find, on a more cursory view, that the story of *Pope Joan* is recorded by a cloud of witnesses, if sixty-five (all Popish, to which might be added two more of the Greek communion, but not one single Protestant in the whole list) may claim the appellation. *Marianus Scotus*, the first that wrote publicly of her, and whose writings are extant, flourished in the eleventh century, as *Joan* shined in the ninth. The story passed uncontroverted throughout Christendom, till about the

year 1595, a French lawyer at Bourdeaux (Florimond de Raymond) undertook to refute the whole of it; but, by what arguments? "That no authors living at the same time with Joan, are found to attest it; nor any, till Marianus Scotus, two hundred years after her; that others blindly fell into his error; that the several relaters agree not in their recital; that later writers had invented several circumstances to render it more plausible; and that the whole thing, and the several parts, are not probable, &c." Can any one pretend to say that these propositions might not serve as well, or much better, to confute the pretence of St. Peter's ever having been bishop at Rome? No, as the latter tends much to the aggrandizement of that see, and the former to its disgrace, so, considering what an ascendancy those bishops had by various means, and on different occasions, obtained over the Christian world, it is evidently more probable that a *fiction in their favour* should be carefully fostered and forwarded, than that the *other* (were it indeed a fiction) from which no advantage could be hoped for to the relaters, or their interest, should, for a series of so many years, pass current, and without opposition.

"*Urbs Romana potest Meretrix Babylonia dici,*

"*Quæ coluit, spreto, numina plura, Deo.*

"*Papa fuit quondam Meretrix, peperitque Plated.*

"*Quid quæris testes? Testis imago fuit.*

"*Sin status minime fidas, confide quòd Abbas*

"*Verspergensis ait, Famaque vera docet.*"

"So sure, then, as it appears, from the preceding arguments, as from many no less cogent which might be, and have been adduced, that St. Peter never was at Rome; then was he not the resident bishop of that place or district; then the prelates of Rome in later times by what assumed titles soever they may appear, self dignified or distinguished, are not Peter's successors there; not *Christ's* vicars; not heads of *his* church. Their supremacy is usurped; their power, of no force; the terror of their excommunications babish; their pride as ridiculous, as it has been tyrannical to the dupes of their arrogance, and their proceedings anti-christian. Then is this yoke to be shaken off, and all the agents of these pretenders to be opposed, as factors to the common enemy of mankind, as wicked seducers of God's people, supplanters of the church, disturbers of our state, suppressors of regal authority, being known subjects to a foreign jurisdiction, and enemies to the kingdom of Christ. Then have we done well to come out of that corrupt communion; with all defenders of the true Christian faith, do well to maintain such separation in evangelical purity; to rescue their once usurped rights, and, as Christ's viceregents in their own dominions at least, exert their utmost endeavours to

hasten the completion of what has been foretold of that mystical Babylon.
Rev. 18, 19, even so, Amen.

"Munus Theologiæ est, piis opitulari, et veritatem contra impios defendere. Aug. de Trin."

POPISH MISREPRESENTATIONS CORRECTED.

To the Editor of the Protestant Advocate.

SIR;—In your sixteenth and eighteenth numbers, (pp. 177 and 265, Vol. II.) two very able letters, written with singular clearness, appeared, signed *Scrutator*. Having most anxiously looked, in vain, for a renewal of his useful labours, allow me to offer my humble services in his stead; although I do not hope to equal his efforts in the peculiar province which he selected,—I mean the refutation of the Popish errors set forth in the periodical work, impudently called "*the Orthodox Journal and Catholic Monthly Intelligencer*," and the falsehoods and calumnies hazarded and propagated through the medium of that work. It appears, Mr. Editor, that you have some intention of noticing this magazine of Popery, if I may form a judgment by what you have said, pp. 449 and 450 of the *PROTESTANT ADVOCATE* for July; I hope that my sentiments will not prove dissimilar to those which you may entertain; you have already admitted the name of *INDAGATOR* to appear in your miscellany; and having given you my opinion concerning Mr. Nightingale, and Mr. Gandolphy, I now take the liberty to offer some remarks on Mr. William Eusebius Andrews, and Dr. Milner.—They seem nearly identified in the *soi-disant* Orthodox Journal; Mr. Andrews so nearly resembles the doctor in boldness of unfounded assertion, and the daring insults which he offers the Protestant faith in a Protestant country; and Dr. Milner writes in a style of flippancy so like that of the ex-superintendent of a printing-office at Norwich, that it is not always easy to determine which is master and which is man; which is the monkey and which the cat whose paw was made the luckless instrument of turning roasted chestnuts. The printer frequently rises to the height of his employer, and the learned doctor as often sinks to a level with his mechanical friend. I do not feel disposed to make any distinction between them. If I should at any time admire the dextrous ingenuity with which a fallacy is invented, wielded, and worked,—Mr. Andrews shall have the full benefit of the least particle of deference which may be generated in my bosom, (for I respect ability even in an enemy); and on the other hand, when my indignation is roused, or disgust is excited, I shall treat Dr. Milner with no more ceremony than his *Man Friday*. I am fully aware of any consequences

which may arise from calling the pseudo-Orthodox Journal from its obscurity; but the vulgar are very much given to deem such reasoning irrefragable as is allowed to pass without an answer; and therefore although the attention of the public may be called towards this farrago of Popish pertness, yet the antidote will go with the poison; the public will witness the disgrace of those who are lifted into notice;—the elevation which the pillory affords renders a man *notorious* it is true, but it exposes him at the same time to *scorn* and *contempt*.—It is difficult to determine where to begin, so many passages call for examination, so many press for animadversion. I shall open the Journal for April last, the rather, because one of my friends, who has an indisputable right to every sort of attention which I can shew him, pointed out some assertions in it, which richly deserve refutation.—The first I shall notice occurs in what, I believe, you, Mr. Editor, would technically call *the leading article*; but as no signature appears to it, and as Doctor Milner, in a subsequent part of the same number has written on the same subject, (that of the *St. Giles's Catholic Schools*,) I will not take upon me to determine whether Mr. Andrews or the Doctor is the author,

Et vitula tu dignus, et hic;

at the same time, I beg to say, that I have sometimes thought I have detected a little of my friend *Mr. Gandolphy's* manner in some of the contributions to the Journal. The passage I now transcribe, will be found at the bottom of the second column, p. 122. “These gentlemen [very politely called, in the preceding line, *the biblemen of the nineteenth century*!] come forward and announce their intention of establishing CATHOLIC schools, the fundamental plan of which is to EXCLUDE every book which tends to convey an idea of the Catholic faith. For as to the Bible, it is very well known that by reading in that alone, the Catholic can no more be instructed in the article of *his* faith, than the believer in the established church can in the thirty-nine articles of his religion.” Once for all, I beg to observe that the capital letters and italics, in this precious passage, are printed as they appear in the original; excepting the words within brackets, which I have given in italics, in order to mark more strongly the intended opprobrium, intended by this Popish reviler, in the use of the compound word *bible-men*; as if to read, to distribute, to believe in, or to love the Bible, were disgraceful acts in the nineteenth century. There was a time when the Bible, locked up in the Latin tongue, was withheld from the people—and it was during that dark period of monkish domination that the errors of Popery sprung up, and the usurpations of the Popes took place. The study of the Bible, (blessed be the memory of Wickliffe who translated it!)

enabled us to detect the fabrications of a corrupt system. The light (as from the rising sun) diffused from the radiant pages of the Bible, continued to illuminate this country, "shining more and more" brightly, till at last Britain enjoyed the glories of "the perfect day," at the era of the Reformation. That sun will never set upon us. It giveth light and understanding to the simple. Whilst we have the Bible among us, we have nothing to fear from Popish artifices. Flash but the golden light of the Word of God upon the legends, the traditions and the trumpery of Popery, and they will be consumed and annihilated, just as the burning-glasses of Archimedes destroyed the hostile fleet (a Roman one) at Syracuse. Dr. Milner and his associates talk in contemptuous terms of the *bibliomania* which they tell us has seized England; the Papists, if they do not hate the Bible, most certainly stand in awe of that sacred book; and fear it—if our pious countrymen labour under the *bibliomania*, the Papists have been evidently seized with the *bibliophobia*. What the author of this weak paper admits, is most true, though he, (whether doctor or printer,) may not be aware of it, viz. that in giving the Bible to the St. Giles's schools, every book is excluded which tends to convey an idea of the *Catholic faith*; taking these two last words in the sense intended by that gentleman, viz. the faith peculiar to the church of Rome, denominated here, as is common with Papists, the *Catholic faith*. The faith of the *Catholic*, the *universal church*, is to be found in the Bible in all its purity, but the corruptions of the church of Rome are not to be found therein; not one of those articles, those wretched *novelties*, which Pope Pius IV. added to the ancient, the primitive, the genuine, the Apostolic Creed, can be found in the Bible, which undoubtedly conveys no idea of the Romish faith properly so called. The Bible is the foundation of the Christian faith; and the church of Rome deserves the name of a *Christian church* only so far as its doctrines are to be found in, or to be proved by the Bible—in all other points it is anti-scriptural and *anti-Christian*. "As to the Bible, (says the *orthodox! journal*) it is very well known that by reading in that alone, the Catholic can no more be instructed in *his* faith; than the believer in the established church can in the thirty-nine articles." We allow that the Roman Catholic cannot be instructed in *his*, (printed by Mr. Andrews in italics) the Romish, faith, by reading the Bible alone; but what is asserted in the latter part of this sentence is a mass of absurdity. What is meant by "the believer in the established church?" "True no meaning puzzles more than sense." Are any of the members of the church of England required to profess a belief in the established church as contradistinguished from the *holy Catholic church*? The established church claims to be a sound part of the uni-

versal church, but she no where asserts that she exclusively is, herself, that universal church, as the church of Rome does. We cannot allow this calumniator, therefore, to represent her members as believing in her, separate from, or opposed to the entire church of Christ. Neither does the established church expect her members to study her doctrines in the thirty-nine articles of religion. She sends them to the Bible. She says, to her children, as the divine founder of Christianity said to the Jews, "search the scriptures"—"they are they that testify of me." Who ever dreamt of putting the thirty-nine articles of religion into the hands of the young and the uninstructed, or ordering them to be read in Protestant schools, as furnishing the ground-work of the Protestant religion. The religion of Protestants rests not on any formulary of man,—but on the solid foundation (immoveable as the everlasting mountains) of the word of God—the Bible. In the body of the thirty-nine articles, themselves, she defers to the Bible; and demands consent to them only so far as they may be supported by scriptural proof. "Artic. VI. Holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." The anti-scriptural church of Rome dares not hold language like this. She cannot venture, with the conscious fortitude of our Protestant church, to appeal "to the law and to the testimony." Can it be endured, therefore, that this Romish impugner of the church established, whoever he may be, (a reverend doctor bedaubed with *printer's ink*, or a printer greased with the rancid oil and balsam of the Popish *chrism*), shall presume to insinuate that our youth are sent to study their religion in the thirty-nine articles?—We may easily judge whence the reluctance of the Papists arises, that the Bible should find its way into Roman Catholic schools. This paltry partizan of Popery, however, admits that *his* faith is not to be found in the Bible;—"HABES CONFITENTEM REUM."

Here I stop, for the present. I thought to have touched upon several other passages in the journal for April, but reverence for truth, a detestation of falsehood, the love of Protestantism, and a scorn of Popery and all her artifices, have caused me to occupy more room in the PROTESTANT ADVOCATE than, perhaps can be spared. I pledge myself to continue my remarks, at a future period.

I am, Sir,

Your constant reader,

July, 1814.

INDAGATOR.

INCONSISTENCY OF ENGLISH LIBERALISTS.

It is not a little amusing to observe how the *Liberalists* of England exclaim against the Spanish government for restoring the Inquisition ; and, compared with other parts of their conduct, this dissatisfaction would excite surprise, were it not easy to discover the motives which gave rise to it. They say—

‘ If the Spanish nation in general can betray so much exultation at the overthrow of a free and liberal constitution, and on the restoration of that wretched institution, the Inquisition, we shall be almost tempted to regret the assistance we have afforded them in the maintenance of their independence.’

The advocates of liberty in this country insist upon the right of a people to choose their government. If the Spaniards prefer such laws as we think improper, what right have we to complain ? On our own principles they alone are the judges of what suits them best. And there is much wisdom in respecting that which we find in existence. From the course in which our Fathers have brought us up, we should not depart without strong necessity and grave deliberation. What suits the English may not suit the Spaniards, and yet it is very natural for us to wish them to do as we do, fortunately for ourselves, we considering our situation the best. But let it always be recollected, that the late transactions in Spain did not arise, as in France, from a desire of change : the Spaniards fought to maintain or recover their *ancient regime*. No revolution took place in favour of the principles of liberty, though some persons composing the majority of the Cortes endeavoured to engraft these principles upon a stock of a very different nature. From her conduct, Spain will derive more enjoyment than France during the present age, and more respect in the eyes of posterity.

But the chief object of astonishment and horror is the restoration of the inquisition ! All our little liberty-mongers are in arms at the existence of such a monster ! Truly—we also regret it.—But what then ? The inquisition is a tribunal in several Roman Catholic countries, in Italy as well as in Spain. It was first instituted in the twelfth century by the Pope for the extirpation of heretics, and it is a part of the government of the church of Rome. *It would exist in Ireland, could it do so consistently with English connexion and English government.* The English *Liberalists* cry out for what they call Catholic emancipation,—the investing the Irish Catholics with full political power. They would give the Catholic religion the ascendancy in Ireland ; and the next moment they would raise an abhorrence of it in Spain.—The Roman Catholic inquisition !—how

detestable! we must hate the Spaniards for preserving it. The Roman Catholic religion in Ireland; how amiable! We must love the Irish for persisting in it. It is Christian charity, it is liberality, it is philosophy, it is a mark of being enlightened by the very brilliancy of this incomparably illuminated age, to let all religions take their course, but especially the Roman Catholic, because it is the most dangerous. Yes: this should be the course in England and Ireland, the Irish being so very much enlightened and so very loyal: but not in Spain. In Spain the Catholic religion is execrable. There it should be crushed. Six or eight months ago the *Edinburgh Review* drew a picture full of the horrors of the Catholic religion in Spain, and in the same breath urged its establishment in full political power in Ireland!!!

Such inconsistency must amaze a stranger, and requires explanation. The whole arises from a spirit of dislike to the English government; in some cases a mere party spirit, — emolument being the object; in others a spirit of revolution, of rebellion, a desire of separating Ireland from England. This is the reason the Catholic religion is clad in whiteness and sunshine in Ireland; this is the reason it is begrimed and black, covered with crime and horror, in Spain. The Irish Catholics would sap the foundations of British power; the Spanish Catholics, by resisting the French, and contributing to the overthrow of Buonaparte, have consolidated it. Hence, the hatred of them among our English *Liberalists*; hence the contempt and odium with which it is endeavoured to cover their attachment to their king, their love of their country, their veneration for the institutions of their ancestors, which, with all their faults, are preferred to the new French theories; not because they would be best to begin with an original institution of society, but because habit has made them sit easily, and time has secured to them the respect which insures tranquillity.

The Inquisition in Spain, it is well known, has been so little abused for many years past, that it has been a grievance rather in name than in reality. In name, for it is a most abominable institution to be suffered to exist even in name or form though disused, just as it is abominable that some oppressive laws should be suffered to exist on the English statute book, though a dead letter there. The laws and institutions of Spain give too much power to oppress the people, and it is to be wished that they may be reformed. But we are under a great mistake in supposing the Spanish government has been one of oppression practically. Still we rejoice in one respect, to find it censured here in England, as such censure implies satisfaction with our own institutions. But the Spaniards have led the way to the overthrow of our great enemy; it is through them we

have effected his destruction; their fields have been the scenes of British triumphs; upon them are erected morally the monuments of British glory; Spaniards, English and Portuguese united have achieved victories solid as they are splendid, and we will not allow the petty politicians of our courts and alleys, nor the proud factions of our squares and palaces, to damp the joy at the attainment of a great work, in which, as we naturally co-operated, our exultation should be mutual.

PAPISTS ASHAMED OF THE LATE AVERMENT OF MIRACULOUS EVENTS AT ROME.

MR. EDITOR;—In consequence of a note in your last number, p. 463, stating that the “official memoirs of the judicial examination into the authenticity of the *miraculous events* which happened at *Rome* in the years 1796-7,” were still sold by Keating and Co. I desired my bookseller to purchase the book for me; but whether an alarm had been excited by your note, or whether a prudent order had been issued to discontinue the sale, the answer received was, that “the publication was not to be had!”—May the Roman Catholics be equally ashamed of other fabrications, errors, and false pretensions:—so prays, Mr. Editor, your most obedient servant,

July 5, 1814.

A PROTESTANT.

PAPISTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

WE insert the following curious statement in THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE, for the information of our readers. It has appeared in many newspapers, both in England and Ireland. Not knowing the sources from which it is derived, we cannot make ourselves responsible for its accuracy; if however any of our friends will favour us with information on the subject, we shall be happy to receive it: or if the ingenious compiler will favour us with a communication, we shall esteem ourselves obliged by it.

“*An Account of the Roman Catholics of England and Wales.*”

“The total number of Roman Catholics in England and Wales is computed to exceed 300,000. The principal Roman Catholic counties are Lancashire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Northumberland. These with Durham, Cheshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, and Worcestershire, the next in number contain about 200,000. The Papists in London and its suburbs, with Surry and Middlesex, are rated at 50,000. The re-

maining 50,000 are thinly scattered throughout the other counties and cities—but chiefly in Bristol, Bath, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Southampton, Exeter, Gloucester, and a few watering places.—Some compute the total number at 400,000: this cannot be positively contradicted; but more confidence may be placed upon the proportionate population of the respective districts, as above given, than upon any computation of the aggregate amount.—Their classes are three: clergy, nobility, and commoners, and each forms a venerable, though decayed, monument of ancient worth and respectability.

“ 1. CLERGY.—They have ceased, during upwards of two centuries, to possess any regular hierarchy. There are no bishops or priests in England, officiating in appropriate *dioceses* or *parishes*. They are governed, in spirituals, by four superiors, called vicars apostolic; these vicars are deputed by the Pope, and exercise vicarial powers revocable at pleasure. They are, indeed, bishops in the Roman Catholic church, but do not enjoy episcopal authority in Britain; their sees are little more than nominal, or, “*in partibus*,” as it is termed, as Centuriæ, Castabala, &c. Each vicar has a district, therefore, assigned to him, not a see.—Thus, Dr. Gibson in the Northern; Dr. Milner in the Midland; Dr. Pointer in the London; and Dr. Collinridge in the Western district.—In like manner each priest has a separate district; not however, any particular parish, but a “Mission,” and he is termed a “Missionary.” He acts by virtue of a faculty, granted by the Apostolic Vicar of the district, and is removable at pleasure.—In Ireland, on the contrary, where the regular succession has been preserved, no bishop is removable at the mere will of the Pope—nor is any parish priest removable at the mere will of his bishop. To effect such removal, there must exist a canonical cause, an accuser, a regular trial, sentence, and ratification.—In every county of England there are Roman Catholic chapels and congregations. Altogether there are about nine hundred Roman chapels, mostly erected within the last 25 years, and, generally, clean, commodious, and well-built. Lancashire alone counts upwards of 100 Roman Catholic chapels. Moreover, most of the Roman Catholic country gentlemen of fortune maintain chapels in their houses.

“ In the summer of 1813, Doctor Smith (the Vicar assistant to Dr. Gibson in the Northern district) confirmed the following number of Roman Catholic children, in three towns alone: in Manchester 600; Liverpool 1,000; Preston 1,200. Hence some estimate may be formed of the Roman Catholic population of England.

“ 2. PEERS.—The Roman Catholic peers are seven in number, viz.—
1. Earl of Shrewsbury, and also Earl of Waterford and Wexford in Ire-

land, created in 1442.—2. Viscount Falconberg, 1643 : this nobleman is in holy orders of the church of Rome, and a Doctor of the College of Sorbonne.—3. Baron Stourton, 1448.—4. Baron Petre, 1603.—5. Baron Arundel, 1605.—6. Baron Dormer, 1615.—7. Baron Clifford of Chudleigh, 1672.—The presumptive heir to the dukedom of Norfolk, is also a Roman Catholic.

“ In Scotland there are two Roman Catholic earls, Traquair and Newburgh.

“ 3. COMMONERS.—The Roman Catholic baronets of England are seventeen in number, *viz.*—Sir William Gerard, Lancashire, 1611.—Sir Edward Hales, Kent, 1611.—Sir Henry Englefield, Berks, 1612.—Sir George Jerningham, Norfolk, 1621.—Sir Henry Tichburne, Hants, 1628.—Sir Thomas Vavasour, Yorkshire, 1628.—Sir John Throgmorton, Berks, 1641.—Sir Edward Blount, Shropshire, 1642.—Sir Windsor Hunloke, Derbyshire, 1643.—Sir Carnaby Haggerstone, Northumberland, 1643.—Sir Thomas Webb, Wiltshire, 1644.—Sir Edward Smyth, Warwickshire, 1660.—Sir Richard Bedingfield, Norfolk, 1660.—Sir Thomas Massey Stanley, Cheshire, 1661.—Sir Thomas Gage, Suffolk, 1662.—Sir Henry Maire-Lawson, Yorkshire, 1665.—Sir Piers Mostyn, Flintshire, 1670.—There is also one Scotch baronet :—Sir John B. Gordon, Tweedaleshire, 1686.

“ The principal names which have dropped off latterly, either by deaths or conformity, have been those of Howard, Duke of Norfolk ; Browne, Lord Montague ; Roper, Lord Teynham ; Vavasour, Curzon, Acton, Mannock, Gascoine, Fleetwood, Swinburne — all peers or baronets.

“ Amongst the English Roman Catholics are many ancient families of name and renown in English history. Their present heads are mostly country gentlemen, of retired, reserved, or sedentary, and nearly secluded, habits of life. Such are the names of—“ Acton of Wolverton, Anderton. Bishop, Blount of Maple Derham, Blundell of Crosby, Blundell of Ince, Bodenham, Bowden, Brockholes, Browne-Mostyn, Bidulph, Berrington, and Berkely. Clavering of Northumberland, Clifton, Constable Maxwell of Everingham, Courtney, Carey, Chichester. Chomley, Charlton, Crathorpe, Clifford and Canning. Dicconson, Doughty, Dalton and Darell. Eysten, Eyre, Errington, Eccleston. Fairfax, Ferrers, Fitzherbert, and Fermor. Gibson, Gillbrand, Greenwood, and Gifford of Chillington—whose ancestors saved King Charles at Boscobel. Hansford, Havers, Hyde, Hodgson, Hornyold, Hussey, Howard, Heneage, and Huddleston. Ingleby, Jones, Jackson. Langdale, Lorymer, Maire, Meynell of Yorkshire, Middleton of Stockeld, More,

and Manby. Needham, Nevill, Nelson, Norris, Paston, Porter, Plowden, and Ridel. Saltmarsh-Gastaldi of York, Salvin of Durham, Scarisbrick, Scroope of Yorkshire, Silvertop; Standish, Strickland of Westmoreland, Stapleton of Carlton, Stonor, Stanley, Selby, and Sheldon. Tempest of Yorkshire, Trapps, Townley, Turberville, Tunstall, Taborough and Trafford. Vaughan, Wakeman, Willoughby, Whitgreave, Whitbam of Yorkshire, Wright and Weston.

“ There are about 500 of these Roman Catholic families, not inferior to many in the British peerage in ancient, pure, and noble lineage—some who can boast the legitimate Plantagenet blood—several, who enjoy landed estates, lineally transmitted since the Norman days, and even the Saxon æra. These, though not now titled, may be classed by the herald amongst nobility. The heads of these families mostly live retired upon patrimonial incomes—varying in annual value from £1,500 to £25,000.

“ We have spoken of the clergy, nobility, and higher classes of the English Roman Catholic body. The inferior orders are little distinguishable from the corresponding classes of their Protestant neighbours.—Here the broad features of distinction almost disappear—industry, association, necessity, obliterate the characteristic traits. Generally speaking, they are little farmers, shop-keepers, artisans, and labourers.

“ Wales affords but few Roman Catholics.

“ In the beginning of the last century, there were above sixty thousand Roman Catholics in the Highlands of Scotland alone. With a few exceptions, most of the Gordons, Macdonalds, Mackintoshes, Macphersons, &c. were Roman Catholics; their grand, and great grandchildren are Protestants. The rebellions of 1715 and 1745, effected this change, by dissolving the Feudal System; the children of the gentry in general, particularly those but remotely allied to the chieftains, were dispersed, educated in the south, and put to business.

“ Great-Britain now enjoys the happy consequences, and our heroes are kept at home that used to fill the armies of the Northern Princes.”

RECAL OF THE POPE'S NUNCIO, LATELY BANISHED FROM SPAIN.

M. GRAVINA, Archbishop of Nicca, banished a twelvemonth ago from the Spanish territory by the late regency, has been recalled by Ferdinand VII; and Cardinal Bourbon has been exiled, first to his archbishopric of Toledo, and since to Rome. These are measures to be deeply deplored.

THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE

For SEPTEMBER 1814.

"If Popery be once admitted within the walls of our constitution, the citadel of Protestant principle will be laid in ruins; and with it all those blessings, both in church and state, which a free government and a free religion have for so many years dispensed to the inhabitants of this happy land."— *General Preface to "The Churchman Armed."*

ROMAN CATHOLIC INTELLIGENCE.

THE SUPPRESSION of the *Catholic Board* has already had a beneficial effect. The people of Ireland are relieved from the baneful *stimulus* to disaffection and outrage so long administered by the Board. Its orators are muzzled, if not silenced. We doubt not but they growl in secret, though they are afraid to bark in public. Lightly regarding the restraints of decorum, vociferating calumny against laws and legislators, bespattering with abuse advocates and adversaries, friends as well as foes; we are glad that the love of *themselves*, and a fear of eventual danger befalling their *persons*, or threatening their *property*, have produced that calm which a decisive act of the government, fraught with instant vengeance on offenders, alone could effectuate. Oil may compose, in tranquillity, the boisterous "*waves of the sea*," but temporizing measures will never allay "*the madness of the people*." *Firing with blank cartridges* has always failed to disperse an Irish mob intent on turning the innocent sports of a fair into a scene of riot and bloodshed;—and it is just the same with the *great vulgar* in the sister island; ever since the experimental repeal, in 1773, of some of those severer restrictions under which the wisdom of our ancestors laid the Irish Roman Catholics, the clamours of the leading men amongst them have increased;—concession has inspired them to urge fresh claims; and attempts at conciliation have but increased their audacity. Their character is, at length, understood, and we trust that the executive power will not suffer its lenity to be insulted, whilst it is yet able to repress the machinations of a set of men prepared to trample

the law under foot; if by that, or any means, they can erect their own superstition, combined with the usurped domination of a foreign prelate, on the ruins of society in their native land.

Accustomed to strife and delighted with confusion, peace has no charms for them, and quiet oppresses them with languor;—afraid to contend with the government of their country, they now offer battle to their Catholic brethren, to the Papists in England, and the College of Propaganda at Rome. They have been trying their strength with their transalpine opponents, and have made an attempt to secure what they call “domestic nomination” in the choice of bishops. Of this Dr. O’Conor has long been the advocate, and we most heartily wish that it could be accomplished. It would *emancipate* them, to a certain degree, from the thralldom in which they have long been held by the Pope, and would render the name of *Papists* hardly applicable to them. They would then be intitled to the denomination of *Roman Catholics*—that is, men who profess the creed of Pius IV. but renounce those Tridentine articles of faith, which, in so slavish a manner, acknowledge the supremacy and allow the dictation of the Pope. But notwithstanding this apparently grand effort, we are of opinion that it will prove abortive. They pursue but half measures, after all; for this “domestic nomination,” as appears from the article subjoined (taken from the Dublin Evening Post), is not considered as complete without the *sanction* of the Pope.

The Dublin Evening Post communicates, with great exultation, “the intelligence of the election of a Catholic * bishop for the see of Leighlin and Ferns, by the Catholic clergy of the diocese,† assembled for the purpose on Tuesday last (July 26th). The Rev. Dr. Murphy, on whom the choice of a great majority fell, was announced to the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Troy,‡ who is to report to Rome, for the sanction of

* Catholic bishop, and Catholic clergy! The epithet—Catholic—is here assumed and used as the sole characteristic of those who are members of the Romish church. This is the *courteous* return of the Papists for the toleration extended to their religion in the United Kingdom. They exclude Protestants from the universal church of Christ visible here on earth, and from that part of the holy Catholic church which is in heaven, for they maintain that salvation is only to be found in religion as professed by the church of Rome.

† The diocese! as if the diocese, properly so called, was that over which the *titular* prelate presides.

‡ Dr. Troy must have received this intelligence in a very pleasing manner. It must have been *very* agreeable to him. Notwithstanding all the vapouring of the Irish Papists about foreign influence, and foreign authority,—they still think it necessary to procure the *sanction* of the Pope to their domestic nomination. The introduction of such a sanction into the United Kingdom must involve those who apply for, and receive and

the Pope, which, it appears, there is no doubt of receiving. The principle of domestic nomination will be thus established, as a satisfactory substitute for the obnoxious measure of the *veto*.* The same paper informs us that the Pope, on his arrival in Rome, expressed his strong disapprobation of M. Quarantotti's rescript, and dismissed that person, and those concerned in framing that document, from their offices in the institution of the Propaganda."†

DISPUTES BETWEEN THE IRISH AND ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

The Irish Papists, themselves, supply us with proof of the *placid* style in which they prosecute their disputes with the English Roman Catholics. That precious publication called "*the Orthodox [Popish] Journal*," for July, chronicles the document to which we allude, and also gives a little further intelligence respecting Mr. Hamilton. (*See our last*, p. 488.)—The PROTESTANT ADVOCATE has an unquestionable right to avail itself of the evidence produced, unwarily, by the Romish faction. We here transcribe from the journal, p. 281.

"By the following article, which is copied from the Dublin Evening Post of the 26th instant, it appears that the British Board of Catholics, notwithstanding the *universal condemnation* of the late rescript, are determined to persevere in their *unconstitutional schemes*.

acknowledge it in all the penalties of a *præmunire*. It is difficult to say which is most manifest, the audacity of the Papists in venturing on these illegal practices, or the mildness of the British government which connives at them. It is curious enough that in the article relative to the election of Dr. Murphy in the *Orthodox Journal*, not a word is said of Dr. Troy's requested, or intended *report*, alias *application*, to Rome for the Pope's sanction.

* We leave it to the ingenuity of Irish casuists to demonstrate how a direct application to the Pope for his sanction can be deemed a substitute for a *veto* exercised by the crown. The sanction of the Pope, and a negative vested in the crown, are *opposed* to, and by no means substitutes for one another.

† This we think is *very probable*;—but, be it as it may, the English and the Irish Papists are completely at issue. We often hear the integrity of the Roman Catholic church spoken of, as if, "*immortal and unchanged*," disunion of opinion, or schism amongst its members, never invaded or disturbed its serenity; but the fact is, that Papists are notorious for divisions, that many of the regular orders mortally hate others, and that the secular clergy entertain, stickle for, and defend doctrines as widely different as any subsisting between the Calvinists and Arminians, with whom the Romanists so often upbraid and so unceasingly wish to embroil us. The Pope by approving of the rescript must give up the Irish Roman Catholics, or by disavowing it must leave the English Papists in the lurch.

" We did not imagine we should have so soon again to invite the public attention to the rescript lately issued by Quarantotti. We did hear, and from authority which never deceived us, that Cardinal Gonsalvi had disclaimed, on the part of his holiness the Pope, the sentiments, political and doctrinal, hazarded by that mischievous instrument. The reader will then judge of our surprise—and the public, the Irish public, at least, will participate in the indignation we feel at having to announce, that *the English and Scotch Catholics*, the knot of *vetoists* and *place-hunters*, have actually addressed the Pope, begging of that prince to confirm the political rescript of the vice-prefect of Propaganda !! The document we shall give in full in our next. Mean time we shall content ourselves with an abstract of its principal topics.

" The address is drawn with great artifice, and commences by congratulating his holiness on the late happy events which have succeeded in replacing the head of the church in the chair of St. Peter, whence he had been so sacrilegiously and unjustly dragged, in the fallacious hope of rendering him a servile instrument in the hands of the fallen oppressor. It proceeds to express the enthusiastic admiration with which his children in faith have witnessed his unshaken firmness and holy resignation, under trials so severe. The partial relaxation, during the reign of his present Majesty, of the most rigorous of the penal laws which affected their body is acknowledged with gratitude; hinting, however, that they are still so far disqualified, as to be incapable of filling many situations of honour and emolument. They complain loudly of those persons of their own persuasion, who have charged them with intending to barter their faith for the recovery of that portion of the rights of British subjects, from the enjoyment of which they are still debarred. *They express the gratification which they experienced* at having these *unworthy* insinuations officially falsified by the receipt of the *rescript* from Rome, signed Quarantotti; and they implore his holiness to ratify that wise document, and give it the full weight and sanction of his high authority.

" The address concludes by wishing the Holy Father length of years in the possession of the throne in which Providence has replaced him; that the children of the church may acquire constancy in the hour of trial, from the recollection of his fortitude.

" And this, the English Catholics have the modesty to say, is not Papal influence—is not the influence of a foreign prince in the political concerns of his Britannic Majesty's subjects! The Catholics of Ireland have already expressed their unanimous execration of this abominable instrument. It becomes again imperative upon them to come forward and resist, in its commencement, this vile trick, by which the English and

Scotch Catholic Board would enslave them. There should be aggregate meetings throughout the country. We shall not neglect our duty on this occasion."

"The follies of this British Board are likely soon to have an end, and reason, it is hoped, will soon resume her sway. The Catholics of England are beginning to speak, and their sentiments are in unison with Ireland.—On the 28th instant, Mr. Hamilton, of Liverpool, presented a petition to the Prince Regent, at the levee at Carlton House, signed by upwards of four thousand Roman Catholics of the county of Lancashire, praying for a "~~complete~~ repeal of all such laws as are hostile to their creed, without the introduction of any provision, which even by possibility may affect the discipline of their church or the appointment of their spiritual pastors."—Mr. Hamilton was most graciously received, and had the honour to kiss the Regent's hand."

CARDINAL GONSALVI.

Cardinal Gonsalvi's name is mentioned in this document. *A Lincolnshire Friend* has recently asked us some questions about that personage. We have made inquiry of a correspondent who, in all probability, will be able to give us some *authentic* intelligence respecting the visit of his eminence to this country. In the mean time we lay before our readers the account given by the Papists themselves, who seem not furnished with very consistent intelligence. The paper above printed says, and that "on authority which never deceived us," (viz. *Mr. Magee*, the imprisoned editor of the Popish gazette), that the Cardinal, on the part of the Pope, had disclaimed the rescript, "that mischievous instrument." In the following article, however, it should seem that his eminence's mission relates solely to *secular* matters;—but the *intelligent* editor of *Carriek's Morning Post*, (speaking, for ought we know, from authority as unimpeachable as that of poor Mr. Magee himself,) says that Cardinal Gonsalvi never heard of the "rescript until after his arrival in England," &c. So much for *Popish authorities*! We hope ere long to lay some *Protestant intelligence* on this subject before our readers; in the mean time we print the two following extracts from *the Journal*, that well-replenished magazine of arms with which we may wage successful warfare with the Papists, and beat them with their own weapons.—"On Friday the 1st instant (July), the Prince Regent held a court at Carlton House, when the Pope's nuncio, Cardinal Gonsalvi, was introduced to his Royal Highness by Viscount Castlereagh, and conducted by Mr. Chester, the assistant master of the ceremonies, and was most graciously received.—The

mission of his Eminence had no relation whatever, as was erroneously stated in some of the public journals, to the affairs of the Catholics; its object was merely political.—It is the wish of his holiness the Pope to send a minister to the general congress.—Cardinal Gonsalvi, after congratulating the Prince Regent on the fortunate change which has taken place in the affairs of Europe, had it in charge to ascertain the sentiments of his Royal Highness upon a particular object for the attainment of which the minister of the court of Rome is to attend the congress of Vienna. The object relates, it is said, to the entire restoration of the Papal territories."

"A Dublin paper (*Carrick's Morning Post*) states, that Cardinal Gonsalvi assured Dr. Moylan, that he had never heard of M. Quarantotti's rescript until after his arrival in England; that he entirely disapproved of it, and that he would use all his influence, upon his return to Rome, to prevent its being sanctioned by his holiness, should such a thing be in contemplation."

SPANISH INQUISITION RE-ESTABLISHED.

With the deepest feeling of sincere regret, we close this monthly article of general intelligence with the following Spanish state paper, upon which we shall only offer a few observations in the form of notes.

Decree for re-establishing the Inquisition in Spain.

"The glorious title of *Catholic** which distinguishes us from among all other Christian Princes, is owing to the perseverance of the kings of Spain, who would never tolerate in their states any other religion than the *Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman*. This title imposes upon me the duty to render myself worthy of it by all the means Heaven has placed within my power. The late troubles, and the war which has desolated, during six years, every province in the kingdom; the long abode which has been

* The title of most *Catholic* was given by the Pope to Ferdinand of Arragon, spouse of Isabella of Castile, gratuitously, or rather by way of a bribe to give permanency to the then newly established Inquisition, and to secure the services of Ferdinand and his successors in promoting the ends of the Romish church. Genuine catholicism is very different from that claimed and vaunted by the church of Rome. This decree sufficiently gives us to comprehend the idea formed of Catholicism by the Roman Catholics, viz, not to tolerate any other religion than the *Roman*, falsely styled the *Apostolic* religion. The religion of the apostles is to be found in the writings of those holy men of God;—but in vain shall we search the new testament for the religion of Rome. (See our last number, pp. 521,—2.)

made in Spain by troops of different sects,* almost all of whom were infected with sentiments of hatred towards our religion, the disorder which has been the infallible result of this, and the *inattention*† with which the affairs of our holy religion have been treated during this unfortunate period; all these circumstances united have laid the field open to wicked persons, who have never experienced any check;‡ dangerous opinions have been introduced, and have taken root|| in our states, by the means as they are spread in other countries.

“Wishing then to remedy so grievous an evil, and to preserve among my subjects the holy religion of Jesus Christ,§ which they have always revered, and in which they have lived, and always wish to live, either on account of the personal obligation of having no other imposed on the princes who reign over them by the fundamental laws, which I have promised and sworn to observe, or because this religion is the most certain means of sparing my people from intestine dissensions, and ensuring to them that tranquillity of which they stand in need, I HAVE JUDGED IT NECESSARY UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, THAT THE TRIBUNAL OF THE HOLY OFFICE SHOULD RESUME ITS JURISDICTION.

¶ Upon this subject, learned and virtuous prelates, many respectable corporations, and grave personages, ecclesiastics and seculars, have represented to me that Spain is indebted to this tribunal for the good fortune of not having fallen in the sixteenth century, into errors which have caused so many misfortunes among other nations;¶ and that on the contrary, at that

* See the ingratitude of intolerant Roman Catholics! See how the dreadful religion which they profess, (consigning to damnation all who are not of their own communion,) impels the very king who owes his crown to the British troops, to bestow on them the name of sectaries,—in Spain a most opprobrious appellation!

† *Inattention!* Was it proper to brand the care exercised by the good and enlightened Archbishop of Toledo with the strange term of *inattention*?

‡ Did the intrigues of the Pope's Nuncio, (now alas! triumphant over Cardinal Bourbon,) offer no check to that patriotic prelate?

|| If by dangerous opinions we are to understand resistance to the bloody tribunal of the Inquisition, we are glad to find that this first approximation to reform has appeared. God grant that right principles may have taken root in Spain, and may God's providence nurture and ripen them. May the grain of mustard-seed become, in due season, a great tree, and may it yield shelter and protection to the now persecuted people of God!

§ Unhappy monarch! mistaking the Romish superstition for the religion of Jesus Christ!—The Irish Papists will hardly allow our British King to adhere to the oath by which he holds his crown;—no doubt they are prepared to admire and extol that regard which the King of Spain shews to the oath which he has sworn.

¶ The errors here mentioned, mean the doctrines of the primitive ages, corrupted by the Romanists, but re-established by the reformers. We should be glad to peruse

period, the sciences were here cultivated with distinction, and Spain produced a multitude of great men distinguished by their knowledge and by their piety. It has further been represented to me, that *the oppressor of Europe** has not neglected to employ, as an efficacious method of introducing the corruption and discord which supported so well his projects, the suppression of this tribunal, under the vain pretext that it could exist no longer in consequence of the enlightened state of the present age, and that *the pretended Cortes*, general and extraordinary, under the same pretext, and under favour of the constitution which they tumultuously decreed, abolished also the holy office, *to the regret of the whole nation.†*

“ For these causes, I have been earnestly supplicated to re-establish it in the exercise of its functions; and, yielding to considerations so just, and to the wish manifested by my people, whose zeal for the religion of our ancestors has anticipated my orders by hastening to recal *spontaneously‡* the subaltern inquisitors of some provinces:—

“ I have therefore resolved, that for the moment the supreme council of the Inquisition, and the other tribunals of the holy office, shall resume their authorities conformably to the concessions which have been made to them by the Sovereign Pontiffs, at the instance of my august predecessors, and by the prelates of the dioceses, and by the kings who have assured to them the full exercise thereof, observing in this double jurisdiction ecclesiastical and civil, the *ordonnances* which were in force in the year 1808, and the laws which have, on different occasions, been made for obviating certain abuses. But, as independent of these ancient laws, it may be proper to add new ones on this subject, and my intention being to perfect that establishment in such manner as to render it eminently *useful to my subjects*, it is my desire that, as soon as the said su-

the list of those scientific men who, at the era of the reformation, illuminated Spain. We are ready to acknowledge our obligation to Cardinal Ximenes, under whose auspices the Complutensian Polyglot was compiled and published;—but we know nothing of the Spanish Newtons, Bacons, Boyles, Lockes, &c. who flourished in the sixteenth century.

* There cannot be a readier method adopted of bringing into contempt any measure, than by asserting that it was devised or pursued by *Buonaparte*. This very man, idolized by the low Irish Papists, is styled *the oppressor of Europe* by the *most Catholic King*!

† If the temporary abolition of the Inquisition excited the *regret of the whole Spanish nation*, the people of Spain are worthy of their king. But we cannot credit this. The *grave personages* who advised Ferdinand VII. to re-establish the Inquisition, have solemnly imposed on the credulity of their sovereign.

‡ We rather suppose that the familiars of the *holy office*! spontaneously hastened to resume their horrible functions, than that they were recalled by the people of Spain.

preme council of the inquisition shall be assembled, two of the members who compose it, joined to two of the members of the council of Castile, both appointed by me, shall examine the forms and mode of proceeding of the holy office in its processes, and with respect to the censure and prohibition of books; and if they find that the interests of my subjects, or the claims of sound justice, require *any reform or change*,* they will make a report to me, supported by their observations, in order that I may take the necessary resolutions.

" July 21, 1814.

I, THE KING."

" Countersigned by his Excellency *Don Pedro Macanaz*, whose grandfather passed the greater part of his life in prison, and died in exile, for having written against the Inquisition."

It has been stated that Mr. Canning is going to *Lisbon*, invested with a diplomatic character. Perhaps it were better to send him ambassador to Pius VII. Cardinal Gonsalvi in London, Mr. Canning at Rome!

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECOMMENDED BY THE EDITOR OF THE PROTESTANT ADVOCATE.

(Continued from page 510.)

34. *The Churchman armed against the Errors of the Time.* By "the Society for the Distribution of Tracts in Defence of the United Church of England and Ireland, as by Law established." 3 vols. 8vo. Stockdale and Rivington.

IN p. 464 of our first volume, we announced the formation of a *Society for the Distribution of Tracts in Defence of the United Church of England and Ireland*. That Society has already reprinted several single important tracts, and put them in circulation. It is a well known artifice

* Here is a faint prospect of some modification of inquisitorial cruelties;—but we are hopeless of any melioration, whilst the institution itself shall remain. The two inquisitors and the two counsellors of Castile, are to be chosen by the king himself, who will be directed in his choice by the same *grave personages* who have already moulded him to their dreadful purpose.—If the Protestant ascendancy should be lost in Britain, we may expect that some such people as formed the late Irish Catholic Board, may recommend, with becoming and imposing gravity, the introduction of the holy office into these islands, for ensuring to them that tranquillity of which they will assuredly, in that event, stand in need!

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of the Papists to insist upon exploded errors, as if they were undisputed truths, and to revive doctrines refuted by our fathers, as nevertheless "worthy of all acceptance," unimpeached and irrefragable. To counteract such audacious practices, nothing can be more proper than to revive and republish the successful efforts of those eminent champions of true religion, with whom the partizans of Popery were unable to cope. This mode of proceeding will have two obviously good consequences; it will expose the fallacies, or disprove the fabrications of our adversaries, and at the same time it will cover them with confusion and shame, thus to shew the world the pertinacity with which they cleave to ancient corruptions; and the impudence of offering as sound divinity, doctrines long since proved to be untenable; and vouching as facts what the diligent researches of former scholars have shewn to be falsehoods and trumpery inventions. The Society has not, however, confined its labours to things relating to Popery only, but has extended them to other matters affecting the well-being of the established church; as will appear on adverting to the volumes now before us, which comprize no less than five distinct departments. I. "On the constitution of the church of Christ, on the ministerial commission, and on the unity to be preserved in the church." Part II. "Ecclesiastical establishments and tests." Part III. "Church of England." Part IV. "Popery." Part V. "Toleration." To the whole is prefixed a general, and to each of the parts a particular preface. We shall here give the general preface entire, which will best convey to our readers the views of the Society.

"In the spring of 1813, a society was formed for the distribution of tracts and other smaller publications in defence of the constitution in church and state, as by law established. Carefully to guard against any appearance of intrusion on the province of The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, its objects were declared to be perfectly distinct; the office of the one being to distribute Bibles, Testaments, Prayer Books, and religious tracts among the inferior orders of the community; of the other, to reprint and circulate such tracts and pamphlets as might influence the minds of the higher orders on the most important constitutional questions. To prevent any interference or competition with the venerable institution in question, it was resolved, at the first establishment of this new society, to republish no tracts which were upon the list for distribution at Bartlet's Buildings, but to confine its exertions entirely within the limits of its own sphere.

"Since its establishment, many scarce and valuable tracts have been re-edited under its direction. It appeared, however, to the committee,

by whom it exertions are regulated, that, however useful such single publications might have been, a much more valuable and extended advantage might be derived to the public at large by embodying these and other pamphlets in a volume, so as to give them that permanent possession both of the attention and of the libraries of their readers, which the loose pages of a single tract cannot be expected to command. That the objects of the society, in thus preserving the interest of their readers, might be still more fully accomplished, it was thought expedient, not only to embody, but to arrange, these publications in such a manner, as to form a regular and connected series of discussion on the very important subjects which they were intended to embrace.

“ The first object of this society was to impress upon the public mind, and particularly upon that of the rising generation, the strong and paramount claims of public PRINCIPLE. By PRINCIPLE is not meant the airy speculations of vague and delusive theory; but that code of moral law, which is the joint result of reason and experience. These are the great guides of our judgment on things around us, the source of all that renders life a blessing either in an individual or a national view, and the origin of that PRINCIPLE upon which all public and private institutions are established, and are to be maintained. Without experience, all the efforts of the human mind, are to every practical purpose, little better than the phantoms of a visionary imagination, which have no foundation on which their utility can be grounded, or their permanency secured. Without reasoning upon the nature of things, experience sinks into a low and sordid calculation of temporal advantage, and man becomes a mere machine of selfish and degraded interest. PRINCIPLE is that compounded motive of action which reason informs us is consonant with the laws of abstract right, and experience teaches us is conducive to the welfare and happiness of man.

“ Upon PRINCIPLE then, thus created and established, we found our attachment to all that is high and honourable in the more contracted paths of private life, to all that is venerable and noble in the more expanded prospect of public duty. Upon PRINCIPLE, the fabric of our constitution both in church and state is reared and supported, and by PRINCIPLE alone can it be strengthened and maintained. This is the high ground upon which every pure and patriotic mind must take its stand, and upon this we must rest our defence of all that is dear to us as Englishmen and as Christians.

“ To inculcate and to vindicate this PRINCIPLE on a most vital and essential point in our political no less than our religious existence, is the design of the present publication. To the defence of our English church

these volumes are peculiarly dedicated and directed. Experience would teach every thoughtful and inquiring mind, with how powerful a bond of united interest the ecclesiastical and civil institutions of our native land are cemented and confirmed. Upon this ground alone, every ardent lover of the civil constitution of his country would give some portion of his attachment and favour also to the ecclesiastical. But political **EXPEDIENCY** is not **PRINCIPLE**; it forms a part only of that sound and inestimable rule of moral action. Not only because experience teaches us that the church is an integral and essential part of our constitution, but because reason declares that it is a pure, primitive, and apostolic institution, it is that we assert its claims to our protection and love; and thus upon **PRINCIPLE**, we become the zealous defenders of our established church.

“ Under these impressions, and with these views, it was thought necessary to trace its claims to the highest source, and to show that the first builders of this ancient and beloved fabric were *“ the apostles and martyrs, Christ himself being the corner stone.”* The first head, therefore, to which, in the arrangement of the argument, the attention must be directed is, **THE CHURCH OF CHRIST**. The discourses and extracts upon this subject will show generally the nature and constitution of that universal church, which, under different forms, is established throughout the world.

“ Under the second head **ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS AND TESTS**, will be proved the necessity of some one separate form to be established in each separate state: and it will be demonstrated that it is essential alike to the welfare of that state and to the interests of true religion, that this established form should be the only one rewarded and encouraged by the state, or combined with its political constitution; that all therefore entrusted with civil power should openly profess this same religion, and should render some test of the sincerity of their professions. This part of the argument will involve the very interesting and important question of the alliance between church and state.

“ **THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND** will form the third part of the work. It will here be shown to claim our regard, not merely as a part of our political fabric, and as an established church; but as a form of Christianity, the most pure in its constitution, the most scriptural in its articles, the most primitive in its discipline. In charity, mildness, and simplicity, it will be shown to be worthy of its Blessed Master, to be his most sacred and accredited representative here upon earth, and to approach as near to Christian purity and perfection, as any institution, partly human, can hope to attain.

“ The fourth subject, to which the attention of our readers will be

directed, is POPERY. The immediate connection between this and the preceding head is too clearly discoverable to need any explanation. The encroachments which the restless and aspiring genius of this religion has recently been making upon the constitution, render it a duty peculiarly incumbent upon a society established in its defence, to proclaim the dangers to which it stands exposed, from its ancient and inveterate foe. To mark the progress and to designate the features of this most hostile of all our assailants, will be the design of this part of our collection; and from thence to deduce the conclusion, that, if Popery be once admitted within the walls of our constitution, the citadel of Protestant principle will be laid in ruins; and with it, all those blessings both in church and state, which a free government and a free religion have for so many years dispensed to the inhabitants of this happy land.

“ The fifth subject for discussion is TOLERATION, or the treatment of those who dissent from a church thus established. Upon this very important question such a selection has been made, as may fix our opinions upon a sure and solid basis. Upon no point, in this age of wild and visionary theories, is that principle, which we would inculcate, so powerfully called for, or so essentially demanded. We are not, in the delusive spirit of modern liberality, to sacrifice all that is dear to us as Christians and as men, to the encroachments of our adversaries, with a vague indifference and a sceptical unconcern. The principle which we would not only impress upon the minds, but embody in the actions of every true member of our holy church, is, while we afford toleration and even protection to our enemies, to reserve authority and honour exclusively to our friends. Dissent is to be suffered, not rewarded; toleration is not to be rendered a *felo de se*; nor are we, in our zeal to extend its influence, to destroy that body in which it exclusively exists.

“ Having thus explained the design of the present volumes, it remains only to state the method in which it has been carried into execution. Upon each of these heads such treatises have been selected, as have been deemed most clearly to explain, and most powerfully to establish, the point in question. How far ability will appear in the disposition, or judgment in the selection of these materials, is for the reader to determine. Such names as Warburton, Swift, Burke, Balguy, &c. are of themselves these volumes’ best defence. It has been the endeavour of those to whom the arrangement was entrusted, to admit no second-rate production into their publication. All that will be found in these volumes are the works of the “master-builders” in politics and in theology; and it is earnestly hoped, that, under each of these heads, the reader will find all that can be advanced to form his principle or to strengthen his per-

suasion in a short and narrow compass. Many of the treatises here published, are both scarce and valuable ; many are selected from voluminous collections, never having been previously published in a single form. It is hoped that all these circumstances will recommend these volumes to that general notice which the importance of the subject will demand, and to that universal reception into the libraries of the student which the value of the materials will justify and require.

“ It may not, perhaps, be superfluous to add, that most of the treatises here published, are given *whole and perfect* ; in one or two instances where *an extract* only has been presented, that extract also is given *entire* without any alterations or omissions, any sort of garbled matter having been thought totally inconsistent with the credit and respect due either to the authors of the several parts of the work, or to the society under whose auspices they have been edited : particularly as, in most instances, the opinions here inculcated, come forward recommended and consecrated by the great names of those, who, of themselves, command both admiration and conviction.

“ Should this publication be so far honoured by the public approbation, as to arrest their attention and to claim a place in their esteem, the views of the society will have been fully answered ; as they are confident that the works of those great men, whose reputation and fame do honour to these volumes, cannot be read without imparting a new life and energy to those principles both in church and state, which it was the labour of their life to maintain, and the pride of their heart to have established and confirmed.”

We shall next present the table of contents, distributed under the several heads. Under Part I. eight discourses.

“ Part I. On the constitution of the church of Christ, on the ministerial Commission, and on the Unity to be preserved in the Church.—Eight Discourses by the Rev. Edward Davies.—Extracts from Archbishop Wake’s Apostolical Fathers.—Ember Days in Lent, explained by Robert Nelson, Esq.

“ Part II. Ecclesiastical Establishments and Tests.—An Essay on Establishments in Religion. By Rev. Mr. Rotheram.—Of a Test Law. By Bishop Warburton.—The present Delusion of many Protestants considered. By Bishop Hoadly.—Bishop Sherlock’s Arguments against a Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.—Bishop Horsley’s Review of the Case of the Protestant Dissenters, with Reference to the Corporation and Test Acts.—The Claims of some English Protestants to greater Liberty than they now enjoy. By Bishop Ellys.—Extracts from Reflections on the French Revolution. By the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke.

“ Part III. Church of England.—The Sentiments of a Church of England Man with respect to Religion and Government. By Dean Swift.—A True Churchman set in a just and clear Light; or an Essay towards the right Character of a faithful Son of the Established Church. By Dr. Edward Synge, Archbishop of Tuam in Ireland.—The Nature of Supremacy, in Matters Ecclesiastical, vested in the Crown. By Dr. Anthony Ellys, Bishop of St. David's.

“ Part IV. Popery.—Popery destructive of the Evidence of Christianity. By Nathaniel Forster, B.D. Fellow of Corpus Christi College.—The Corruptions of the Church of Rome, in relation to the Ecclesiastical Government, the Rule of Faith and Form of Divine Worship; in Answer to the Bishop of Meaux's Queries; with an Appendix. By Dr. Bull, Bishop of St. David's.—Certain Accusations brought recently by Irish Papists against British and Irish Protestants of every Denomination, examined by Dr. Thomas Kipling, Dean of Peterborough.—Christ, and not St. Peter, the Rock of the Christian Church; and St. Paul, the Founder of the Church in Britain. A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's. By Thomas Burgess, D.D. F.R.S. and F.A.S. Bishop of St. David's.—A Second Letter from the Bishop of St. David's to the Clergy of his Diocese, on the Independence of the Ancient British Church on any Foreign Jurisdiction: with a Postscript on the Testimony of Clemens Romanus.—The Case stated, between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, a Conversation betwixt an English Roman Catholic Nobleman, and a Gentleman, his Friend, of the Church of England: wherein is showed, that the Doubt and the Danger is in former, and the Certainty and Safety in the latter Communion. By Charles Leslie, A.M.

“ Part V. Toleration.—True Moderation: a Sermon on Phil. iv. 5. By Thomas Brett, LL.D. Rector of Betteshanger, in Kent.—An Essay concerning Civil Government, considered as it stands related to Religion, wherein the Magistrate's Right to support and encourage true Religion, by human Laws, is asserted, against the Modern Pleaders for an absolute, unrestrained Toleration. By Henry Stebbing, M.A.”

We observe that the name of one eminent divine occurs in the preface, but none of his works appear in the table of contents;—perhaps the Society has it in contemplation to continue this most admirable selection, at least to such an extent as may give to the third volume, comprizing 288 pages, a size equal to the first which contains 520, or even to the second which extends to 610 pages.—We shall take a very early opportunity of noticing the Society, its important objects, and its seasonable and most useful labours.

35: *Annals of Irish Popery; including the Period between the Introduction of the Reformation in the Year 1535, and the Rebellion and Massacre in 1641. By John de Falkirk. Tute, Dublin.*

IF we regard facts and documents in forming our opinions on men and things, the compiler of these Annals has rendered important service to all who wish to estimate the character, or to decide on the merits or the demerits of the Irish Roman Catholics. If, moreover, the professors of any religion are to be "known by the fruits which they produce," as assuredly the mouth of divine wisdom has taught us; we would call upon the friends of the Irish Romanists, whether in or out of parliament, to take *John de Falkirk's* book in their hands, to read it, and to give us their sentiments on the men whose cause they have pleaded, and whose claims they have supported. Dangerous intriguers have these religionists been, from the first;—from the introduction of the reformation into Ireland to our own times. Attached to their own superstition, filled with mortal hatred against the Protestants; servilely obeying the dictates of a foreign pontiff, and administering to his views of ambition or lucre, and traitorously withholding the allegiance due to the sovereign of Ireland; fomenting rebellion and mercilessly dipping their hands in the blood of their Christian brethren,—proving themselves unworthy of, and not to be trusted with civil liberty, the wonder is, that they should be found in the possession of any rights of freemen, having so often abused them,—so often forfeited them. Such, however, has been the liberality of Great Britain, so placable, so desirous has she been of winning by kindness those whom she could constrain by an act of power, that statute after statute has been repealed, and franchise after franchise heaped upon her unworthy subjects;—in vain! Malignity fills their bosoms, slanders flow from their venomous tongues, and libels from their pestilent pens; they insult the parental state which would fain cherish, by kindness and forbearance, and the requital of good for evil, the principles of loyalty in her froward sons. They contemplate, in frenzied visions which never will be realized, her destruction. They call her free constitution, systematic slavery; they denominate trial by jury, a curse; they style her venerable religion, instituted in the purest ages, and planted in the British Isles by Apostolic hands,—a novelty, and predict (but they are false prophets) its fall. Such as the Irish Papists were at the first, such have they continued; and if any man, at all skilled in the art of making the history of former ages useful in his own, shall attentively peruse the book now recommended to general notice, he will discern in the former proceedings of the Irish Roman Catholics, the counterpart of those which have disgraced our days;—if plots, conspiracies, nightly meetings,

secret oaths, violent harangues, outrages of every kind, from the mutilation of cattle, to the murder of man, woman and child, can give to the present generation a horrible resemblance of the blood-stained generations that are gone,—remembered only by their evil deeds.

John De Falkirk, a worthy Protestant clergyman in Ireland, dedicates his *Annals* "to the Protestants of the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland." He means to extend his work to three volumes; the first of which has just issued from the press. Our publisher informs us that he can supply purchasers with any number of copies. The ingenious and industrious compiler did us the honour to send one to the Editor of the *Protestant Advocate*.—We shall here insert nearly the whole of the preface, together with the first number of the *Annals*, which, number by number, first appeared, (where the work at this moment is continued,) in the *Dublin Journal*. If our readers shall think the specimen interesting or curious, we can assure them that they will find many succeeding portions not less so.—The book is printed in 8vo. and is comprized in 263 pages.

"As these annals have been carefully extracted from many works, which are either out of print, or, from their size and price, beyond the reach of the majority of readers, it is hoped that they will be found to be an useful compendium of Irish history, as far as they go.

"The chief authorities on which their contents are given to the public, are those of Sir George Carew, Sir James Ware, and Sir John Temple, men of known talent and integrity, whose situation in the government of this country afforded them ample means of information relative to its history, and particularly with respect to the events which they have recorded.

"The historical works of Sir Richard Cox, and Dr. Edmund Borlase have been particularly useful to the compiler of these annals, in enabling him to ascertain the dates of many transactions, recorded with less accuracy by more elegant historians, who were unwilling to break the thread of their narrative, or injure the harmony of their sentences, by the insertion of them.

"It is intended to pursue this important subject to the present day, in two succeeding volumes—the whole containing undeniable evidence of the truth of Mr. Plowden's assertion, that the Popish religion carries with it, through all ages, infallible marks of its identity; and that whoever says, or pretends to insinuate, that the modern Roman Catholics differ in one iota from their ancestors, either deceives himself, or attempts to deceive others."

No. I.

" A. D. 1535, March 19.—George Browne, a friar of the Augustinian Order, was advanced to the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin. While he was provincial of his order in England, he advised the people to make their applications to Christ alone—for which doctrine he was much taken notice of. *He was the first of the clergy that embraced the reformation in Ireland.*—(*Ware*, vol. i. p. 348.)

" September 30.—Archbishop Browne wrote to the Lord Cromwell, informing him, that Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, and his priests, had sent two messengers to Rome, and that it was feared O'Neal would be ordered by the Pope to oppose the introduction of the reformation. He stated *" that the island had been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish regulars; and that the seculars were as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, not knowing what they themselves said in the Romish tongue."*—(*Ware*, vol. i. p. 349.)

" 1538, March 30.—The archbishop of Dublin wrote again to the Lord Cromwell, complaining, that the relics and images of both his cathedrals took off the attention of the common people from the true worship, but that the prior and the dean found them so profitable, that they took no notice of his commands to remove them. He desired a more explicit order for the removal of these nuisances, and that the chief governors might be obliged to assist him in it. He acquainted him, that the prior and dean had written to Rome to be encouraged, and shewed the danger of delaying the work until the arrival of the mandate they expected. That the Duke of Norfolk had combined with the Archbishop of Armagh to oppose the reformation, and that the Pope had granted great indulgences for rebellion, for the defence and propagation of the faith.—(*Ibid.* 349.)

" April 28.—The Pope and Cardinals of Rome wrote a letter to O'Neal, of Ulster, encouraging him to repress heresy and the enemies of his holiness; assuring this turbulent Chieftain, that while the mother church had such a princely son as he, she should never fall, but have more or less a footing in Britain in spite of fate.—(*Ware*, vol. i. p. 350.)

" June 24.—The archbishop of Dublin caused a Franciscan friar to be apprehended, and on his person was found the letter of the Pope and Cardinals to O'Neal. The ambassador was put in the pillory, and afterwards into prison; but it being rumoured that he was to be hanged, he laid violent hands on himself.—N. B. This historical record was not quoted in

the late deliberations on the Popish convention, on the application to the Spanish Cortes.

September 1.—The archbishop of Dublin, about this time, accomplished his determined purpose to remove all superstitious relics from his two cathedrals in Dublin, and in their room placed the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, in gilt frames —(*Robert Ware's Romish Fox.*)

“ About the end of this year, one Forrest, a friar, and a great correspondent with Rome, was executed in London, and his library and papers being searched, the following letter was found, together with an account of vast sums which he had expended for the church of Rome and her designs:—

“ Brother,—We behold how the king is changed from a Christian to an heretic, and how he has robbed Christ's vicar of his rights and privileges, by placing himself in his holiness's seat there, as supreme over the Catholic church within the realm. It was the late damned assembly of Lords and Commons that furthered his designs, otherwise he would not, nor durst he assume it to himself. We have thought of these passages, and do agree, that there is no way to break this tyrant's neck but one. Puff him up in his pride, and let our friends say unto him, that it is beneath so mighty a monarch as he to advise with parliaments, but to act all in person, and that it behoved his majesty to be chief actor himself.

“ If he assumes this, it will take off great blemishes from the nation, which the church holds them guilty of, and do our business; for then the people (it being contrary to their laws) will fall from him; also, the Catholic party of his council will be too strong for the heretics, and then the common sort will be able to declare his tyranny.

“ This is to be contrived with the church's best members, and cautiously, because it is observed, that the parliaments of England have hindered the church in most of the kings' reigns, otherwise she had held her party better than she has now.

“ You have our convent's hearty prayers for your guide.

“ THOMAS POWELL.”

“ *From St. Francis, at Paris,*

“ *1st Jan. 1536.*”

(*Hunting the Romish Fox—Dublin, 1683,
by Robert Ware.*)

“ 1541.—The priory and convent of Christ's church, Dublin, was changed into a deanery by Henry VIII.

" 1542, December 3.—Archbishop Dowdall was consecrated primate of Ireland. He was a learned man, and as zealous against the reformation as his predecessor primate Cromer had been. He was however contented to take his advancement from King Henry VIII. and could never obtain a provision from the Pope, who had promoted another man to the primacy of Ireland.

" 1544.—Archbishop Brown erects three prebends in Christ's church, viz. St. Michael's, St. Michan's, and St. John's.—(*Ware*, vol. i. p. 691.)

" 1545.—Henry VIII. granted the territory of the Abbey of St. Thomas to William Brabazon, ancestor of the Earl of Meath.—(*Harris's History of Dublin*.)

" This year the council of Trent assembled.

" 1546.—King Henry VIII. dies.

" 1550, February 6.—King Edward VI. sent an order into Ireland for reading the liturgy and service in the mother tongue; which order was first observed in Christ's church on Easter-day in the same year, in presence of the Lord Deputy, St. Leger, Archbishop Browne, and the mayor and bailiffs of the City of Dublin. Primate Dowdall bent all his force against receiving the liturgy in English, but Dr. Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, Dr. Robert Travers, Bishop of Leighlin, and Dr. John Coyn, or Quin, Bishop of Limerick, adhered to Archbishop Browne.—(*Ware*, vol. i. p. 350.)

" In this year the liturgy of the church of England was printed in Dublin by Humphry Powel, and it was the first book published in Ireland.—(*Harris's History of Dublin*.)"

OBSERVATIONS ON DR. DROMGOLE'S SPEECH, BY SIR RICHARD MUSGRAVE, BART.—LETTER II.

(See p. 502.)

POPE Gregory VII. who was raised to the Papal throne in the year 1073, a period of midnight ignorance, when reason was weakened and debased by superstition, and learning was extinct in every part of Europe but Rome, usurped that supremacy in the church which the emperors had previously enjoyed; by which he laid the foundation of a new system of religion, called Popery, whose origin and effects I shall briefly describe. When elected, he wrote in submissive terms to the Emperor Henry IV. and, after the example of his predecessors, solicited his consent that he should be consecrated and crowned; and Cardinal Baronius, the Pope's own historian, informs us that he was the last Pontiff who ap-

plied for and obtained the Emperor's approbation of his appointment.—(Acta Vaticana Baronii ad an. 1073.)—He had displayed strong indications of an acute and vigorous understanding, and of inordinate ambition, during the pontificate of his four predecessors, Victor, Stephen, Nicholas, and Alexander, by the unbounded influence which he had obtained over them, and by the popularity which he acquired with the multitude at Rome. Of these qualities the Emperor very soon had woeful experience; for Gregory, soon after his elevation, convened a council at Rome, in which he, instead of the Emperor, presided, and over which he had complete controul: and by this it was decreed, that any layman who conferred, or any ecclesiastic who received from him, a church benefice of any kind, should be excommunicated as a heretic. He considered it essential to the accomplishment of his ambitious scheme, of raising the church above the state in every Christian country, and of making all sovereign princes implicitly subservient to the Pope, to have all the clergy, in every state, dependent on him, as his spies and vassals, that through their agency he might enforce his spiritual thunders, by raising in rebellion the subjects of such of them as should refuse to submit to his insolent demands. "Gregory," says Pasquier, "neglected nothing which either arms, the pen, or spiritual censures could effect, to promote the interest of the Papacy, or the humiliation of sovereign princes."—(Reserch. de la France, c. 8, and 14.)

Otho, the venerable bishop of Friburg, in the beginning of the twelfth century, more distinguished, if possible, for his piety and learning than his illustrious descent, observes, that "Gregory was the first Pope who usurped a supremacy in the church, and dared to advance the dangerous doctrine, that he had a right to depose sovereigns and to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance."—(Chron. lib. 5. c. 35.)

Richerius, an eminent Romish divine of the fifteenth century, and a doctor of the Sorbonne, observed, that "Gregory, contrary to the custom used in the church for more than one thousand years, introduced that order, that all bishops should swear unlimited fidelity and obedience to the Pope."—(Hist. Concil. lib. 1. c. 38.)—"Whence," he says, "the liberty of all subsequent councils was taken away; but much more by his arrogating to himself the collation of all ecclesiastical dignities and benefices; so that as long as his government in the church continues, it seems altogether impossible to have a free council."—(Richerius Apol. ax. 22. et in Epilogo.)

He further remarks, "that from the time of Gregory VII. to the council of Constance, a period of 340 years, the Popes used arbitrarily to impose laws on the church; and having framed canons and definitions at

home, to call upon synods, and imperiously to impose them, when none dared so much as to murmur at them."*—(Idem, ax. 38.)

The better to increase the Pope's power, Romish priests, also, were required to take an oath of fidelity and obedience to him; of which oaths I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Soon after Gregory's elevation, he pronounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against his liege sovereign Henry IV. for simony; and for no other reason, than that he exercised *the right of conferring spiritual benefices, which his predecessors had uniformly done*. The following blasphemous anathema appeared in one of his encyclical letters, denouncing him a heretic:—"On the part of the Omnipotent God, I forbid Henry to govern the kingdoms of Italy and Germany; I absolve his subjects from all oaths they have taken, or may take to him; and I excommunicate every person who shall serve him as a king."—(Greg. Epist. lib. 5. epist. 24.)—Through the active agency of the bishops and priests, who were completely subservient to Gregory, he was able to raise his subjects in rebellion against him; and such was the force of superstition, that he prevailed on the Empress Agnes his mother, the Duchess Beatrix his aunt, and the Countess Matilda his cousin-german, to join his party against their illustrious relation, whom Gregory deposed, after he had kindled many destructive and bloody wars against him.† In short, the attainment of a supremacy in the church by the Popes, occasioned, for some centuries, more treasonable conspiracies, rebellions, assassinations, and massacres in Europe, than any other source of discord ‡ An eminent historian observed, that it produced no less than sixty pitched battles in the reign of Henry IV. and eighteen in that of Henry V. when the Papal claims finally prevailed. It may then be truly said of Gregory,

*" Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem,
Inferretque deos Latio."*

Machiavel observes, "Gregory excommunicated the emperor, deprived

* The most eminent ecclesiastical historians allow, that the 4th Lateran Council was fabricated in this manner by Pope Innocent III.; that seed-plot of treason, rebellion, and murder, which Dr. Milner calls the great council, by way of distinction, in his Ecclesiastical Democracy, p. 97.

† The reader will find all these incidents relative to the dethronement of the Emperor Henry IV. in Maimbourg's History of Gregory VII.'s Pontificate. Machiavel, in his History of Florence, lib. 1. ironically observes, that "Henry was the first prince who had the honour of being made sensible of spiritual weapons."

‡ It is singular that the Irish should be so pertinacious in maintaining it, as it is founded in gross impiety, and the treasonable principles which are insuperable from it, have occasioned the ruin of all the old Roman Catholic families in Ireland.

him of his kingdom and empire, and some of the Italian states espoused the Pope's party, and some the Emperor's, which gave rise to the two factions of Guelphs and Ghibbines, and to those intestine discords which tore their country to pieces, after it was delivered from the scourge of the barbarians."—(Hist. of Florence, chap. 1.)—I think it right to remind the reader that Dr. Dromgoole, in his prediction of the approaching ruin of the established church, observes, "*It shall fall, and nothing but the memory of the mischiefs which it has created shall survive.*" A most extraordinary assertion of a member of the Romish church!!!

For some centuries after the usurpation of Gregory VII. two, and sometimes three, competitors for the Popedom maintained furious contests, which occasioned dreadful scenes of bloodshed at Rome; in one of which Pope Lucius II. lost his life, in the year 1179. Rival Pontiffs contrived, by the force of superstition, to draw most of the European states into the vortex of their criminal ambition, and kept them constantly in a state of destructive warfare. The last of these schisms, which began in the year 1376, between Urban VI. and Clement VII. continued between them and their successors fifty, or, according to Foulis and others, seventy years; during which time there were two opposite lines of succession to St. Peter's chair. One Antipope resided at Rome, the other at Avignon; and they were constantly fulminating bulls against each other as Antichrist. The Germans, Hungarians, English, and some Italian states supported one, the French and Spaniards the other.* Of all sects of Christians, Papists should be the least inclined to upbraid the church of England with schism; for the line of succession in their church has been so often broken, that it would be impossible to determine which of two or three Popes was the true representative of St. Peter.

"In a little more than a century, Gregory and his successors excommunicated eight emperors; some of whom they dethroned, and they deposed King John, of England, and Raymond, Count of Thoulouse.

* France, whose interest it was that the Pope should reside at Avignon, espoused the part of Clement VII.; and, for a contrary reason, England thought it would be more advantageous to adhere to Urban, who resided at Rome.—(Tindal's translation of Rapin, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 377.)

Though Roman Catholics charge our bishops with being mere laymen, nominal bishops, without mission, succession, or ordination, and constituted only by *patent and act of parliament*, Urban VI. was glad to have his right to the Popedom confirmed by an act of parliament, the 2d of Richard II.; of which act George Holmes, Esq. keeper of the records in the Tower, gave a copy to Archdeacon Blackburn, in whose Tracts, p. 250, it is to be found. It is mentioned also by Mr. Selden, in his Table Talk, under the word *Pope*, p. 129.

For these reasons, Mr. Locke, who was not only very liberal, but a great latitudinarian in his political principles, said, in his *Essay on Toleration*, "that church can have no right to be tolerated by the civil magistrate, which is constituted on such a bottom, that all those who enter it, do thereby, *ipso facto*, deliver themselves up to the protection and service of another prince; for, by this means, the magistrate would give way to the settling a foreign jurisdiction in his own country, and suffer his people to be listed, as it were, for soldiers against his own government." Mr. Locke's observation was founded on the practical effects of the Papal supremacy and hierarchy, which have occasioned unutterable calamities in most part of Europe, but particularly in the British Isles; and yet though they are a *novelty*, and repugnant to the fundamental principles of Christianity, and though the former has been almost extinguished in every Roman Catholic country in Europe, Doctor Dromgoole has candidly told us, "that it belongs to another authority (the Pope) where it was placed *at the first birth of Christianity—where only it can safely rest, or be legitimately exercised*; and he further informs us, that *the columns of Catholicity are collecting, and challenge possession of the Ark*; * that is, they aspire to an ascendancy; on the complete extirpation of heresy; and what effects that would produce, Protestants may learn from the sufferings of their ancestors, as described by Archbishop King, in the year 1689, when Papists were exclusively in possession of the legislative and executive powers.

"From the flagitiousness of Gregory VII.'s character, one would imagine that his votaries should be desirous to expunge it from the page of history; and yet he has been canonized; and, so late as the 17th century, Paul V. instituted a feast, and an office or legend, in honour of him. It was maintained by different Popes, and Benedict XIII. made it general throughout Europe, by a decree of the 27th of September, 1728. The Pope's bead-roll of saints consists of such traitors as Gregory VII. Thomas à Becket, Jacques Clement the Friar, Garnet the Jesuit, Guy Faux, Father John Murphy, and Father Philip Roche, commander in chief on Vinegar Hill.

"Nothing can be so absurd and anomalous in politics, as that a foreign prince should have the regulation of religious concerns in another state: as religion mingles with the warmest affections of the heart, and as the moral and political principles of men emanate from, and are modified by

* "Could those sacerdotal heroes, the Murphys and the Roches, give a more awful warning, or a more direct declaration of hostility, when they were collecting their hordes of anointed ruffians (columns of Catholicity), and were making preparations for the crusade against heretics, in the year 1798?

it, their civil duties must be materially influenced by it. The pious and learned Doctor Jeremiah Taylor, Bishop of Dromore, truly observed, "the supremacy and conduct of religion is necessary to supreme power, because, without it, a king cannot in many cases govern his people: For besides that religion is the greatest bond of laws, and conscience is the greatest endearment of obedience, and a security for princes in closets and retirements, and their best guard against treasons; it is also that by which the common people can be carried to any great, or good, or evil design."—(On Supreme Civil Powers in Rule of Conscience, b. iii. c. 3. Rule iv. N. 9. page 164.)

"Pope Gregory I. conscious of this, acknowledged, in the year 600, the supremacy of temporal princes, not only over the military, but the priesthood;—" *Agnosco imperatorem, a Deo concessum, non militibus solum, sed sacerdotibus imperari.*"—(Epist. Grego. lib. 1. Epist. 94.)

ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPRIC OF QUEBEC.

IN a former number, (PROT. ADV. for July, p. 465,) we adverted to the situation of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec: and as it has been much mentioned and argued upon in the course of the discussion which the Roman Catholic Question has undergone, as well in Parliament as out of doors, we doubt not but it may be acceptable to most of our readers to have a more particular and accurate account of the circumstances in which that prelate is placed,—how, indeed, he came to be there, as well as the manner in which he exercises those powers with which he is invested. We refer those who may wish for more ample details to the occasional essays published by Baron Mascres, five years ago, and sold by White in Fleet Street. There cannot be better authority, as the Baron was for some time attorney-general at Quebec, and of course had every means of information; and those who know him will have no doubt that what he has collected he has detailed with accuracy and fidelity. It is chiefly from that most respectable and enlightened gentleman's account that we have gathered the following particulars.

First, it appears that the stipulation made in favour of the Romish inhabitants of Canada, at the peace of 1763, amounted only to a bare toleration, and even that of a questionable nature; for the article in the definitive treaty respecting this point is expressed in these words: "His Britannic Majesty on his side agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will consequently give the most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rights of the Romish

church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit." Now it might have been insisted, and indeed is pretty clearly shewn by Baron Maseres, that the laws of Great Britain, as they then stood, were wholly adverse to any such sort of toleration as has been claimed: whatever, therefore, took place in respect of the exercise of that religion, must have rested more on connivance, or on silent acquiescence, than on any distinct permission or authority from our government here. Nor was it until the act of Parliament passed in the fourteenth year of his Majesty (fourteen years after the province had come into our hands) that it obtained a *strictly legal* and solemnly *recognized* existence and establishment. This was indeed what the Marquis de Vaudreuil had endeavoured to gain at the time of the capitulation in 1760, but the late Lord Amherst refused to concede; and his lordship, who must be allowed to have been a tolerably competent judge on that subject, retained to the last a decided opinion against the extending of any indulgence on that head. He disapproved, therefore, of the act of 1774, as he had before of certain arrangements made in 1766; and in particular those which respected the appointment of a bishop at that period.

This was a measure of that first Rockingham administration, whose expedients for conciliating and pacifying the other parts of our American possessions, it is well known, succeeded very ill. They pleased no party, and produced no favourable result. With respect to Canada their proceeding appears to have been the first specimen of that extended liberality, or rather laxity, which, particularly on questions relating to Popery, has distinguished so strikingly the New from the Old Whigs. It is curious too that, in all probability, what was done was owing to the influence of the late Edmund Burke over Lord Rockingham; that is, of that very man who afterwards so completely exposed the fallacy of the new fangled Whiggism; who foretold its dangerous consequences, but could not perceive how much it was connected with, and might derive strength and support from, the establishment or what might eventually be the practical encouragement of Popery in these kingdoms. The Romish bishop of Quebec had died before the surrender of that place to General Amherst in 1760; and had never been replaced. There does not appear to have been any desire on the part of the Canadians that there should be any successor: and they might easily have been supplied with priests, as is shewn by Baron Maseres, without having a bishop residing among them. The ministry, however, had formed a different opinion; according to which, in the winter of 1765, they had permitted a Roman Catholic priest, who had long resided in the province of Quebec (though he was not a native of Canada, but of Brittany in old France) to go over to

the north of France, in the month of January or February 1766, in order to be consecrated, by some bishops there, as bishop of Quebec, which consecration took place, as it was said, at Amiens: and he was allowed to return to Quebec and exercise his functions in the spring of that year.* His name was Olivier Briand, or Oliver Briand; he was, as the Baron says, "a well sized comely man, of easy and agreeable manners, and said to be a man of sober and regular life, and unimpeached morals." He resided many years at Quebec, under this *connivance*, as it is properly called by Baron Maseres, of his Majesty's ministers; with no patent or warrant, but only an *instruction* to either the governor or the receiver-general of the revenue, in which he was called *superintendent of the clergy*; with an order to pay him £200 a year, or some such moderate sum. How he exercised his functions will be seen presently. But the only argument alledged in defence of this measure was, that this was the best way of preventing a succession of priests from old France, who might be attached to the interests of that kingdom, and perhaps be employed by that government as spies and emissaries to keep up a spirit of disaffection to this country, and a wish to be united again to France; and it was thought the most prudent way to have a quiet prudent man, such as *Monsieur Olivier Briand*, to reside in the province in a humble quiet manner, and to supply vacancies as they occurred from young men born and bred there. It was urged further, as a matter understood, that his episcopal functions would be confined to ordinations: that he would be, as he stated of himself, a mere maker of priests, "*un simple faiseur de prêtres*," and a very harmless personage. The consequences anticipated on the other side were, that, notwithstanding his declaration, he would, *as in fact he did*, exert all the other powers of his office over the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the province, and among the rest, prevent his

* Upon turning to the Annual Register for that year, we find this event announced somewhat differently, under the date of the month of *August*, in these terms:—"A Popish bishop has at last been sent from England, where he had resided for some months, to Canada, *agreeable to a secret article in the late treaty of peace*, in consideration of the French court's engaging not to abet or assist in any shape the son of the Pretender. The bishop has given security for his good behaviour. He bears a remarkable character for a mild, modest, and discreet person, and is about fifty years of age."—[*Chron. p. 122.*]—We never heard of this supposed stipulation for Canada in any secret article, nor do we believe that it existed: otherwise six years would not have been suffered to elapse without its being carried into execution, or complaint being made of the omission. Mr. Burke is understood to have been much connected with the Annual Register, and even to have been the author of the historical part;—might not this paragraph have been drawn up and inserted by him as a sort of apology for a measure of at least *questionable policy*?

Majesty's new or Canadian subjects from freely associating with the British inhabitants, and *reading the Bible*, and enquiring into the nature of the Protestant religion, and the ground of its difference from the church of Rome; of which enquiries the probable consequence would have been, that many of them would have become converts to the doctrine of the church of England. Accordingly it was found, that when Mr. Olivier Briand returned with the title of *Olivier Briand, par la Grâce de Dieu et du Saint Siège, Evêque de Québec*, though at first he declined the compliments usually paid to his predecessors, and professed himself only a simple ordainer of new priests, and for a month or two wore only a common black gown like other priests, he soon grew tired of this humble way of proceeding, and dressed himself in a purple robe, with a golden cross on his breast, and proceeded freely to exercise the tremendous powers of suspending priests from the exercise of their functions, and depriving them of their benefices, and excommunicating and depriving persons of the sacraments, and interdicting divine worship in churches and chapels. Amongst other exercises of those high powers which he attributed to himself, he published a circular letter to the Roman Catholics of the province, to exhort them to take arms for the crown against the Americans in the beginning of the American war, in which he promised *indulgences* to those who should comply with his exhortations, and threatened those who should refuse to do so with *excommunication*. And by this letter, as well as by several acts of haughtiness and violence, he very much disgusted the Canadians.

Of two of those acts of haughtiness and violence, we have a detail in a letter published by the Baron in his Quebec papers, and in the essays, which, as they exemplify pretty strongly the sort of dominion which these gentlemen conceive to belong to them, and which we know from good information to be exercised *in its full extent* in IRELAND, we shall shortly set before our readers. The first was the case of a Mr. Vincelot, the Seigneur, or owner of a Lordship, who at the requisition of the bishop at his visitation, gave a piece of ground for the inhabitants of the parish to build a church upon. And he himself built upon it at his own expense, an uncommonly spacious parsonage-house, in which the people of the parish might hear mass during the time that the church would take in building; and in this house the priest of the parish lived. At the end of two years Monsieur Briand, the bishop, at the request of the inhabitants of the higher part of the parish, appointed another place for the situation of the church which the inhabitants were to build: and in three years the church was built upon this latter spot, and made fit for divine service. This being done, Mr. Vincelot resumed the possession of the

former spot of ground and the parsonage; the *condition* upon which alone he had given this ground *not having been performed*: it having been given *solely* "that they might build a church thereon." This proceeding gave offence to the bishop, who, through the curate of the parish, informed Mr. Vincelot that what he had given to the church he could never resume, and that therefore if the ground was not immediately restored to the curate, he (the bishop) would excommunicate *him and all his family*. The threat being disregarded, the bishop actually proceeded to put it into execution. And it was only by bringing the matter into a court of justice, where Mr. Vincelot obtained a solemn decision in his favour, that the bishop was brought to relax from the haughtiness and severity which he had displayed.

This happened in the month of May 1774; and, about four months after, there broke out a still stronger instance of the bishop's violence and imperiousness of temper. A man who lived in the parish of St. John, wanted to marry a woman who was his cousin, though in a very distant degree. In order to do this a dispensation from the bishop was required, and he applied to Monsieur Briand to grant him one. But Monsieur Briand, being rather fond of money, asked as the price of this same dispensation, a sum greater than the whole value of the land which the man held in the parish. This threw the poor man into despair, and he went to the Protestant minister of Quebec, and desired him to marry them, but he declined so to do, giving him his reasons. Upon this the man took a way of his own. He invited his relations and friends to a feast, and producing his bride, before her father and the company, they declare that they take each other for man and wife. This proceeding undoubtedly was blameable, and the man was liable to be punished for it. But what does the bishop? In his rage, he excommunicates not *only* the man and his wife, nay, not only all the company who had been present on the occasion, but *all the inhabitants of the parish without exception*! So that Monsieur Gaspé, the Seigneur of the parish, and his wife, who were living at the distance of four miles and a half from the place where this offence was committed, were involved in this excommunication. The sentence is accordingly executed by the curate, with all the solemnity of bell, book, and candle; the church is shut up; and it is declared that it shall so continue as long as the parish shall harbour within it these two rebels to the authority of the church. Alarmed at this threat the inhabitants depute their churchwardens to the bishop to implore his mercy, and they come in the most humble manner, and, upon their knees, represent that they have no power to drive those persons out of the parish, as they are living on their own land. In answer to this they are

abused, called blackguards, and turned out of the room. One of them however, bolder than the rest, stayed behind, and, in a steady tone of voice, said to the bishop, in the hearing of Mr. Mabane (one of the judges of the court of common pleas) who happened to be present, " My Lord, if this man had given you the 150 dollars, which you asked for a dispensation to marry his relation, you would have granted him this dispensation, and then he would not have been guilty of this offence. And now, my Lord, that he has been guilty of it, you ought to have confined your punishment to him alone, and not to have extended it to a whole parish, who are entirely innocent." Mr. Mabane, who was struck with the justness of the observation, and could not refrain from laughing at the man when he delivered it, earnestly interceded with the bishop to take off the excommunication ; but in vain. It was continued for two months longer, and then only taken off at the humble and earnest request of Monsieur and Madame Gaspé.

This latter case is moreover a tolerably good comment upon that abomination of the Romish church, in thus imposing restraints upon marriage beyond what the divine law has imposed, for the mere and manifest purpose of extorting money from those who are able and willing to pay for leave to do what ought never to have been forbidden. For in cases like that before us, *a dispensation is never refused where the money is forthcoming!* Indeed in most of the other cases, where those extraordinary restraints, of which in that communion such boast is made, have been imposed, the same mode of relaxation is always open. It is but going to the Pope in the last resort ; *even where the divine law is to be broken!*

But further, in these instances of what was done by a man professing and making a great shew of humbleness and prudence, may be seen the effect of such power as is arrogated by the Romish bishops, and the extent to which it is pushed. This too in a place not very bigoted to their priests, and under a strong Protestant government. For it must be recollected that Canada is a country conquered from the French, and even governed very much by French laws, which are of a much more despotic cast than ours. How Mr. Briand's successors have demeaned themselves, we know not : possibly they have found it expedient to shew forth somewhat more of moderation. Still we cannot but conceive that the good policy of this appointment of a bishop in that province is not very apparent. Our government might have waited till such a measure had been called for by the inhabitants of the province themselves ; and possibly no such call would ever have been made. Lord Amherst's opinion was that they would have been satisfied, if the priests then actually officiating in the

several parishes had been continued, and, as they dropped, other French ministers having church of England ordination, and using our liturgy, had been substituted. At any rate, young Canadians might have been sent over, either to Germany or Switzerland, to receive ordination from Roman Catholic bishops, who might in time have approximated to our doctrine and discipline; and at least not have had either the inclination or the power, to keep their flocks under that blind subjection, which it seems to be the peculiar office of Romish bishops to enforce. We believe indeed that not only Canadians, but *English Roman Catholics* feel this subjection to be very galling, and would willingly shake it off; but are prevented by a false pride and the prejudices of education studiously kept up. How long this may last, God only knows, and in his good time only the vail will be taken away. Meanwhile we cannot reconcile it to our notions of right and wrong, that any Protestants should be *active* in continuing such a delusion, and giving stability to that which all Protestants agree to be most gross and corrupt superstition, offensive to God and prejudicial to mankind.

We should not be surprised, however, if among the ingenious arguments resorted to by the advocates of Roman Catholic emancipation, the good conduct and loyalty of the Canadians, in the late attacks upon their province, should be brought forward, by way of proving that members of the church of Rome may be good subjects. Now this is a point which we never disputed as a general question; and for the great body of our brethren of that communion here in England we have no unfriendly feeling, nor any distrust of them in the common concerns of life. We are only afraid of them when acting, or put in a situation to act, under the influence of their religious principles, in the advancement of their particular church to the destruction of every other. Unfortunately in this country their temptation to do this, is, and must be, most powerful and unceasing. They have before their eyes our ecclesiastical establishment, which they consider as by right their own, which they persuade themselves they have been deprived of by violence; and which, of course, even if such were not the avowed doctrine of their church, they may consider themselves as justified in using every kind of means to recover. But the Canadians have no such temptation to be disaffected. We have seen that, as a conquered province, they had only retained a doubtful claim to toleration, certainly no claim to an exclusive or paramount establishment of their church. And even if they could fancy any such project, it was not very likely to be forwarded by disaffection, or by giving themselves up in any way to the Americans. We believe *that they have not even retained a wish to be united again to their mother country*;—and we are sure that

the events of late years cannot have contributed to revive any such wish in their breasts. Indeed we cannot help indulging a hope, that if they will coolly and seriously contemplate the state of religion as well as of civil government, in this country and in France, they will see good cause to adopt our institutions, and to follow our example in the one case as in the other.

After what has been stated above, we cannot wonder at the following instructions said to have been sent out to Sir George Prevost, Bart. the Governor of Lower Canada, dated the 22d of Oct. 1811. We copy them from the Orthodox Roman Catholic Journal, where they appear, p. 245, and where, of course, they are reprobated, although we are confident that all reasonable men must be of opinion that they are founded in true wisdom, and that they have a direct tendency to free the inhabitants of that province from the intolerable yoke of Popish tyranny under which, contrary to existing stipulations, it has suffered so severely.

INSTRUCTIONS, &c.—“That all appeals to, or correspondence with, any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, *of any nature or kind soever*, **BE ABSOLUTELY FORBIDDEN, under very severe penalties.**

“That no episcopal or vicarial powers be exercised within our said province, by any person professing the religion of the church of Rome, but such only as are essentially and indispensably necessary to the exercise of the Romish religion; and *in these cases not without a licence and permission from you*, under the seal of our said province, *for and during our will and pleasure*; and under such limitations and restrictions as may correspond with the spirit and provisions of the act of parliament, of the fourteenth year of our reign, for making more effectual provisions for the government of Quebec; *and no person whatever is to have holy orders conferred upon him, or to have the cure of souls, WITHOUT A LICENSE for that purpose first had and obtained from you.*

“You are not to allow the admission of any new members into any of the religious societies, or communities of the church of Rome, (those of *women* excepted,) without our express order for that purpose. Let the *society* of Jesus, (*i. e.* the Jesuits,) be suppressed and dissolved, and no longer be continued as a body corporate or politic, and all their rights, POSSESSIONS and PROPERTY be vested in us, for such purposes as we may *hereafter* think proper to declare our royal intention to be; and let the present members of the said society, as *established* at Quebec, be allowed sufficient stipends and provisions during their natural lives.

“Let *all* missionaries amongst the Indians, whether established under the authority of, or appointed by, the Jesuits, OR ANY OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY OF THE ROMISH CHURCH, BE WITHDRAWN BY

DECREES, at such time, and by such manner as shall be satisfactory TO THE INDIANS, and consistent with the PUBLIC SAFETY; and, let PROTESTANT missionaries be appointed in their places.

“ Let all ecclesiastical persons, whatsoever, OF THE CHURCH OF ROME, be inhibited under pain of deprivation from *influencing* any persons in the making of a will; or, from tampering with them in matters of religion. And let the Romish priests be forbidden to inveigh in their sermons against the religion of the church of England.”

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Bedel's communication has reached us, and nothing but the space occupied by the Index could have excluded it from the present number. We shall insert it in the first number of the third volume without fail. In the mean time we shall be glad to receive the continuation of his biographical sketch.

We must make the same apology to *Mr. Graham*.

Indagator's second letter, correcting Popish Misrepresentations, shall appear in our next. He will see the use which we ourselves have made, in this number, of several documents supplied by the Romish Orthodox Journal.

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